Life, diversity and belonging

Meaning of daily life and life course for experiences of everyday encounters with difference in the Indische Buurt, Amsterdam

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Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

By: Lucien Palmboom, 4182480
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Martin Dijst

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Introduction

Societies are increasingly diversified as they host a multitude of, amongst others, socio-cultural and socio-economic groups. This diversification is paramount in cities. Contemporary diversity can be understood as super-diversity, which means that populations are diversified through a conjunctive interplay of multiple characteristics. These characteristics are ethnicities and nationalities from an increasing number of countries, people with different migration statuses, labour market experiences, genders, ages, and spatial distributions (Vertovec 2007). Dutch society is an example of a super-diversified society (Dagevos & Grundel 2013). In addition to the characteristics encompassed by super-diversity, societies are diversified in terms of lifestyles, attitudes and activities. This makes societies hyper-diverse (Tasan-Kok et al. 2013). Individuals themselves may have different lifestyles, attitudes, activities, and other identity attributing characteristics, such as gender and age. This makes people's identities intersectional (Valentine 2007). This process of individualization and pluralisation of individual identities coincides with a decreasing importance of metanarratives and traditional institutions, such as Christianity and the church (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Guignon 2004; Lyotard 1984). Due to diversification within and in between people and groups of people, hyper-diversified societies can be understood as pluralised or fractured societies.

Because of this pluralisation hyper-diversity is associated with decreasing senses of community and cohesion. In the Netherlands, concerns about decreasing cohesion are evident in doubts as to whether integration is achievable and desirable, since it ignores super-diversity (Dagevos & Grundel 2013), and as Dutch society is said to be fractured without an overarching sense of national community (Boutellier 2010). Such concerns come about because hyper-diversity is perceived to be incompatible with notions of national citizenship and community. Benedict Anderson (1983) argued that national communities are *'imagined communities'*, which means that nations are social constructions of people perceiving themselves to belong to a common national group based on shared features, such as history and language. With hyper-diversity people may perceive that they share fewer and fewer (imagined) features. Thus, people are no longer able to imagine themselves to belong to the same national community, and diversity is perceived as an incursion of the imaginary of national citizenship and community. This imaginary is characterised by notions of Whiteness. Whites are constructed as indigenous, and non-Whites as non-natives (Nayak 2007). Furthermore, in a multicultural society, Whites are constructed as stirring the melting pot, which empowers Whiteness and marginalizes non-Whites (Hage 1998). Therefore, hyper-diversity is seen as a societal and national breakdown, and is associated with ethnic tensions and terrorism (Vertovec 2010; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010) and with a breakdown of White social and cultural hegemony (Hage 1998; Nayak 2007). In addition, decreasing cohesion is supposed to lead to feelings of uncertainty, loneliness and stress (Abbott 2012; Dijst 2014; Wellman & Leighton 1979; Wirth 1938).

Whether or not diversity decreases cohesion and increases individual anxiety, urban citizens do live with difference and encounter diversity every day (Amin 2002). Everyday multiculturalism is a relatively new field of studies investigating living with difference and everyday encounters with difference (Velayutham and Wise 2009). Within this field there is much debate as to whether multicultural propinquity and everyday exposure to difference lead to increasing tolerance (e.g. Barnett 2005; Bell 2007; Laurier and Philo 2006; Neal et al.

2013), or to persisting prejudice while people live parallel lives (e.g. Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). The former studies claim, for example, that residents with different backgrounds in socio-culturally mixed neighbourhoods enjoy mundane interactions with each other (Wessendorf 2013), and that mixed neighbourhoods are characterised by multicultural *'conviviality'* (Neal et al. 2013). Studies that find persisting prejudice maintain that people's perceptions of each other are primarily formed by their biographies and morale, and that prejudice thus persists in spite of multicultural propinquity (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). This debate on increasing tolerance or persisting prejudice relates to concerns of hyper-diversity as decreasing cohesion. Increasing tolerance may indicate an increase of cohesion whereas persisting prejudice might indicate a decrease.

Studies that relate everyday multiculturalism to tolerance investigated people's lived experiences of situational encounters with difference (e.g. Barnett 2005; Bell 2007; Laurier and Philo 2006; Neal et al. 2013; Wessendorf 2013; Wilson 2011). Studies that relate everyday multiculturalism to persisting prejudice investigated the influence of people's life courses on their perceptions of difference (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). As such, both types of studies do not include the interrelation between people's lived experiences and life courses. This interrelation means that people's life courses are constituted by the sum of their daily activities while their daily activities are informed by their life courses (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981). People's perceptions of each other are likely to come about through this interrelation because it involves the development of people's perception of and attitude to difference, throughout people's life courses, in daily activities. During their life courses people are mobile as they, for example, move to and work at different places. During their everyday life people are also mobile as they, for example, commute to and from work. Such life course and daily mobility can be understood as paths through space and time. Therefore, people's life courses and daily activities may be understood as interrelational paths. The route these paths take depends on several kinds of instrumental constraints, such as the need to stick to shop opening hours for groceries and the need to move for job opportunities. The route of paths also depends on emotional experiences and preferences, such as travel mode choice based on enjoying one travel mode over another, or the preference to live close to family during the life course (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981).

Studies into everyday multiculturalism have not accounted for the interrelationality of people's daily and life course paths, and thus remain limited in their conclusions to the relation between living with difference and people's understanding of attitude to difference. This is a major limitation because people's everyday experiences of diversity throughout their life courses socialize them into certain attitudes to and understandings of difference. Through such an interplay people produce and reproduce societal structure. For example, people's everyday experiences of diversity may be characterised by a senses of conviviality, which may make them tolerant of difference, and might lead to an increase in cohesion. This interplay between everyday experiences and practices, and societal structure is structuration (Dyck and Kearns 2006; Giddens 1984; Pred 1984). Thus, an inquiry that encompasses the interplay between people's daily and life course paths is needed to reflect on living with hyper-diversity and on cohesion.

Studies into everyday multiculturalism show another drawback. Studies into lived experiences of encounters investigated these experiences in a specific situation, such as a café (Laurier and Philo 2006), bus (Wilson 2011), or neighbourhood (Wessendorf 2013).

Although these studies prove detailed and intriguing accounts of people's experiences of encounters, they do not take people's daily activities into an account. Similarly, studies investigating the influence of people's life courses on their understanding of and attitude to difference do not take daily activities into account (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). However, people may encounter difference at many times and in many places during their daily lives because their travel range expanded and their travel patterns fragmented (Bertolini & Dijst 2003). The times and places at which encounters occur are likely to bear implications for people's experiences of encounters. Furthermore, people's experiences of an encounter probably relate to their experiences of situations preceding and following the encounter. Thus, an inquiry that encompasses people's experiences of encounters and their daily paths is needed. Such an inquiry would further our understanding of living with difference, and thereby of the relation between everyday multiculturalism and cohesion.

Even though studies into everyday multiculturalism are inconclusive on the relation between living with difference and cohesion, housing policies in the Netherlands and many other Western European countries work with assumptions about this relation in order to advance cohesion. In addition to advancing cohesion, these housing policies aim to counter the segregation of non-Western ethnicities and people in poverty into disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and aim to advance social mobility. To achieve these aims, policies attract indigenous middle class households to disadvantaged lower class neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations (Bolt & Van Kempen 2009, 2012; Bolt, Van Kempen & Phillips 2010). In the Netherlands, such policies often advance gentrification (Ernst & Doucet 2014; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans 2007). These mixing policies work with the assumption that living in proximity of difference increases contact between groups of people with different backgrounds, which would better the life chances of impoverished ethnic minorities, advance their integration into the host society, and thus advance cohesion (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt 2009; Vervoort, Flap & Dagevos 2011). Therefore, mixing policies assume that living with difference advances cohesion. However, similar to the way in which encounters with difference have an unclear relation with cohesion, evidence that mixing policies bring about cohesion is unclear and ambiguous (e.g. Bolt & Van Kempen 2009, 2012; Bolt, Van Kempen & Phillips 2010; Galster 2010). In order to understand why mixing policies do not seem to bring about cohesion, and in order to find if there are unidentified effects of mixing policies on people's perceptions of each other, everyday encounters in neighbourhoods where mixing polices are implemented need to be studied.

Encounters in neighbourhoods where mixing policies are implemented are most likely cosmopolitan and ethnic encounters because mixing policies often attract middle class gentrifiers into neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations. Middle class gentrifiers can be said to be cosmopolitan. These cosmopolitans form a varied group, but share certain characteristics. They are usually White and higher educated and seek, by living in an urban environment, experiences of cultural diversity and consumption of distinctifying products such as vintage clothing (Boterman 2012; Butler 2003; Butler & Hamnett 2009; Karsten 2007; Kosta & Zukin 2004). Thus, to scrutinize the assumption of mixing policies that living with difference advances cohesion, experiences of everyday cosmopolitan and ethnic encounters, of residents of neighbourhoods in which mixing policies are implemented, need to be studied.

However, studying this assumption is difficult because cohesion is difficult to define. Cohesion is often understood as that which holds society together, that which makes countless and disparate individuals, groups and institutions stick and fit together without fracturing into disorder and disarray. Solidarity, communal norms and values, social control, social networks, a sense of belonging through common identity, and attachment to the neighbourhood are aspects of cohesion (Bolt & Van Kempen 2009, 2012; Bolt, Van Kempen & Phillips 2010; Kearns & Forrest 2000). However, this definition of cohesion is still rather vague and unsubstantiated. Exactly how the aforementioned aspects of cohesion hold society together, and who and what they hold together, remains unclear. Furthermore, each of these aspects can be understood in different ways and at different levels. In addition to the difficulty in defining cohesion, relating people's experiences of encounters to cohesion is challenging because these experiences are singular while cohesion is something shared and encompassing. Despite the difficulty to define cohesion, the notion that something is shared and connects is essential. Therefore, inquiring into what people share and what connects them during encounters with difference can further our understanding of the relation between encounters and cohesion. The concept of belongingness can be used for such an inquiry. Belongingness is the human need for a sense of connectedness between self and the world and consists of feeling connected with other people and with a place, such as a neighbourhood or country. Belongingness is characterised by comfort versus stress and anxiety (e.g. Dijst 2014; Dijst & Gimmler, forthcoming; Ratcliffe 2009). As such, senses of belongingness during encounters can be studied in order to reflect on the relation between living with difference and cohesion in the context of mixing policies.

This study has several aims. The first is to uncover how people's life course paths affect their experiences of encounters with difference. The second aim is to uncover how people's daily paths affect these experiences. The third aim of this study is to uncover how people's life course and daily paths interrelate to affect their senses of belongingness during encounters. These aims work to reflect on the relation between living with difference and cohesion in the context of mixing policies. Therefore, the research question is:

> *What is the relation between people's life course paths, daily paths, and their senses of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?* '

This question is split up into the questions

1. *What is the relation between people's life course paths and their senses of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?*
2. *What is the relation between people's daily paths and their senses of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?*

In answering these questions this study sets out to contribute a time geographical approach and the concept belongingness to studies into everyday multiculturalism, and to contribute to our understanding of the workings of mixing policies.

This study is structured as follows. First, literature and theories concerning difference, encounters, belongingness, and mixing policies are discussed. Second, this study's methods are explained. Third, respondents' life courses in relation to diversity are discussed. Fourth, people's daily activities in relation to their life courses and their senses of belongingness during encounters are examined. Fifth, This study's findings are concluded and discussed in relation to literature and theory.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter describes the theoretical framework of this study. First, time-geography, structuration theory, and phenomenology and symbolic interactionism are explained as the core theorems of this study. Second, theories on experiencing difference though practices and perceptions of differentiation and othering are discussed. Third, the concept belongingness is explored. Fourth, a brief account of desegregative housing policies and gentrification, and the kind of diversity that comes with these policies, are provided to elaborate on mixing policies provided.

Time geography, Structuration theory and Phenomenology

Time geography
People, animals and objects move across a path through space and time throughout their existence. This path can be studied at different time spatio-temporal scales, such as the life course or daily mobility. People's life course comprises, amongst others, a path through schooling and professional career. People's daily path comprises, for example, commuting to and from work. Space-time paths can be depicted in diagrams (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981). Figures 1 and 2 are such diagrams. Figure 1 can depict paths at different scales, figure 2 depicts paths in immediate surroundings during a short time span. In figure 1 space-time paths are depicted as lifelines, in figure 2 as bold arrows. People's daily and life course paths are dialectically interconnected as the sum of people's daily paths constitute their life courses, while people's daily paths are informed by their life courses. For example, daily commutes to work constitute people's career in space and time throughout their life course, while each daily commute is informed by people's previous education and career. During their daily paths, people come across spatio-temporal situations. These situations are moments in space and time, such as a street during evening hours or a train coach at noon. During spatio-temporal situations people's paths may encounter other people and objects. These are the bundles in figure 1. During situations people decide on the continuation of their paths. The prism in figure 1 shows the scope of possible paths to be taken from a certain situation, in figure 2 possible paths are depicted in the arrows A and B, and in the arrows in each circle (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981). In addition to people's daily and life course paths, which encompass their mobility, people's surroundings are mobile (Dijst 2014). At a daily level, people's surroundings may, for example, be mobile in that they are a flux of other people, cars, and other transport modes. At a life course level people's surroundings may, for example, be mobile as neighbourhoods' population compositions and built environments change.

Time geography maintains that capability, coupling and authority constraints affect people's route choice. Capability constraints concern people’s abilities. For example, people need to sleep regularly, which limits their daily activity span to approximately sixteen hours. Capability constraints may be biological, mental and instrumental. Coupling constraints are limitations due to the need of people and objects to come together for certain activities, such as a meeting. Authority constraints are externally imposed limitations, such as social rules, laws, and financial barriers (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981). These three constraints are rather instrumental, while

'… daily paths are not only associated with functional activities and spatio-temporal constraints but with emotional experiences as well.' (McQuoid & Dijst 2012: pp. 33). These emotional experiences may encompass embodied and psychological experiences. With the inclusion of emotional experiences in time-geography, people's experiences of encounters with difference can be studied. With the notions of paths and spatio-temporal situations these encounters can be identified in space and time. These notions can also be used to study people's experiences of encounters in relation to their life course and daily paths.

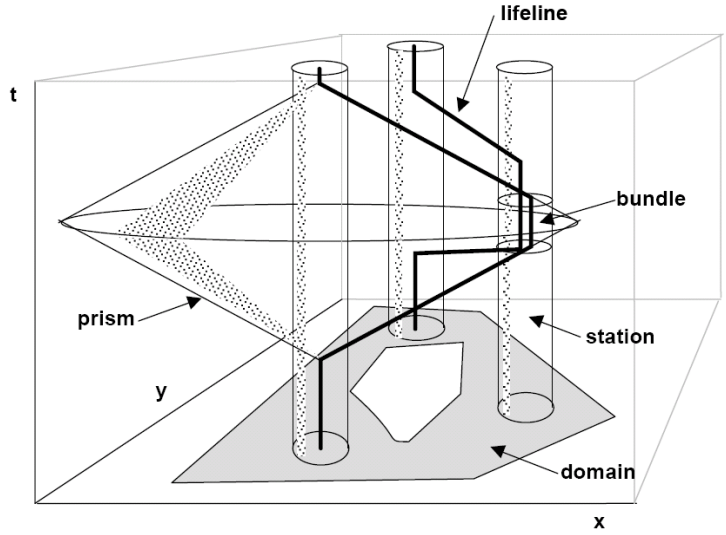


Figure 1:a time geographical diagram. The t-axis represents time, the x- and y-axes represent space. Bold lifelines are space-time paths. The prism is the range of possible paths, accessible from a specific moment in time and space. The domain is the territory covered by the space-time paths. A station is a location where people spend an extended amount of time (such as their home and work), and from where they undertake new activities. The bundle shows the coming together of space-time paths, where people come across each other. Source: http://carlhaggerty.wordpress.com/2009/08/18/time-geography-social-media-and-social-exclusion/ 03-06-2014

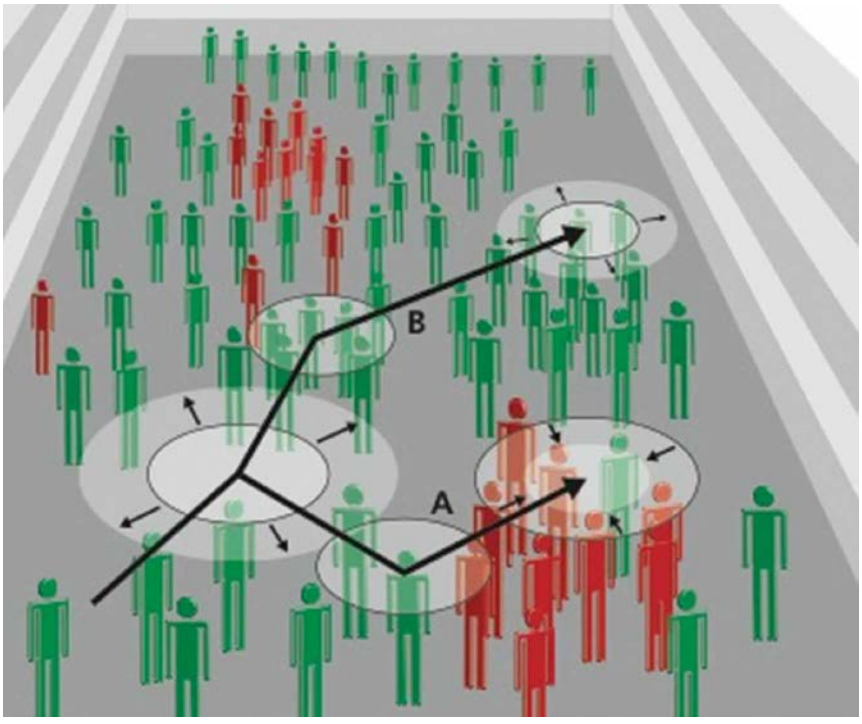


Figure 2: a time-geographical diagram. Source: Dijst, M. (2014), *Social connectedness: a growing challenge for sustainable cities,* Asian Geographer, DOI: 10.1080/10225706.2014.942947

Structuration

Time geography can be used to study the relation between the individual and society, between everyday activities and structure (Dyck and Kearns 2006; Giddens 1984; Pred 1981). This relation is topical in structuration theory. The notion of the duality of stucture is essential to structuration theory. The duality of structure holds that

> *'The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. ..., the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize.'* (Giddens 1984: p. 25)

Thus, societal structure is produced and reproduced in people's everyday activities as these activities are recursively enacted by human agents across space and time. Simultaneously, everyday activities are informed by societal structure because they are enacted by human agents who are socialized into societal structure. The interrelation of societal structure and the daily activities of human agents is structuration (Dyck and Kearns 2006; Giddens 1984; Pred 1981). By taking up time geography to study people's experiences of everyday encounters with difference, this study scrutinizes the structuration hyper-diversified and post-modern societal structure.

Phenomenology and Symbolic interactionism

To understand people's experiences of everyday encounters with difference a phenomenologocial (Dilthey 1985; Husserl 1931) and symbolic interactionist (Blumer 1969) approach is adopted. Phenomenology holds that reality is not external to human experience, but exists within human perception. That is, people actively constitute reality by attributing meaning to reality. Therefore, phenomena have to be studied in the unique ways they are perceived by people (Husserl 1931). To this aim, Dilthey (1985) coined the concept lived experience. Lived experience is people’s direct and situational subjective emotional and embodied experience of their direct surroundings, which precedes contemplation and interpretation. Thus, lived experience is perceptual (Dilthey 1985; Merleau-Ponty 1962). However, people's lived experiences are not isolated within the direct surroundings in which they occur and to which they apply. Rather, people's lived experiences are informed by their backgrounds and their social, cultural, economic, political and spatial contexts (Van Manen 1990). Thus, this study investigates people's lived experiences of encounters. These lived experiences come about in relation to the people and objects present during an encounter. Symbolic interactionism holds that people attribute meaning to the people, places and objects they encounter, during their interaction with these entities. This attribution of meaning occurs through a situational interpretative process. Thus, people make sense of their surroundings through an interactional meaning making process and act on the meanings they attribute to particular situations (Blumer 1969). Thus, people's lived experiences are relational and interactional processes. During encounters with difference people's lived experiences concern people of similar to and different backgrounds from themselves. Therefore, people's experiences of everyday encounters with difference are expected to be characterised by processes of differentiation and othering.

Differentiation and othering

European societies diversified with decolonisation into multicultural societies with large immigrant groups, in addition to prior existing diversity, such as religious diversification (Vertovec 2007). For example, Dutch society attracted Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, in addition to existing Protestant and Catholic stratification. Since the 1990s

countries have attracted an increasing number of migrants from an increasing number of countries, migrants with an increasing variety in socio-economic circumstances and legal statuses. Thus, societies have become super-diverse (Vertovec 2007). Moreover, societies have also diversified through individualization, and the pluralisation of individuals. Western societies have seen

> *'... a disintegration of previously existing social forms ...'* (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: p. 2)

These are social forms such as the nuclear family and traditional gender roles. With this disintegration individual identities are no longer a given, for example by church membership, but are agentively constituted as people are free to choose with whom and what they identify, or associate and dissociate with. This agentive building of one's own identity, or '*do-it-yourself biography'* (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: p. 3) has led to a diversification of individual identities, and to a pluralisation of individual identities as people can, for example, have simultaneous ethnic, subcultural and local identities. Moreover, this diversification and pluralisation is increasingly dynamic because people can change their identities, and because groups of people, such as subcultures, can change in their composition and characteristics. Societal diversification, pluralisation and increasing dynamism are characteristic of contemporary Western societies (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Thus, societies are socio-culturally and socio-economically diverse, but also diverse in terms of individual and group lifestyles, attitudes and activities; societies are hyper-diverse (Tasan-Kok 2013). In order to make sense of their hyper-diverse society, people need to differentiate others in relation to their sense(s) of Self.

Social and cultural groups, such as ethnic groups are constituted by their boundaries with other groups as relations and differences between groups determine their uniqueness (Barth 1969). Therefore, socio-cultural diversity, and experiencing diversity, involves a process of relational differentiation rather than a patchwork of socio-cultural characteristics. Individuals experience each other similarly: people designate who is similar or dissimilar to themselves by perceiving differences in between themselves and others. People relate themselves to others by recounting encounters with difference that help to attribute meaning to the relation between Self and other, during a situation:

> *'… each encounter reopens past encounters.'* (Ahmed 2000: pp. 8).

These encounters can be discursive, such as the portrayal of ethnic minorities in media, and face-to-face. Discursive constructions are constituted of societal historicity, such as historical power relations between minority and majority groups, and personal historicity, such as people's experiences with difference during their life course paths. People reopen discursive constructions during situational encounters with difference to make sense of these encounters (Ahmed 2000).

In this relational process a dialectic between Self and others is prominent. In this dialectic people and objects may be designated as similar others, such as people with the same ethnicity, or dissimilar Others, such as people with a different ethnicity. This dialectic was famously identified by Said (1978) in *Orientalism*. Said argued that the West is represented in public discourses, such as film, as normative and Self, whereas the Orient is represented as divergent and Other. This representation legitimises Western economic, military and cultural superiority. As such, differentiating between Self and Others is not a neutral process, but implies power relations. In multicultural societies this dialectic between Self and Others designate White skinned people as normative and Self, while Others are designated as dangerous non-Whites unassimilable in White majority culture. This dialectic

> *'... has no ontological basis but is the tortured result of splintered fantasies projected onto an imaginary Other. The idea of race as a fiction is deeply rooted in white anxieties in which 'seeing' difference is ultimately the means of* making difference.*'* (Nayak 2007: p.748)

The dialectic between White Self and non-White Other is to a large extent internalized by Black, and by extension to non-White people. This socializes them with notions of inferiority (Fanon 1952; Nayak 2007). For example, when Black people do not speak a White language perfectly, they are deemed unintelligent by Whites. However, when Black people learn this language perfectly, they assimilate a language that frames themselves as racially inferior because the language is construed with racialized representations of Otherness (Fanon 1952). Furthermore, the dialectic between Self and Others is crucial to notions of citizenship and *'imagined community'* (Anderson 1983). As colonial power relations and discourse designate non-Whites as inferior to Whites, citizenship of Western nations is constructed through notions of Whites as, amongst others, consumerist, middle class and modern (Nayak 2007). Nevertheless, people do not only differentiate Whites from non-Whites, but also differentiate others from each other (Ahmed 2000). Therefore, experiences diversity is an ongoing inter-subjective and situational negotiation of Self and others in which differentiation between similar others and dissimilar Others is prominent and informed by other encounters and historicities (Ahmed 2000) characterised by colonial discourses of White Self and non-White Otherness (Fanon 1952; Nayak 2007; Said 1978)

Differentiating between Self and others is an embodied process:

> *'…, bodies materialise in a complex set of temporal and spatial relations to other bodies, including bodies that are recognized as familiar, familial and friendly, and those that are considered strange.'* (Ahmed 2000: pp. 40)

Recognizing other bodies is a process of evaluating bodies as historically inscribed with meanings. Bodies are inscribed by historical regulatory regimes, such as colonialism. Thus, bodies are internalized societal norms and discourses, and representations thereof (Butler 1989; Foucault 1976). People make these representations in relation to other people's bodies; people's embodied understanding of each other is intercorporeal. Intercorporeality means that people's lived experience of their bodies is only possible in relation to other 'not me' bodies, which implicitly involves differentiation between Self and others (Ahmed 2000; Merleau-Ponty 1962). During corporeal co-presence, people recognize each other's bodies as historically inscribed. For example, during an encounter of White-Dutch and a Black Surinamese-Dutch, White-Dutch may recognize Blackness, which is inscribed as inferior to Whiteness by historical regulatory regimes of colonialism and slavery. Thus, White-Dutch recognise and classify White-Dutch as Self, and Black Surinamese-Dutch as Others:

> *'… familiar bodies can be incorporated through a sense of community -being together as like bodies- while strange bodies are expelled …'* (Ahmed 2000: p. 50).

This process of association and dissociation occurs as people assess each other's bodily and non-bodily features, such as skin tones, clothing, language and behaviours (Ahmed 2000; Heringa, Bolt, Dijst, forthcoming). People also assess objects in their surroundings. These objects come to signify, for example, cultures. For example a store sign saying 'Kebab' may signify Turkish culture. Thus, objects are assessed in a similar vein as people, that is, through relational understandings of personal and societal historicity, and of the situation in which they are embedded. As such, dynamic networks of understanding diversity are formed, in which

> *'… the various components of the network continually negotiate with one another, forming variable and revisable coalitions, and assuming ever-changing shapes so that no clear centre emerges.'* (Murdoch 2006: p. 79).

In such a networked process of association and dissociation it is unclear what real-life encounters affect people's perceptions of each other. Such real-life encounters are meaningful encounters as they affect people's understanding of and attitude to difference (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). Some studies argue that fleeting encounters are meaningful encounters because multicultural propinquity increases tolerance (e.g. Barnett 2005; Bell 2007; Laurier and Philo 2006; Neal et al. 2013; Wessendorf 2013). Other studies argue that multicultural proximity does not increase tolerance because people may display tolerance in public while their understandings of and attitudes to Others remain prejudiced. These studies maintain that people's understandings of and attitudes to difference derive from habituation and the development of morale, throughout their life courses. Thus, people's upbringing and other formative events are more important to their perception of difference than their encounters with difference (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013).

Nevertheless, although propinquity alone may not affect people's perceptions and prejudice, propinquity can, at least potentially, affect people's understandings and attitudes. Wilson (2011) investigated everyday encounters during bus travels and concluded that these encounters

> *'... inform, and be further inflected by, wider processes of differentiation and exclusion.'* (p. 646)

and,

> *'From such moments of encounter, new modes of living with difference might emerge and be demanded, yet may also be concurrently challenged, undermined, or called to account.'* (p. 646)

According to Wilson (2011), everyday encounters can result both in the persistence of prejudice and the increase of tolerance. What result comes about depends on the specifics of an encounter; on people's experiences and negotiations of difference. However, it remains unclear what dynamics occur during encounters to affect people's perceptions, and if dynamics are particular to encounters or if they show generalities. To understand people's experiences of and negotiations during encounters, their senses of belongingness during these encounters might be revealing. Furthermore, people's senses of belongingness might indicate whether their understandings of and attitudes to difference are affected beyond specific encounters.

Belongingness

Belongingness is a sense of connectedness between self and world, between self and others, and self and place, essential to human life and experience. This connectedness is an intertwined cognitive, emotional, embodied and performed experience. A sense of belongingness is characterised by a comprehension of self and world, and by senses of familiarity, similarity, comfort and significance (e.g. Dijst 2014; Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming; Heinze 2009; Lindemann 2009; Mishara 2009; Ratcliffe 2009; Yuval-Davis 2006). A sense of familiarity and similarity means people are among people and objects they perceive as familiar and similar. Comfort means being at ease. Significance means having a sense of goal or direction and of being important to others (Baumeister & Leary 1995; Lambert et al. 2013). These feelings are embodied: they are experienced through, for example, a low heart rate or relaxed posture. Experiencing little belongingness means not comprehending the relation between self and world, and feeling stress and anxiety. For example, schizophrenics, who experience a sense of disconnectedness, cannot distinguish

their own thoughts and feelings from the world, but impose these on the outer world. Thus, they think and feel they are not in and of the world (Mishara 2009). This experience of belongingness is embodied in that people may feel a disconnectedness between their sensual impressions and cognitive and emotive sense of reality. For example, someone may experience his or her own body as somewhat unreal, as a component external to him or herself, when touching it with his or her fingers (Fuchs 2005). Performing belongingness means that people act on their sense of belongingness. This act is part of the experience itself (Dijst & Gimmler, forthcoming; Fuchs 2005; Ratcliffe 2009; Yuval-Davis 2006). For example, people may converse with others because they feel connected to these others and simultaneously gain a sense of connectedness through the acts of talking and listening.

People's experiences of belongingness come about through their eccentric positionality. People's eccentric positionality is the unique human capability to shift their perspective between themselves as self and themselves as externally perceived. For example, when conversing with others, people may enjoy the conversation and company. They experience the conversation from their own perspective. Simultaneously, people may assess how they are perceived by others by imaginatively stepping into their shoes. They perceive themselves as if being external to themselves (Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming; Fischer 2009; Fuchs 2005; Heinze 2009; Mishara 2009; Lindemann 2009; Ratcliffe 2009). Shifts between an internal and external positionality, and corresponding senses of Self and others, are an intercorporeal experience. Merleau-Ponty asserts

> *'The handshake too is reversible; I can feel myself touched as well and at the same time as touching.'* (In Ahmed 2000: p. 47).

In this handshake the senses of touching and being touched are simultaneous internal and external positionalities through which a differentiation between Self and others occurs. Thus, people's eccentric positionality allows for and is differentiation between Self and others, which makes senses of belongingness interrelated with processes of differentiation. An example of experiencing belongingness might be a single parent among married couples with children. The parent feels dissimilar as he or she imagines he or she is perceived as such by others (external perspective) and feels uncomfortable (internal perspective). These are emotions. Simultaneously, the parent is reminded of being single, which is cognition, and may act by avoiding others or by hiding his/her feelings and thoughts, which is performance. Nevertheless, shared parenthood provides a sense of familiarity (emotion) and understanding of other parent's experiences (cognition), and allows the parent to talk about the challenges of being a parent (performance).

Because of their eccentric positionality people can assess how their behaviour is perceived by others, and change their behaviour according to how they want to be perceived or choose to act according to their internal perspective. This allows people to try to find a balance between their internal and external positionalities, and thus acquire a sense of belongingness. People can do this during encounters with difference through their differentiation and negotiation of Self and others; people can manage senses of belongingness during encounters. People use two types of strategies to seek belongingness during encounters. First, they may position themselves. Positioning means selecting times and places where one is among familiarity or similarity (Dijst 2014; Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming). People can position themselves to avoid encounters with difference or position themselves within an encounter. For example, Turkish-Dutch may shop in a Turkish grocery store and avoid Dutch supermarkets, or may shop with other Turks in a Dutch supermarket. Second, people may set boundaries. Boundary setting means setting up zones in which people assemble familiarities and similarities, and exclude unfamiliarity and dissimilarity (Dijst 2014; Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming; McQuoid

& Dijst 2012). For example, people in public transport may set up a boundary by avoiding eye contact with others and by being absorbed in thought. Another tactic is focussing on familiarities and similarities. People can focus on other people and objects thought of as familiar or similar, or on personal objects, such as phones. Maintaining public civility can also serve as a boundary-setting tactic: public civility is a familiar way of behaviour that avoids intensive contact with otherness. This *'civil inattention'* (Goffman 1963) is a way in which people can co-exist in close proximity, in public spaces, without engaging or imposing others.

By positioning and setting boundaries, people create a relative and relational closeness of familiarity, comfort, and other aspects of belongingness. Harvey (2007) distinguishes three types of space. Absolute space is absolute, immobile and measurable Eucledian space. Relative space means that space differs with different perspectives and times. For example, different transport modes lead to different travel times, and thereby to different experiences of space. Relational space means that objects and people stand in relation to each other, and these relations determine the meaning of a space (Harvey 2007). For example, train travellers may minimize their relations to each other and to the train coach by using their phones to browse the web, which makes their relational space of Self and web more important to their experience than their absolute and relative surroundings. When people position themselves, unfamiliarities and dissimilarities may be proximate in an absolute sense, but their distance becomes relatively large. When people set boundaries, they relate to familiarities and similarities. Through positioning and boundary setting, *'affective atmospheres'* (Bissel 2010) may come into being. Affective atmospheres are

> *'... configurations of objects, technologies, and bodies come together to form different experiences of 'being with', ... '* (Bissel 2010: p. 272)

As people move into, construe and constitute such experiences

> *'..., dispositions become fostered and bodies become primed to act in different ways.'* (Bissel 2010: p. 284)

Thus, people may in some situations constitute affective atmospheres in between each other, and hence experience belongingness. Furthermore, once an affective atmosphere is constituted in a situation this atmosphere influence people's actions within that situation, which strengthens and reproduces the atmosphere and people's according senses of belongingness.

In managing their senses of belongingness people can relate to different kinds of familiarities and similarities because their sense of belongingness is dispersed and flexible. Dispersion means that people may experience multiple belongings, such as belonging with close friends (Baumeister & Leary 1995), the national community (Yuval-Davis 2006, 2007), and the local, regional and national environment (Gustafson 2009). Such belongings influence the experience of another. For example, in a group of friends sharing certain political ideas senses of belonging with friends and national belonging intertwine and enforce each other. People's sense of belongingness is also flexible: it can differ between situations, changes over a longer period, and can be partially deliberately chosen. This choice means that people, for example, can elect to belong to a place to which they just moved, without having a history with this place (Savage et al 2005). An example of the dispersion and flexibility of belongings could be someone with belongings with his occupation, hobby, and place of residence. This person experiences belongingness with his occupation at work, with his hobby while practicing his hobby, and with his place of residence while walking through his neighbourhood. When this person would, for example move to another place of residence to start a family he may elect to belonging to his new place of residence, which would

intertwine with his belongingness with his family and changes his belongingness to his previous place of residence.

Belongingness has social and geographic dimensions. Social belonging is a sense of connectedness to others, such as belonging with a few significant contacts (Baumeister & Leary 1995), a small community such as the school community (Osterman 2000), or a socio-cultural group such as an ethnic community (Yuval Davis 2006; 2007). Geographic belonging is a sense of connectedness to locations. For example, people feel belonging to their residential neighbourhood (Den Besten 2010; Blokland & Nast 2014), and their regional, national or international areas (Gustafson 2009). Social and geographic belonging are interconnected. For example, people simultaneously feel belonging with their socially mixed neighbourhood and their co-residents. This interconnection between belonging to a local place and local community can be termed public familiarity, which means that people recognise strangers and feel recognised by strangers at a certain location. Such recognition is

> *'... a social space constructed in physical space through interactions in which w take part and those which we observe.'* (Blokland and Nast 2014: p.1148)

When people feel public familiarity they feel comfortable as they feel connected to others and to their surroundings (Blokland & Nast 2014). Thus, public familiarity is a sense of belongingness.

The dispersion and flexibility of people's senses of belongingness implies that belongingness is spatiotemporally scaled. For example, feeling belongingness with the national community concerns a large geographical scale across a long period of time, whilst feeling belongingness during an encounter concerns a situational sense of belongingness. The dispersion and flexibility of people's senses of belongingness seems emblematic of hyper diversity. People actively and agentively constitute and transform their plural identity (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Guignon 2004), and thereby choose and transform their senses of belongingness. Different scales of belongingness may overlap and influence each other as they interconnect. For example, people, places and objects represented as normative and Self are represented as belonging to the public sphere, while Others are not (Valentine & Waithe 2012). Thus, everyday encounters interrelate to higher spatiotemporal scales of belongingness, such as national belongingness, because they affect and are affected by wider processes of differentiation and exclusion (Wilson 2011). These wider processes are characterised by White normativity and hegemony. Whiteness is imagined as defining national identity and community because Whites are constructed as indigenous, and non-Whites are constructed as non-natives (Nayak 2007). Furthermore, Whites are constructed as tolerating non-native non-Whites into their society, which makes multiculturalism a power-relationship (Hage 1998). Such processes of differentiation and exclusion play out during encounters as bodies similar to the White Self are perceived as assimilable into the (national) imagined community, and Other bodies as unassimilable (Ahmed 2000; Wilson 2011). This interrelation between everyday encounters and national belongingness means that senses of belongingness during encounters may hold implications for national cohesion. If people share senses of belongingness, concerns about decreasing cohesion may be unfounded or unimportant, while disparate senses and levels of belongingness may affirm these concerns. Because of such interrelations, people's senses of belongingness during encounters may hold implications for policies that aim to advance cohesion.

Mixing and gentrification

Hyper-diversity is related to concerns of decreasing cohesion. Cohesion can be understood as that what holds society together, in which solidarity, communal norms and values, social control, social networks, a sense of belonging through common identity, and attachment to the neighbourhood binding elements (Bolt & Van Kempen 2009, 2012; Bolt, Van Kempen & Phillips 2010; Kearns & Forrest 2000). Cohesion can be also be understood as sufficient bridging and bonding ties within society. Bridging ties are ties between people with different backgrounds, such as White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch. Bonding ties are ties connecting people of similar backgrounds, such as people of the same religious group (Putnam 2000). Hyper-diversity can be perceived as decreasing the binding elements, such as communal norms and values, between people, or as decreasing the number of bridging ties between people. These decreases occur as non-White migrants are perceived to be incursive to national citizenship and community, in which notions of Whiteness are central (Hage 1998; Nayak 2007).

In the Netherlands and many other European countries concerns about decreasing cohesion are met with housing policies. These policies aim to desegregate ethnic minorities through the introduction of mixed housing tenure, which is assumed to attract indigenous (White) middle class people into neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations. Such mixing policies are assumed to increase contact between groups of people with different backgrounds, which would better the life chances of impoverished ethnic minorities and advance their integration into the host society, and advance social cohesion (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt 2009; Vervoort, Flap & Dagevos 2011). Mixing policies and their aims have gained impetus with anxieties of Muslims and terrorism (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen 2010). With government support for a middle class influx into lower class neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations, gentrification ensues. Furthermore, gentrification has been issued as a governmental strategy in the Netherlands since the 1990s for similar aims as mixing policies (Ernst & Doucet 2014; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans 2007).

Middle class people moving into neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations tend to have cosmopolitan characteristics. Living in the city has become part of middle class habitus and distinction (Boterman 2012). Part of this distinctiveness is seeking multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism (Boterman 2012; Butler 1997), in which a display of tolerance and open-mindedness is important (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Boterman 2012). Gentrification also brings cosmopolitan consumption practices to neighbourhoods. With gentrification, cafés and shops that cater for middle class consumption are often established (Ernst & Doucet 2014). These middle class establishments are characterised by offering notions of authenticity and distinctiveness, for example through the consumption of vintage clothing (Kosta & Zukin 2004). Therefore, neighbourhoods that are subject to mixing policies and state led gentrification will increasingly stage everyday encounters between and in between predominantly White cosmopolitans and ethnic minorities. However, many studies show that mixing policies do not achieve their aims of bettering life chances of ethnic minorities, integrating minorities into the host society, and advancing cohesion. These aims are not achieved because, amongst others, contact between ethnic minorities and middle class people does not increase as middle class and lower class ethnic minority residents live parallel lives (Van Kempen & Bolt 2009; Butler & Robson 2001; Vervoort, Flap & Dagevos 2011). Consequently, spatial proximity of gentrifiers and ethnic minorities, or multicultural propinquity, does not seem to increase tolerance and social cohesion (Valentine 2008;

Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). However, everyday encounters may have effects on people's perceptions of each other (Wilson 2011), and experiences of encounters affect people's experiences of their daily lives, which interrelate with people's life courses (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981).

Conclusions

Throughout their daily and life course paths people negotiate senses of Self and others, which are informed by discourses and historicities of White normativity and superiority, whereby Whites are constructed as Self, and non-White deviance and inferiority, whereby non-Whites are constructed as Other. Such processes of differentiation and othering probably become paramount in hyper-diverse society where diversity is related to decreasing cohesion. These concerns of decreasing cohesion are met with housing mixing policies, which attract White middle class people, often cosmopolitans, into labour class neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations. However, because the relations between living with difference and cohesion are unclear, it remains unclear whether mixing policies actually increase cohesion. To understand how living with difference relates to cohesion, and how mixing policies may affect cohesion, people's perceptions of everyday difference must be studied.

People's perceptions of everyday difference are negotiations of Self and others through which they acquire senses of belongingness in relation to difference. Senses of belongingness are senses of connectedness between Self and world characterised by comfort versus stress and anxiety. The process of negotiating senses of Self and others and of senses of belongingness during encounters is depicted in Figure 3. Negotiations of Self and others, and senses of belongingness, come about through interrelational daily and life course paths. These paths are interrelated in that people's life course paths are the sum of their daily paths, and people's daily paths are informed by their life course paths. Because people's understandings of and attitudes to difference come about through this interrelation, it is probable that people's exposure to difference affects their experiences of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference. Furthermore, it can be assumed that people who are exposed to difference, throughout their life courses, have different experiences of encounters than people who have been exposed to homogeneity. In addition to exposure to difference, people are exposed to different surroundings throughout their life courses and may develop senses of connectedness to their surroundings. When encounters occur in these surroundings, these encounters are affected by these senses of connectedness. During people's daily paths the times and places at which encounters occur, and the situations preceding and following an encounter, may affect their senses of belongingness during that encounter. People can manage their senses of belongingness by positioning themselves and by setting boundaries. Thus, positioning and boundary setting are strategies to manage encounters. To further understand how people's daily and life course paths relate to their understanding of and attitude to difference, and to inquire into the relation between everyday multiculturalism and cohesion in hyper-diverse society, in the context of mixing policies, this study investigates people's daily and life course paths, and their senses of belongingness during encounter with difference.

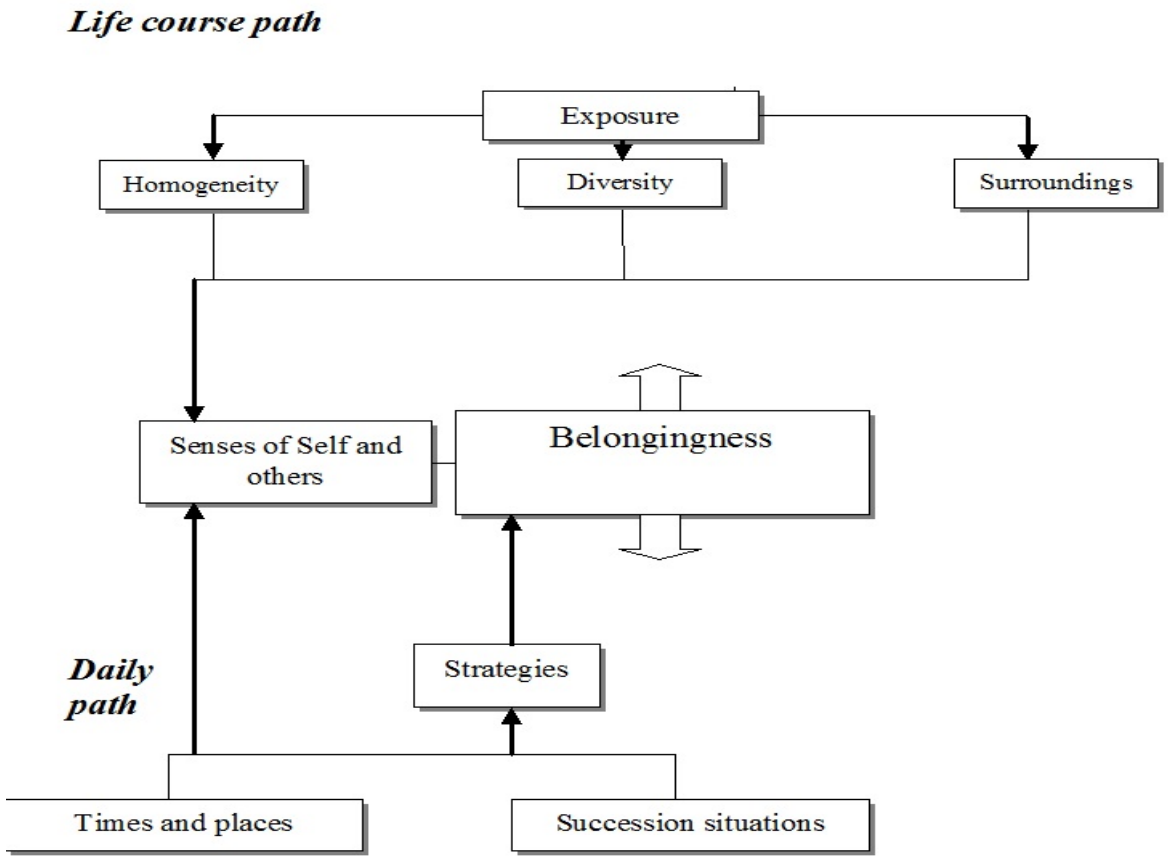


Figure 3: conceptual model

Methodology

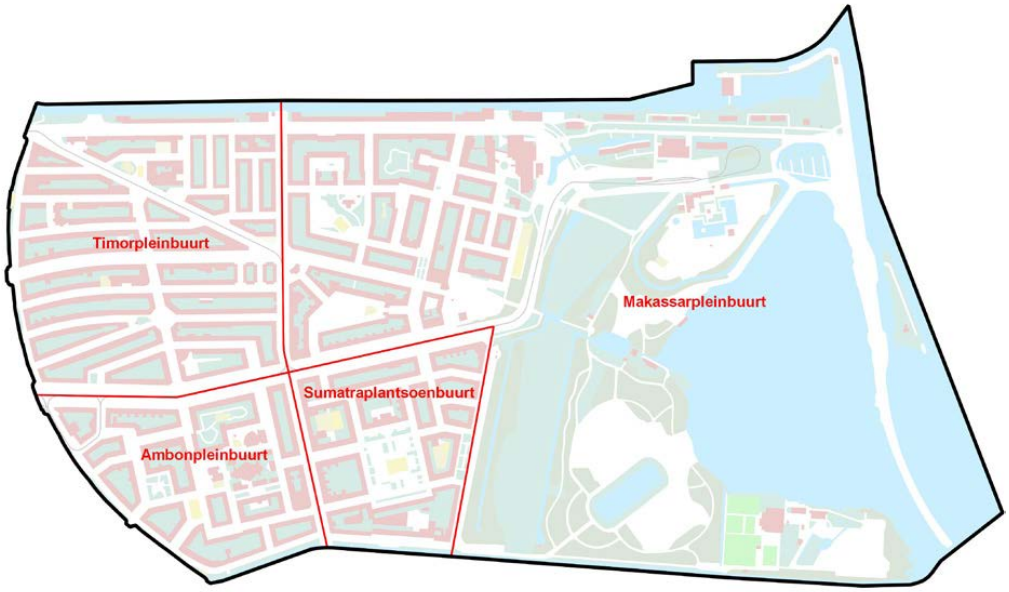
This chapter discusses what methods were used and how they were analysed to investigate relations between people's daily and life course paths and their experiences of belongingness during encounters with difference. A description of the neighbourhood from which respondents were selected is provided, followed by a discussion of respondent recruitment. Then, this study's methods, namely travel diaries and semi-structured interviews, are reviewed, followed by an overview of how the collected data were analysed. Finally, some reflections on this study's methods are given.

Case selection

To ensure that people's experiences of encounters were not influenced by too different living environments, and to allow for a comparison between people's experiences of encounters in their living environment, this study selected respondents from the Indische Buurt (IB), a residential neighbourhood in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The IB is situated in Amsterdam East, near the city centre (map 1). The neighbourhood is predominantly residential, and has some offices and businesses. Most businesses are in the hospitality business and retail. These kinds of businesses are concentrated in Javastraat, a shopping street that serves as the IB's main artery. The IB contains a sizeable park at its edge, and is somewhat set apart from the surrounding city by a canal and railway lines. A minor train station, the Muiderpoortstation is situated within the neighbourhood.

The IB is split up in four administrative districts (map 2). These districts have distinctive qualities. The Timorpleinbuurt was first built in the early 20th century. This part is characterised by narrow streets, small plots, and little greenery (Metaal, Reijendorp, Teijmant 2009). The Timorpleinbuurt contains most owner occupied and private rental housing of all four districts, and the least amount of unemployment and of households with minimum incomes (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014). The Javastraat is situated within the Timorpleinbuurt. The businesses in Javastraat reflect the IB's diversity: there are Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch owned grocery stores, Surinamese-Dutch eateries and relatively new gentrifier establishments, such as cafés and a barber-art gallery. Thus, gentrification is more evident and widespread in the Timorpleinbuurt than in the other districts. Accordingly, in 2011, 40% of the Timorpleinbuurt residents were middle class gentrifiers (Doucet & Ernst 2014). The Makassarpleinbuurt, Sumatraplantsoenbuurt and Ambonpleinbuurt were built later than the Timorpleinbuurt. These three districts have, compared to the Timorpleinbuurt, wider streets, squares, and communal gardens. During the 1980s and 1990s the Makassarpleinbuurt, Sumatraplantsoenbuurt and Ambonpleinbuurt have seen urban renewal, during which much social housing was built (Metaal, Reijendorp, Teijmant 2009). The share of owner occupied and private rental housing is smaller in the Makassarpleinbuurt, Sumatraplantsoenbuurt and Ambonpleinbuurt than in the Timorpleinbuurt. Accordingly, these three districts have higher rates of unemployment and higher shares of households with a minimum income (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014).

Map 1: the Indische Buurt within Amsterdam (www.cbs.nl)



Map 2: the Indische Buurt and its administrative districts (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014).

Since 2002 the municipality of Amsterdam, the national government and local housing corporations have implemented an urban renewal program in the IB. This program initially focused on the Timorpleinbuurt. With the urban renewal program much public space in the neighbourhood was refurbished, and the tenure changed in favour of owner occupied and private rental housing. Still, 65% of the housing stock in the IB is social housing, against 46% in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014). Since the implementation of the urban renewal program real estate values in the IB have risen while the number of owner occupied and private rental dwellings have increased (appendix 1, table 1 and 2). Simultaneously, many businesses catering for the middle class have been established. These businesses are gentrifier establishments, such as coffee bistros, and are concentrated in the Timorpleinbuurt (Ernst & Doucet 2014). Therefore, the urban renewal program advanced gentrification, which is more state-led in the Netherlands than in many other countries (Ernst & Doucet 2014; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans 2007).

With gentrification, the population composition of the IB changed as White middle class people increasingly found their way into the neighbourhood. In 2014, 52,4% of the population in the IB was of non-Western ethnic backgrounds. Within this classification, the largest group is Moroccan-Dutch, followed by substantial Turkish-Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch groups. Almost 13% of the population consists of Western migrants. The remaining

Photo 1: A grocery stpore in Javastraat

Photo 2: Part of the Javastraat from above

Photo 3: A coffee bistro in the IB

Photo 4: The Javaplein was one of the first locations to have been refurbished as part of the urban renewal program

residents are native White-Dutch (Appendix 1, table 3; Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014). Of these Western migrants and White-Dutch, a large part are *nieuwe stedelingen*, people younger than 55 who moved into Amsterdam after their 18th (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014). These *nieuwe stedelingen* are most likely gentrifiers. Nevertheless, the shares of unemployed people and people with minimum incomes in the IB are high compared to Amsterdam's average. The ethnic and class diversity of the IB means that residents of the neighbourhood have everyday encounters with difference. In addition, the state-led gentrification in the neighbourhood enabled this study some reflection on mixing policies and gentrification.

Photo 5: a1980s or 1990s social housing block. After renovation much social housing becomes owner occupied

Sampling

Photo 6: a neighbourhood summer festival

Thirteen (*N=13*) residents of the IB were selected. These residents are middle class young adults, aged twenty to thirty-four. This study selected middle class residents because the attraction of middle class people into lower class neighbourhoods with ethnic minority concentrations is thought to advance cohesion (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt 2009; Vervoort, Flap & Dagevos 2011). This makes middle class experiences of diversity relevant to mixing policies. This study defined middle class people as people with a higher education. Usually, the middle class is defined by its income, occupational status, and educational level (VROM 2007). However, using income and occupational status as defining criteria would exclude students, while students are a substantial group in the IB (Ernst & Doucet 2014). These students are probably a large proportion of the IB's many *nieuwe stedelingen* (Gemeente Amsterdam, Oost 2014). Furthermore, students in higher education probably have middle class dispositions and tastes. Therefore, being graduated from or partaking in a Bachelors or Masters degree in HBO (Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs, an educational level designated for applied sciences and vocational training) or WO (university education) was used as sampling criterion.

Young adults were selected because they represent the largest age group in the IB and Amsterdam (Ernst 2011), and because most middle class people in the Indische Buurt are young adults (Ernst 2011; Ernst &Doucet 2014). Respondents were selected using door-to-door and snowball sampling. Randomly distributed addresses throughout the IB were visited

to find respondents. In addition, respondents were asked if they had personal acquaintances in the IB who might be willing to participate in the study. To ensure the sample would not consist of people with the same social networks, no more than two respondents, who were recommended by two different respondents, were selected using snowball sampling. In addition to being higher educated and being a young adult, this study aimed for a sample with both White and non-White people. Whites are taken to be Caucasians, people with a White skin tone, non-Whites are taken to be non-Caucasian ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. A brief characterization of this study's respondents is depicted in table 1.

Name respondent	**Place of birth**	**Ethnicity**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Education-ocupation**
Lara	White-Dutch neighbourhood in Eindhoven	White-Dutch	29	Female	Art History (WO) - employed at art lending office
Lorenco	White-Portuguese neighbourhood in Porto, Portugal	White-Portuguese	33	Male	Arts, Architecture and Design (University in Portugal) - manager at hotel
Harmen	White-Dutch village in Friesland	White-Dutch	34	Male	Sociology (WO) - journalist
Margriet	White-Dutch labour class neighbourhood in Eindhoven	White-Dutch	30	Female	Anthropology & Psychology (WO) - researcher in healthcrae industries
Madelon	Mixed neighbourhood in Amsterdam	White-Dutch	24	Female	Political science (WO) - student
Sara	Mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht (city)	White-Dutch	20	Female	Anthropology (WO) - student
Clarissa	Mixed neighbourhood in Amsterdam	White-Dutch and White-Irish	30	Female	Journalism, business administration (HBO) - PR manager
Maaike	White-Dutch neighbourhoods in Amsterdam	White-Dutch	24	Female	Nursery (HBO) - student
Lisanne	White-Dutch neighbourhood in The Hague, and White neighbourhoods in Italy and Finalnd	White-Dutch	29	Female	Liberal arts and sciences (WO) - self employed photographer
Gianni	Mixed neighbourhoods in Rotterdam area	White-Dutch	20	Male	Theatre school (HBO) - student
Cecile	IB, Amsterdam	Ghanaian-Dutch	21	Female	Communicative journalism (HBO) - student
Marima	IB, Amsterdam	Moroccan-Dutch and White-Dutch	25	Female	Pedagogy (HBO) - student and works at charitable organisation
Afra	Mixed neighbourhoods in Amsterdam	Moroccan-Dutch	32	Female	HBO - housewife

Table 1: respondent characteristics

Data collection and analysis

Data were collected using travel diaries and semi-structured interviews. These were analysed in NVivo.

Travel Diary
Respondents were given travel diaries that inquired into their daily activities, encounters with difference, and their experiences of and actions during these encounters, for two workdays. These travel diaries were used to get an idea of people's daily routines, and encounters of difference during these routines. For each trip and activity, during the two days they filled in the diary, respondents listed the degree of socio-cultural diversity they experienced, and what, according to them, this diversity consisted of. For the trips and activities during which they encountered diversity, respondents were asked about their emotions during the encounter, the familiarity of the situation in which the encounter took place, and their sense of trustworthiness in their surroundings. Then, respondents were asked whether they avoided people or objects, and how they spent their time, during the encounter. For an example of a travel diary and completed travel diary see appendices 2 and 3. The travel diaries served as input for interviews.

Semi-structured interview
One to two hour semi-structured interviews were conducted with all respondents. The primary topics of these interviews were people's life course in relation to diversity, the encounters with difference they listed in their travel diaries and other encounters the respondents recounted, and their experiences and senses of belongingness during encounters. When respondents found it difficult to reflect on their experiences of encounters, photos of encounters were issued. These photos showed different transport modes, workplaces, the Indische Buurt and other neighbourhoods, and leisure places. Respondents were asked to imagine themselves in the encounter depicted in the photo, and to reflect on that. These photos, and an item list for the interviews, are provided in appendices 4 and 5. All interviews were recorded, and notes were kept during the interviews.

Analysis
Data analysis comprised an iterative process that concerned two phases. First, travel diaries were analysed. People's daily paths were mapped to compare the routes and situations in which people encountered diversity. Then, people's travel diaries were summarized. These maps and summaries were provided during interviews to trigger respondents' reflections on their encounters. Second, the interviews were analysed. After the interviews, a first preliminary analysis was done of interview notes. Then, interviews were fully transcribed. During the transcription of the interviews, notes were kept on important items and themes. Transcriptions were fully coded in NVivo, during which more notes on important items and themes were kept. Important umbrella codes were people's life courses, experiences during encounters, actions during encounters, and the times and places of, and before and after, encounters. The coded interviews were compared to the interview, transcription and coding notes to determine the most relevant and influential themes and items. Each interview was summarized according to these themes and items to comprise an overview of each respondent's daily and life course paths and their experiences of encounters.

Reflections

This study was probably affected by the researcher's identity as a White middle class male and student, and as an *Amsterdammer* (someone born and raised in Amsterdam) passionate and opinionated about living with difference and gentrification. White middle class people might have been more willing to participate in this study than non-Whites people because they may have been comforted by the researcher's similarity to themselves. Although this association with the researcher has not been checked, it may have biased the sample in that the sample is predominantly White. Furthermore, the researcher's Whiteness probably affected the interviews themselves as the interviews with non-White participants seemed, in hindsight, to have started slightly more stiffly than interviews with White participants, as if there was less trust between respondent and researcher. However, when it became apparent to non-White respondents that the researcher was, like them, an *Amsterdammer* who grew up in a similar neighbourhood as the IB, the interviews seemed to become more open, and respondents seemed to become more expressive. Similarly, White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* seemed to become more expressive when they were aware the researcher has a similar background as themselves. A further drawback is that all respondents do studies or have occupations in social sciences and healthcare. Thus, respondents seem socially engaged, which may have made them more willing to participate in social scientific research than people with different educational and occupational backgrounds. Therefore, senses of similarity and familiarity with the researcher seem to have affected the sampling and the interview in that a sense of similarity or familiarity made people willing to participate, and made respondents feel they could express themselves and be understood.

Interviews may have been affected by the researcher in another way. As an *Amsterdammer* from a similar neighbourhood as the IB, the researcher has lived with difference throughout his life course, and has seen his surroundings gentrify. The researcher perceives of living with difference as something very positive, while he depreciates gentrification because he perceives the process as decreasing the ethnic diversity with which he grew up and as changing surroundings in which he feels rooted. These personal feelings and opinions may have been picked up by respondents, and may thereby have affected the interviews. However, from the outset of the research, the research has been conscious of his personal feelings and thoughts, and has been trying to avoid the expression of these feelings and thoughts to respondents.

A final reflection is on the differences in data acquired from travel diaries and interviews. The travel diaries inquired into respondents' experiences of encounters by asking them to indicate some feelings on a five-point scale. During interviews, these emotions were given content in that respondents explained how and why they felt these emotions. For example, the travel diaries indicated whether respondents felt pleasant, and the interviews showed how and why respondents felt pleasant. Sometimes, the travel diaries and interviews showed disparity. For example, some respondents listed they felt pleasant during an encounter, but upon further inquiry during interviews they appeared to feel less pleasant than they listed in the travel diary. When such disparities occurred respondents indicated their reflections during the interviews were more representative and trustworthy of their (lived) experiences than the travel diaries. Thus, in reflection the travel diaries were foremost useful and worthwhile in identifying the times and places at which encounters occurred, and as input for the interviews, while the interviewed captured respondents' experiences of encounters better than the travel diaries.

Life Course Path

This chapter describes respondents' negotiations of Self and others throughout their life courses in relation to their experiences with diversity. In doing so, this chapter explores this thesis' subquestion *What is the relation between people's life courses and their sense of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?* This chapter contains three sections. The first two sections discuss people's life course mobility, of which the first section concerns exposure to homogeneity and the second exposure to diversity. The third section discusses the mobility of people's surroundings. This structure is taken because people's life courses may or may not expose them to diversity, which affects belongingness with diversity, and because the mobility of people's surroundings can necessitate people to renegotiate their senses of belongingness. However, the distinctions between this chapter's sections is analytical as people's life courses, and their resulting experiences with diversity, are individual, or singular. Thus, the themes covered in each section overlap and intersect.

Unfamiliar with difference

People who grew up in a homogeneous environment are scarcely exposed to diversity, which results in little familiarity with difference. This unfamiliarity may render senses of anxiety, stress and discomfort with difference, and decrease people's senses of belongingness with diversity. In addition, unfamiliarity may simplify people's understandings of difference. However, people's personality, morale and world-view influence the effects of growing up in a homogeneous environment. Thus, people who are unfamiliar with difference are not necessarily anxious about diversity and may develop comprehensive understandings of difference. This section is divided in two subsections. First, anxiety about living with difference is discussed. Second, engagement with difference is discussed

Anxiety with difference

Unfamiliarity with difference can engender prejudice. This prejudice often leads people to perceive of others in binary opposition to the Self: differences in between others are hardly distinguished, and others are categorized as similar to Self or as dissimilar to Self, as Other. This Other is thought of as unwelcoming of, and maybe threatening to, the Self. Lara, who grew up in a White-Dutch middle class neighbourhood in Eindhoven describes this process of othering:

> *'In this neighbourhood I focus on the people who look like me. … [These are people who are] White, people who can live in my street, aged about thirty, with a certain income. You see that in their attitude, [that's] something I recognize. That sounds very prejudiced, but that group of well earning people in their thirties, you just see that. … It's nice, such recognition. …You know, in that sense they're the opposite of that. … [And they're] People who don't look like me, different ethnicities, clothing styles, languages, as long as they're not autochtonous. That sounds ridiculous, but hey, that's the way it is. '*

Thus, Lara identifies with well-earning White-Dutch in their thirties, who are yuppies, and dissociates from non-White Dutch, such as Turkish-Dutch or Surinamese-Dutch. This distinction between yuppies and non-White Dutch is characterised by feeling at ease among

yuppies, and feeling anxious about non-White Dutch. Lara explains she already felt anxious about encounters with ethnic Others as a young girl:

> *'..., I regarded those [encounters] as a bit scary, unfamiliar. … I wanted to avoid those kids because I found them rude, like chavs [tokkies]. I didn't feel comfortable with them.'*

Because of her anxiety with difference, Lara feels at ease in homogeneous surroundings:

> *'When I get into the bus or tram, from my home [in Amsterdam], I'm among foreigners. ..., I feel less safe then. In Eindhoven public transport is dominated by elderly autochthon[White] Dutch, among who I feel more safe.'*

Lara relates this sense of safety to a sense of connectedness:

> *'In Eindhoven there's just more of a community sense, more solidarity.'*

Accordingly, Lara experienced a decrease of connectedness when she moved to Amsterdam, several years after she finished her secondary school to study art history and to go and live on her own:

> *'I felt myself disappearing into the mass. I particularly felt that others lived a more exciting life than me. I felt like a province girl, I still have that feeling. … Like everyone understands the world, and I don't.'*

This feeling indicates a sense of little belongingness: Lara feels a disconnected from the world and the people around her. Lara attributes this sense of little belongingness to Amsterdam's diversity:

> *'I think I wasn't used to much when I went to live here [in Amsterdam], everything felt stressed. … [When I started to live here] it felt dominated by Black people, I didn't feel safe at night. Not that anything happened, but because it was unfamiliar.'*

Simultaneously, Lara mentions her excitement about diversity in Amsterdam. However, this exciting diversity concerns non-provincial people who understand the world, and who have different lifestyles. Thus, Lara seems to feel excited about a cosmopolitan kind of diversity while she remains anxious about ethnic differences. Due to this excitement and anxiety Lara seeks similar others and avoids Others. This process of seeking and avoiding consists of setting boundaries to Others and positioning amongst similar others, and is a crucial way in which Lara relates to her surroundings. Thus, she focuses on and associates with White-Dutch yuppies. During this process Lara understands ethnic diversity rather simply: she generalizes all ethnic Others as Black people. Nevertheless, Lara is exposed to diversity and grows familiar with it. This increasing familiarity seems to render senses of belongingness in the IB, and belongingness with diversity; Lara increasingly enjoys living with difference rather than with homogeneity:

> *'I feel as if I'm back in Brabant when I'm at work [a business park close to Amsterdam]. Everything is the same [at work], nothing ever happens, no-one looks different from each other. And here in Amsterdam everything goes. Even though that's tiring sometimes, I'd rather be here [IB] than there [Brabant or at work].'*

That unfamiliarity with difference can lead to simple understandings of diversity and senses of little belongingness with difference is also recognised by people who grew up in heterogeneous surroundings. For example, Sara (White-Dutch student from mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht) reflects how her perception of diversity is different from that of White-Dutch relatives who live in a rural area:

> *'They just don't know ethnic differences. Or differences in clothing styles. With one of my cousins I went clubbing at the Paradiso in Amsterdam. … And she said "Wow*

there's so many different kinds of people here!" And that was just in clothing styles, because everyone was White. So to me that was mundane, boring and all the same.'

Thus, Sara's cousins' understanding of diversity is simple in comparison to hers. According to Sara her rural relatives also feel little belongingness with difference:

'I think they will feel more unsafe [than me] in an ethnically mixed neighbourhood because they're not used to it and only hear in the media what Moroccans are like. They're instantly afraid if they see young Moroccan guys. So they [my family] do that because they're from a village where everyone is White and live the same kinds of lives.'

Thus, people who are unfamiliar with difference seem to be prejudiced toward Others. Marima (White-Dutch mother and Moroccan-Dutch father, from IB) encountered such prejudice when she met a classmate who was unfamiliar with difference::

'A classmate from Zandvoort [a White-Dutch village], like his first experience of me was like "Oh God, not one of these head scarves, again." … He told me that, a year after we met. But he didn't even know anyone else wearing a head scarf!'

Unfamiliarity with difference may be caused by exposure to different homogeneities. For example, Lara was exposed to White-Dutch middle-class homogeneity, while Lorenco (from Porto, Portugal) was exposed to White-Portuguese Catholic homogeneity. Similar to Lara, Lorenco seems anxious about non-White ethnicities in the IB. However, this anxiety seems due to Lorenco's homosexuality rather than his limited exposure to difference. Imaging a situation in which he would be amongst Moroccan-Dutch, Lorenco reflects:

'I'll feel excluded. I'll feel they're talking about me, that they'll make remarks because I'm different from them. Being Muslim they might judge me for being gay.'

Nevertheless, Lorenco enjoys living in Amsterdam, where he moved at the age of twenty-seven to do an internship for his studies of arts, design and architecture. Lorenco never left the city because he enjoys its open-mindedness, which contrasts with the intolerance towards homosexuals in Porto:

'If everything is different [like here in Amsterdam], everybody is doing their thing. Then, nobody cares. To me that's important. I'd never get married if I'd have stayed in Porto. … Amsterdam is a small city, but it's really open minded.'

Thus, Lorenco feels he does not stand out amongst Amsterdam's diversity and open-mindedness, which opposes Porto's homogeneity. However, Lorenco's appreciation of diversity does not apply to ethnic diversity as he is anxious about Moroccan-Dutch. Rather, the diversity Lorenco appreciates consists of people with different lifestyles and nationalities, who he encounters in Amsterdam's city centre and at the hotel he works in. Most of these people are likely White and higher-educated. Thus, Lorenco seems to associate with cosmopolitan diversity to a greater extent than Lara because of his homosexuality. Still, Lorenco's process of avoiding Others and seeking similar others is similar to Lara's relations to her surroundings. People's relations with homogeneity and diversity also relates to their upbringing. For example, Lara mentions:

'My mother was actually quite protective, … Like it was not done to go outside of our street, that was unsafe.'

This upbringing probably increased Lara's anxiety with difference. Thus, exposure to homogeneity intersects with different aspects of people's life courses, such as their sexual orientation and upbringing. This leads people to relate to their homogeneous background, and to diversity, in singular ways.

Engagement with difference

Some people seek ethnic diversity because they feel singular, and feel they stand out amongst their homogeneous backgrounds. Similar to Lorenco, this sense of standing out makes them dissociate from homogeneity, and, unlike Lorenco, associate with ethnic diversity. Margriet's (White-Dutch from White-Dutch labour class family and neighbourhood in Eindhoven), sense of standing out seems rooted in her experience of secondary school. Margriet attended the highest educational level in Dutch secondary schools, which contrasts her labour-class background. This confronted Margriet with elitism:

> *'… [it] was quite an elitist school. …, where kids wore Ralh Lauren and stuff. I didn't have that. … So I came from a different environment. At the beginning I didn't mind that, but later on I did not really connect to classmates because of that'.*

Margriet's lack of connectedness with classmates

> *'…, formed me, [that] feeling that you don't belong completely, that you don't meet certain standards, …'*

Margriet's bisexuality may have furthered Margriet's sense of being different from her classmates. Thus, Margriet felt she stood out in different respects. This sense of standing out probably motivated Margriet to become involved in queer and feminist activism at the end of her secondary school, and made her reject homogeneity:

> *'Sometimes I feel like I can't be free [with homogeneity] because there's a strict norm from which you can't diverge. Then I think "Yuk, does it have to be this way?"'*

Harmen's (White-Dutch from rural White-Dutch village in Friesland) sense of standing out means that

> *'…, I feel more at home with the underdog than with the mainstream.'*

This association with '*the underdog*' appears in Harmen's thesis, for his studies into sociology. Harmen wrote his thesis, entitled '*A World of Differences*', about an asylum centre in a small White-Dutch rural village. Harmen mentions that he chose this topic because of his interest in people with a different cultural and ethnic background than his. This interest also seems to have motivated Harmen's residential mobility: he moved from his village to Groningen, and from Groningen to Amsterdam, increasingly large and diversified cities.

Margriet and Harmen experience belongingness in Amsterdam due to the city's ethnic diversity. Margriet moved to Amsterdam to study anthropology. This move was

> *'… quite a leap to me, coming from Brabant. … [In] Brabant people look more for harmony, here [in Amsterdam] people are more assertive, less focussed on doing everything together, on doing the same things. That's quite liberating.'*

This sense of liberation seems to consist of being and expressing yourself freely, unhampered by strict social norms. Thus, due to this liberation Margriet felt a match with Amsterdam's diversity and her sense of standing out amongst homogeneity. Harmen experiences a similar match. Harmen and his partner

> *'... consciously chose to live here [in the IB] because it's a diverse neighbourhood. … I like that diversity, that you can see different influences and cultures. … and I like getting to know these different influences.'*

Furthermore,

> *'… It's just fun living somewhere where it's not all the same. I also lived in Oud Zuid [a White-Dutch upper class neighbourhood in Amsterdam]. I had a great time there, but I didn't feel at home at all'*

Thus, Harmen experiences a sense of belongingness, felt as feeling at home, with the diversity of the IB. Therefore, Harmen and Margriet experience and represent Amsterdam as a diversified city befitting their sense of Self. This match contributes to their sense of belongingness with ethnic diversity. Aside from people's residential mobility, seeking

diversity may also guide other aspects of people's life course. For example, Harmen works as a journalist for a documentary series on current affairs. For this documentary series Harmen interviews people. Recently he covered an item on Syrian asylum seekers. Such occupations seem to indicate Harmen's willingness to engage other people, and his interest in Others. Margriet's association with diversity is evident in her studies, anthropology, and in her personal acquaintances and activities. Margriet befriended an Uighur gay and volunteers at a Moroccan-Dutch women's association, where she started because of her dalliance with the association's Moroccan-Dutch chairwoman. Thus, Margriet and Harmen sought out ethnic diversity in different ways.

This seeking out implies a greater openness to, and willingness to engage, others than Lara and Lorenco: whereas Lara and Lorenco are open to cosmopolitans, Margriet and Harmen are open to ethnic Others as well as similar others. Margriet's and Harmen's openness means they position themselves amongst Others, and set boundaries to homogeneity, which is a wholly different relation to their surroundings than Lara and Lorenco. Still, Margriet requires the presence of similar others to feel belongingness amongst this diversity. After finishing her studies, Margriet started to work as a researcher in the healthcare industry, in The Hague, and moved to the Schilderswijk, a neighbourhood close to her work. The Schilderswijk is dominated by Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch. Margriet did not appreciate living amongst so many people she perceived as Others:

> *'To be honest, I didn't like to live among people with a really different background from me, [there were] no White young people …. I just noticed how I stood out, how, when going to a store or something, I was regarded as the Other [in the Schilderswijk]. That was unpleasant. …. Here [in the IB] I notice people shopping who are similar to me. … So yeah, I feel more at home here [in the IB].'*

Thus, Margriet appears to experience belongingness with ethnic diversity containing both similar others and dissimilar Others. This sense of belongingness implies that Margriet understands diversity as the presence of similar others and dissimilar Others, in contrast to Lara, who understands diversity as the presence of Others.

Respondents with homogeneous backgrounds may carry certain aspects of their backgrounds with them. For example, Harmen mentions:

> *'Even now it sometimes takes some getting used to here [in the big city], especially in the way people relate to each other. I'm just raised very differently, … [like] greeting on the street, everybody greeting each other'.*

This familiarity with co-residents motivates Harmen to engage with people in order to break through the anonymity of the city. To this aim, Harmen often positions himself on a bench at the street side of his house, and meets and greets all passers-by. Thus, Harmen implements a habit from his homogeneous background in his diversified present. Through such engagements, Harmen learned to be adaptive to both homogeneity and diversity:

> *'…, I feel at home in Friesland, and [when arriving] here [in the IB] I turn a 180 degrees. I needed to learn that, and I can still do it. In Friesland I have completely different conversations and people have a different perception and outlook on life than here. I learned to switch between those'.*

This adaptive capacity allows Harmen to connect to different kinds of environments and situations, and to feel belongingness among both homogeneity and diversity. Nevertheless, because of his sense of standing out and association with diversity, Harmen chooses to live amongst diversity:

'I feel pleasant at the countryside because I come from the countryside. But I would never like to live there, so in that sense I feel more pleasant here [in the IB]. … I had a very pleasant youth [in the countryside], but I would never like to return to that'.

Choosing to live with difference exposes and familiarizes people to diversity. This familiarity seems to further people's understanding of and belongingness with difference. Harmen explains:

'I remember when I first started to live here [in Amsterdam], …, I was green as grass. When I walked around I thought "Right, look at all these guys in dresses [djellabas]."'

But,

'[When I lived here for a while] I learned something about cultures, Islam, these kinds of things. You just [get to] understand other people's lives better. I enjoy that.'

Thus, Harmen enjoys being familiarized with difference, which may advance his sense of belongingness with diversity. In a similar fashion, Margriet explains how she has grown to perceive diversity in another way as her father. She reflects on a visit of her father, during which he made prejudiced remarks about her Moroccan-Dutch co-residents:

'Well I just had different experiences, so that I can't stereotype all people I know. … But I noticed how my parents are from kind of a backward milieu, with a certain perspective.'

Thus, it seems familiarity with difference may deepen people's understanding of and sense of belongingness with diversity.

Familiar with difference

People who grew up in a heterogeneous environment are exposed to diversity and become familiar with difference. This familiarity renders senses of association and affiliation with difference, and hence contributes to people's senses of belongingness with diversity. Familiarity with difference also renders people a more comprehensive understanding of difference than people unfamiliar with difference. Thus, people who become familiar with difference learn to distinguish between and in between similar others and dissimilar Others. However, people's personality, morale and world-view, which may be understood as features of their life courses, affect their sense of belongingness with and comprehension of difference. In addition, people are exposed to different kinds of diversity. Therefore, people experience different kinds of belongings to different diversities. This section discusses the general relation between familiarity with difference and belongingness with diversity, familiarity and belongingness with ethnic diversity, familiarity and belongingness with cosmopolitan diversity, and differences between the familiarity and belongingness of White and non-White Dutch.

Many respondents who grew up in diversified environments stressed their appreciation of diversity. This appreciation seems to consist of the notion that diversity is fun because it brings multicultural bustle and different (cultural and ethnic) items to see and experience. Food items seemed especially of interest. Sara (White-Dutch from mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht) describes the multicultural bustle of the Javastraat (the IB's main shopping street, with plenty Turkish and Moroccan grocery stores):

'… there'just this cozy [gezellig] bustle on the Javastraat. I really like that … It feels relaxed, like everyone doing their own [cultural] things, and then I'm just one of those people, walking through that cozy [gezellig] bustle. I like that.'

In Javastraat people can try different kinds of items. Madelon (White-Dutch from Amsterdam) explains:

> *'To me it's just a fun combination [having different kinds of people around]. Like you can ask the Turkish greengrocer "What kind of fruit is this?" I just like that, when you can try things from different cultures, like different herbs and these kind of things.'*

Cecile (Ghanaian-Dutch from IB) explains how such appreciations of diversity derive from growing up with difference:

> *'In this neighbourhood [the IB] you have all these places where you can try different things. I just like getting to know different things. When I'm in another [homogeneous] neighbourhood I just think "Is this all the world has to offer?". That's boring. That's how I feel … [because] To me a multicultural atmosphere is just easy. My friends [with who I grewup] are diverse. So I can feel at ease [with multiculturalism]...'*

However, Harmen (White-Dutch from small village Utrecht) and Margriet (White-Dutch from Eindhoven), who did not grow up with difference, appreciate diversity in a similar way as Sara, Madelon and Cecile. Harmen and Margriet appreciate diversity similarly because they sought and engaged diversity during their life course, whereas to Sara, Madelon and Cecile the uncomplicated notion that diversity is fun seems to be a given because of their place of birth. As Cecile puts it, this notion is mirrored by a dislike of homogeneity.

This dislike of homogeneity recurs amongst respondents who are familiar with difference. For example, Afra (Moroccan-Dutch from Amsterdam) explains how she would never go and live in a homogeneously White-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch or Surinamese-Dutch area because she is familiar with Amsterdam's diversity. Such dissociation from homogeneity is characterised by the notion that homogeneity is boring and uninteresting. Maaike (White-Dutch from Amsterdam) explains:

> *'… Like, when I imagine it isn't mixed here [in the IB], I would find that super boring!'*

Madelon also explains the boring uniformity of homogeneity, and her dissociation from that:

> *'Sometimes we go for holidays to Haaksbergen, a little village. It's very different from Amsterdam. There are only autochtonous [White] Dutch living there, who also like wear the same clothing, from the same store. That makes me really nervous. … [Because] There's just something missing.'*

Madelon's experience of homogeneity as something that misses something implies her familiarity with difference: she is simply used to something more than homogeneity. Similarly, Sara explains how her relatives in a rural part of Brabant are somewhat boring because

> *'Their world is just so much smaller [than mine].'*

For respondents who grew up with difference, dissociation from homogeneity and association with diversity seems paramount in their experience of their surroundings: they associate with heterogeneous surroundings such as the IB, and dissociate from homogeneous surroundings such as rural Brabant. This process of association is a general sense of belongingness with difference.

This sense of belongingness are thus derived from growing up with difference. People's upbringing involves both their parents and their own life courses. Sara explains:

> *'I lived in street with higher educated White families, in a neighbourhood … with people of different ethnicities. My street was [lived in by] those Dutch who think it'll be fun to live in a multicultural neighbourhood with their kids.'*

And,

> *'I think it's [my dissociation from homogeneity] also because of my upbringing, because I learned that it's good to live in a multicultural neighbourhood.'*

Thus, Sara did not only grow familiar with diversity because of her parents' housing choice, but also learned a certain morale concerning diversity: she learned that multiculturalism is good. Cecile's parents seem to have ended up in a diversified neighbourhood because they were immigrants in the Netherlands, and took whatever housing was available in Amsterdam, which happened to be in the IB. Thus, Cecile learned to associate with diversity, and to dissociate from homogeneity. Talking about a holiday camp, which was dominated by White-Dutch children, where she went as a child, Cecile explains:

> *'I could get used to it [the camp], but eventually I enjoyed being back home. It's just so much better to be in a familiar and intimate environment. And when I'm in a neighbourhood where you see just one aspect of the Netherlands [homogeneity], then I really think "What is this?"'*

Thus, people may grow up in a diversified neighbourhood due to their parents' life courses, which renders a sense of belongingness with difference.

Ethnic diversity

Growing up in an ethnically mixed neighbourhood may lead to a sense of belongingness with ethnic differences. This sense of belongingness, and ethnic diversity itself, may be self-evident and commonplace to people who are familiarized with such diversity, while homogeneity may be strange to them. Madelon (White-Dutch from Amsterdam) explains:

> *'I can't really imagine [living without difference] … I don't think I've ever lived somewhere without diversity, I just don't know that. In that sense diversity is really normal.'*

Furthermore,

> *'Well like when you grow up with just [White-]Dutch children, and you go to a neighbourhood with Turkish and Moroccan people, I can imagine that strikes you. It doesn't when you grow up with Turkish and Moroccan children. I grew up like that [with diversity] that's become my standard.'*

Similarly, Sara (White-Dutch from mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht) reflects,

> *'… personally I don't feel different with diversity... That I don't feel unsafe or uncomfortable or anything because I've always lived in a diversified neighbourhood. That I've accustomed to a diversified environment.'*

This commonplaceness of diversity is also experienced by Gianni (White-Dutch, from mixed neighbourhoods in Rotterdam). Gianni moved from Rotterdam to the IB a few months before being interviewed. In discussing his experience of living in a new city and neighbourhood Gianni hardly mentioned the ethnic diversity of the IB: he seemed to take this diversity as ordinary. Clarissa (White-Dutch from Amsterdam) also seems to experience diversity as commonplace, and, by implication, experiences homogeneity as strange and disconcerting. Clarissa elaborates her experience of living in a White middle-class neighbourhood:

> *'I felt I didn't belong amongst those people, that I was tougher, that I was not one of those suits.'*

People who understand diversity as commonplace do not think of it as unimportant. The importance of diversity to Madelon, Gianni and Sara seems evident in their reflection on and understanding of living with difference. Whereas Lara seems to take diversity to be the presence of non-White non-middle class Others, Madelon, Sara and Gianni, reflect, on their own account, on the different meanings diversity may carry, and how their personal

perception influences this meaning. For example, Madelon sometimes reflects on the diversity at her secondary school, and during other situations during her life course, with former classmates. For example, Madelon explains:

> *'I often think about it [the lack of diversity among friends and family]. … While I don't know why I wouldn't be befriended to them [people with different backgrounds].'*

In another example, Gianni compares diversity in his previous residential neighbourhoods, to diversity at his theatre school, where

> *'…, everybody had the same passion, so it easily blended together. …, never a problem in communication or anything, because everyone came with the same goal [to the school], and thought similarly about things.'*

Thus, Gianni reflects on diversity at different places and times during his life. Sara scrutinizes her experience of living with difference more than Gianni does. Talking about her perception of encountering Muslim women in the IB Sara mentions:

> *'[I feel like] it's good I'm here and she's here. Maybe it's bad to feel that way, because I judge her [and appreciate her and my presence] only because she's Islamic, a different culture and different ethnicity ...'*

Thus, Sara does not take her perception at face-value, but explores it. Likewise, Marima (Moroccan-Dutch from the IB) reflects how her White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch backgrounds can allow her to shift between perspectives, and understand people from both ethnicities. This adaptive capacity further increases Marima's reflection on living with difference, according to Marima. However, exposure to diversity through living in a mixed neighbourhood is not the only life course situation advancing such reflexivity. Madelon, Gianni, Sara and Marima all do some kind of social and cultural studies: Madelon studies political science, Gianni theatre, Sara anthropology, and Marima pedagogy. Thus, these respondents are probably socially and culturally interested, which may contribute to their appreciation of living with difference, and their reflexivity of diversity. For example, Gianni mentions:

> *'When I walk I quickly see if people are closed or open, if they look for others and want to make contact or not. We have to do that for our studies. Cause we have to play different people, and when you look at and remember others you can think "Oh he was like that, I'll play like that".'*

Different kinds of diversity may be part of people's lives, leading to different familiarities and senses of belongingness. For example, Sara grew up with ethnic diversity. Before she moved to the IB, Sara lived in Amsterdam North, an area she described as White-Dutch labour class, without much ethnic diversity. Sara did not feel at home in Amsterdam North:

> *'The supermarket in North, and the whole neighbourhood and [my] flat, felt to me like it's okay, but I'll be leaving because it's not my kind of place, the people here are different from me.'*

Sara did leave, and moved to a neighbourhood that was more her kind of place, with more similar people: she moved to the IB, which reminds her of the neighbourhood she grew up in. Thus, Sara's sense of belongingness with diversity does not seem to extend beyond the kind of diversity she has grown familiar with. Madelon, Cecile and Marima have always lived in Amsterdam East. Thus, the diversity they were exposed to is limited to this part of the city, which may limit their sense of belongingness with difference to diversities similar to that in Amsterdam East. Furthermore, Madelon, Cecile and Marima probably experience a sense of local belongingness in Amsterdam East. This local rootedness may obscure their senses of belongingness with diversity: they may not feel belongingness with any kind of diversity outside Amsterdam East. Clarissa's sense of ethnic diversity includes a sense of toughness. Clarissa explains the neighbourhood she grew up in, the Staatsliedenbuurt, was deprived and

plagued by drug related problems, and hosted people of many ethnicities, which provided a sense of toughness. For example, when Clarissa transferred to a primary school in a gentrified neighbourhood, attended mostly by White children she found the school's children immature:

> *'I thought it [my class at my second primary school] was immature, not tough. You were asked to play outside! Something childish I hadn't heard since kindergarten.'*

A sense of toughness stayed with Clarissa throughout her life course, and affects her current experience of living in the IB, where she finds a toughness similar to her youth due to the neighbourhood's ethnic diversity:

> *'[Feels] ... I belong here because of where I came from.'*

Clarissa's sense of toughness, and finding this toughness, is advanced by Clarissa's occupation. Clarissa is a PR manager to organizations in the techno-music industry. This work gets her in touch with all kinds of creative people employed in the techno-music industry. Because of these contacts, Clarissa experiences the IB as

> *'I hate the term, but it's a bit Berlin- esque. It's cheap, there's opportunities. That just attracts certain kinds of people. Like I was recently at a social with musical creatives and everybody lived in [Amsterdam] East, and mostly in the IB. There's just so many interesting and nice people living [here in the IB], that brings a bustle.'*

Similar to Sara, Madelon, Gianni, Cecile, Marima and Clarissa, Maaike has grown up with ethnic diversity. However, Maaike attaches a different meaning to her familiarity with difference. Similar to Harmen and Margriet, Maaike perceives of herself as standing out, but not from homogeneity. Maaike attended a somewhat peculiar primary school, founded by the Dutch association School for Philosophy, based on ancient Greek and Indian spiritual and philosophical principles. Maaike the peculiarity of her school made her stand out with others:

> *'At some point you realize how unworldly we became during our primary school. I think that was somewhat difficult to us outside the school perimeters, where it could be rather tough.'*

Because of her unworldliness Maaike associated with people she also perceived as standing out, such as Punks, Goths and Hippies during her secondary school. Accordingly, Maaike focuses on people she perceives as standing out amongst diversity:

> *'Honestly, I think I focus on the [people who are] exceptions. That's kind of psychological cause I always felt I didn't really fit into a category.'*

Similar to Margriet and Harmen, Maaike feels belongingness in the IB because of her sense of standing out: in the IB she does not stand out but is part of a diversified population. Simultaneously Maaike is somewhat anxious about ethnic diversity because she used to feel the world outside her primary school was tough. Seemingly, ethnic Others remind Maaike of the tough Others outside her primary school. According to Maaike, her anxiety may be reinforced by the true crime TV-series she often watches, such as *Opsporing Verzocht*. Nevertheless, Maaike also enjoys ethnic diversity. For example, Maaike enjoyed working with people of different ethnicities, both from Amsterdam and from abroad:

> *'You know, when I did something with colleagues [of that bar] before, …, you go to different places where you'd never go. I just like that.'*

Therefore, Maaike seems to appreciate living with difference in a similar way as Madelon and Sara. In short, Sara, Madelon, Cecile, Marima, Clarissa and Maaike were exposed to different kinds of ethnic diversity to which they attributed different meanings. This differentiation renders varying senses of belongingness with difference. In addition to ethnic diversity, Gianni was exposed to cosmopolitan diversity, with which he experiences belongingness, and which he seeks.

Cosmopolitan diversity

Gianni (White-Dutch from mixed neighbourhoods in Rotterdam) perceives Amsterdam to be a diversified culture and theatre hotspot, with many tourists, inhabitants with different lifestyles, and independent authentic stores, such as vintage clothing stores. This representation of Amsterdam is cosmopolitan in that it focuses on a diversity of people of different heritages and lifestyles, who may share an international orientation and senses of high-brow culture, and are foremost higher-educated and White. Furthermore, this representation focusses on objects, such as stores and products, that are aimed at such cosmopolitans. Gianni's cosmopolitan representation of Amsterdam derives largely from his commitment to theatre, throughout his life course, which exposed him to cosmopolitanism. As a young child Gianni started to attend amateur theatre schools. After finishing his secondary school Gianni attended a theatre school in Rotterdam, and to another theatre school, at a higher educational level, in Amsterdam. Arriving in Amsterdam Gianni

> *'... quickly felt at home, when I cycled into the city for the first time. I don't know, it felt like a dream. For theatre, this is where it happens, here it's creative. So I always dreamt of that [Amsterdam].'*

This representation of Amsterdam as the-place-to-be is reinforced by Gianni's lifestyle:

> *'I notice how I live in a bubble: I go to school, to the theatre, and the whole time [I'm with] people from my studies, …..'*

This bubble makes it difficult for Gianni to sidestep his cosmopolitan representation of Amsterdam.

As such, cosmopolitan diversity seems more important than ethnic diversity to Gianni's experience of Amsterdam. For example, his reflections on living with difference foremost concern tourists, classmates, and trendy stores, not the ethnic diversity of the IB and elsewhere. Gianni's focus on cosmopolitanism advances a sense of belongingness: Gianni regards Amsterdam as the-place-to-be, and quickly felt at home in the city.

Lisanne represents Amsterdam and experiences belongingness in a similar way as Gianni. Lisanne grew up in a White-Dutch suburb and, later, in the centre of The Hague, and in Finland and Italy. Lisanne explains she encountered diversity in Finland and The Hague, and in the centre of The Hague. However:

> *'So in that way I encountered diversity, but in a White context, hardly non-Western.'*

Lisanne further explains that this diversity consisted foremost of higher-educated and high-brow cultured people. After finishing her secondary school, Lisanne attended a Liberal Arts and Sciences College. Here she befriended people of from all over the world. Furthermore, during and after her studies, Lisanne went to live and study in California, the USA, Mexico, and Australia. This exposure to cosmopolitan diversity changed Lisanne

> *'In a privileged way. At that college you get the impression that everyone immerses themselves in all kinds of subjects, courses and languages. … And when I'm with my friends from an earlier period, who are not university educated, when we discuss something [like politics and current affairs], it just surprises me they're not interested in that.'*

Similar to Gianni, Lisanne's exposure to cosmopolitan diversity is crucial to her representation of Amsterdam and the IB:

> *'…, [the IB] is not what I imagined it to be. And I thought, yeah, it's not really Amsterdam, it could've been any random place. It's just so generic, it doesn't have character. When you look at it, the centre of Amsterdam has character, The Hague has character, Rotterdam has some.'*

Lisanne goes on to explain character consists of authentic architecture or distinct modern architecture rather than '*generic*' social housing occupied by the labour class and ethnic

minorities. Thus, Lisanne's experience of living in the IB does not match her aspirations. This mismatch makes Lisanne slightly prejudiced towards ethnic diversity. For example, Lisanne does not appreciate people who do not speak any Western-European language, and initially thought of her Turkish male neighbour as misogynistic. The mismatch between wanting to live amongst cosmopolitan diversity, but living amongst ethnic diversity seems to render a sense of little belongingness. Thus, Lisanne mentions how she might move at some point. Lorenco's representation of Amsterdam is similarly cosmopolitan as Gianni's and Lisanne's representation: Lorenco associates with and appreciates open-minded White people, such as White-Dutch and tourists, but seems to prejudice Muslims as being intolerant towards homosexuals. Lorenco is exposed mostly to open-minded White people at his work, and when he visits cafés or restaurants in Amsterdam's centre. This exposure to cosmopolitan diversity is essential to Lorenco's representation of Amsterdam as being open-minded.

However, people who associate with cosmopolitan diversity do not experience cosmopolitanism, or belongingness therewith, uniformly. Gianni and Lorenco enjoy cosmopolitanism in Amsterdam's city centre. For example, Gianni likes going to the 9straatjes, a shopping area with all kinds of hip shops (such as vintage clothing and jewelery), and, like Lorenco, engages in small-talk with, amongst others, tourists. The cosmopolitanism Gianni and Lorenco encounter in the city centre is a crucial motivation to live in Amsterdam, and therefore, renders a sense of belongingness. Since Lorenco started learning Dutch he increasingly understands people in the IB, and engages in small-talk, which increases Lorenco's sense of connectedness. This increasing connectedness may contribute to Lorenco's sense of belongingness in the IB. Lisanne felt such connectedness increase the longer she lived in the IB. Lisanne started to recognise co-residents and shop-holders. However, since Lisanne returned from Australia, where she lived for a year and a half a few months before the interview,

> *'I find it difficult to regain that connectedness [I experienced before leaving]. I knew people at the bakery, the butcher, the tailors. ... But now that I left for a year and a half that's gone, making me feel less connected.'*

Thus, Lisanne experiences less belongingness in the IB than before. This decrease, and the mismatch between Lisanne's cosmopolitan representation of Amsterdam and the IB's ethnic diversity, may motivate Lisanne to move from the IB. However, Lisanne associates with a slightly different kind of cosmopolitanism as Gianni and Lorenco. Lisanne's sense of cosmopolitanism may advance her sense of belongingness in the IB. Contrasting Gianni, Lisanne does not like the 9straatjes. This dislike consists of a perceived lack of toughness and authenticity amongst people in the 9straatjes. Toughness and authenticity is found amongst people in the IB:

> *'With them [People living in and around the 9straatjes] I feel like "Blegh". They're like "East [the area around the IB], what should I do in East?" … People there are like "I might go to Schiphol [international airport] and then beyond, otherwise I don't care." That annoys me, I think there's just so much more [in the world]... [Thus, in the IB] You can just be yourself, it's all good. Here it's more hipster-like, in West [9straatjes and surrounding area] it's more yuppie-like.'*

Thus, Lisanne seems to dissociate from a posh cosmopolitanism, and associates with a tougher sense of cosmopolitanism, which she finds in the IB.

White-Dutch and non-White Dutch

A sense of standing out is also important to non-White Dutch respondents. These respondents are of migrant decent, but are born in the Netherlands. These respondents are Cecile, who is

Ghanaian-Dutch, and Afra and Marima, who are both Moroccan-Dutch. Cecile, Afra and Marima negotiate a sense of exclusion from White-Dutch culture and society with senses of belonging with diversity, belonging in Amsterdam, and belonging in their ethnic minority communities. Similar to Madelon and Sara, Cecile experiences diversity as commonplace:

> *'Usually I don't notice diversity. I do notice it's different with a less diversified group. That makes me feel like I can't express myself, that I might sound strange to others.'*

As with Madelon and Sara, this commonplaceness relates to dissociation from homogeneity:

> *'I just feel less at ease [in a homogeneous White group] because I'm the only one with a different background. Then, I can't express myself or share traits and characteristics with someone. … And among multiculturalism, to me that's almost like that [being amongst Ghanaians] because my group of friends is also very diverse, … So I can feel at ease there, but less than among Ghanaians, because I know that to the bone.'* (Cecile)

However, Cecile's dissociation from homogeneity is different from that of Madelon and Sara because Cecile dissociates from White homogeneity, and associates with diversity and Ghanaian homogeneity. Cecile's association with diversity is a sense that, amongst diversity, non-White Dutch are welcomed. This is different from White-Dutch senses of standing out and associating with diversity. Whereas White-Dutch feel singular, and hence feel their singularity does not stand out amongst diversity, non-White Dutch identify with their ethnicity, and feel their ethnic identity is welcomed amongst diversity. Cecile explains:

> *... when you notice there's different cultures[anywhere] you feel like "Right, people of different backgrounds [like me] are welcome here".'*

Similar to Cecile, Afra and Marima feel excluded by White-Dutch, albeit to a greater extend. Afra's and Marima's senses of exclusion are due to White-Dutch xenophobia about migration, Islam and Moroccan-Dutch. Afra feels White-Dutch associate her with criminality and Islamism. According to Afra, this prejudice is due to current affairs, politics and media. Afra explains terrorist attacks and wars in the Middle-East make White-Dutch perceive of Muslims as dangerous, while right winged anti-Islam politician Geert Wilders triggers feelings of enmity towards Moroccans and Muslims. Marima (White-Dutch mother, Moroccan-Dutch father, from IB) also feels prejudiced by White-Dutch. Marima feels particularly prejudiced against since she started wearing a headscarf. When Marima started to wear a headscarf she was supported by her father, mother, sister, and Moroccan family, but was frowned upon by her White-Dutch family and acquaintances. Marima recounts how people's perception of her changed as some elderly Moroccan-Dutch ladies in the IB started to greet her since she wears a headscarf, while some of Marima's White-Dutch neighbours quit greeting her. Marima relates White-Dutch changes in perception to Islamophobia, and greatly dislikes these changes:

> *'… I think it's really really bad when people are afraid of me, that's just unnecessary. It's only cause I'm associated with, you know, Moroccan, Muslim, terrorist.'*

Although Afra's and Marima's senses of exclusion are stronger than Cecile's, they feel belongingness with diversity in a similar way as Cecile: Afra and Marima feel welcomed and acknowledged amongst diversity containing Muslims and Moroccan-Dutch. Therefore, Cecile's, Afra's and Marima's senses of standing out and their according sense of belongingness with difference is different from Whites, such as Lorenco, Margriet, Harmen and Maaike. Cecile, Afra and Marima feel excluded from White-Dutch homogeneteity because of their ethnicity rather than their singularity, such as Lorenco, Margriet, Harmen and Maaike. Another difference is that non-White Dutch feel belongingness with diversity because they feel connected to ethnically similar others amongst diversity, not because they feel their singularity does not stand out amongst diversity.

Cecile, Afra and Marima also experience belongingness with diversity because of their local identity. Cecile explains her rootedness in Amsterdam:

> *'Yeah, Amsterdam is just my home, I always feel comfortable here. That's different in Utrecht [for example].'*

This sense of local rootedness and growing up amongst diversity is important to Cecile:

> *'I think it matters a lot, where you grew up, what you know. That makes you who you are. …'.*

Thus, Cecile perceives of herself as an *Amsterdammer*. Being an *Amsterdammer* is related to living with difference. Afra explains she would never like to live outside of Amsterdam in a homogeneous environment, whether this homogeneity be White-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, or anything else. Furthermore, Afra feels less excluded by White-Dutch in Amsterdam's many mixed neighourhoods than by White-Dutch outside Amsterdam because White-Dutch in Amsterdam are familiar with difference, and are hence welcoming rather than exclusive of her. Similarly, Marima feels more at home, and less excluded, in Amsterdam than in other places. Cecile's, Afra's and Marima's local identity as belonging with difference seems similar to Madelon's sense of belonging with difference in Amsterdam East: a sense of local belongingness renders a sense of belongingness with that locality's diversity.

Marima's White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch parentage affects her belongingness with diversity to be somewhat of a struggle. This struggle may be similarly but less explicitly felt by Cecile and Afra because they are ethnic minority Dutch. Marima feels she is forced into being either White-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch and Muslim. This choice was first forced on her after her school:

> *'That [diversity at my primary school] was very cozy [gezellig], everybody accepted each other. We were unconscious [of those differences]. … That was different at secondary school. All of the sudden I was Moroccan with my Dutch friends, and Dutch with my Moroccan friends. …'*

This frustrates Marima:

> *'I really dislike having to choose between being Moroccan or Dutch. I'm either both or none. Otherwise, I don't know who I am'*

Marima's dislike of choosing betweenWhite-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch made her doubt to wear a headscarf because she suspected a headscarf would invite people to label her as Muslim. At her twenty-first Marima decided to wear a headscarf because she wanted to be able to show her religiosity without fears of exclusion, even if that meant risking exclusion, and because she wanted to be perceived as a person rather than a Moroccan-Dutch Muslim without needing to hide her religiosity. This motivation reflects Marima's upbringing and world-view:

> *'I always learned that you don't decide about others, you shouldn't judge others, even when someone disrespects you while you respect him. … During my upbringing I really learned about equality, [and] that good things come to those who make them happen.'*

Marima tries to teach this morale of respect and equality to the girls she works with. Marima volunteers, and will shortly become a paid employee, at a charitable organisation providing educational activities to dis-privileged girls in Amsterdam East. Thus, Marima propagates her world-view. Marima's world-view accords with her religiosity as, according to Marima, respect and equality are essential values of Islam. Therefore, respect and equality are

essential to Marima's experience of living with difference, and convey a sense of how people should live with difference:

> *'I really dislike that black-and-white thinking. Off course people are of a certain background, but that doesn't determine everything! Everybody is just different and anybody can be good or bad.'*

Because of her world-view Marima feels belongingness with diversity: she wants to live with difference and is committed to learn people how to live with difference. However, Marima's world-view, and her sense of being both White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch, is pressured by Islamophobia and tensions between Muslims and White-Dutch:

> *'If it really continues in that direction, that people don't respect each other, that [Muslim] boys aren't accepted for jobs, that my [White-Dutch] family makes demeaning remarks [to me], then I will start to pay attention [to conflict and segregation]. First I never thought about[conflict and segregation], I always thought everybody had a right to his opinions. But ever since those demeaning remarks [about my headscarf] by my [White-Dutch] family, it's been different. … Before, I never had the impression people looked at me because of my headscarf, but now I do … I'm at the edge now: I want to see the positive side of things, but if it continues like this I can't stay that way ... [Thus] I sometimes feel like I lose myself, that I have to choose sides and can never relax.'*

Mobility of surroundings: gentrification

In addition to people's life course mobility, the mobility of their surroundings, among which gentrification is pre-eminent, affects their perceptions and understandings of diversity. First, respondents may experience an increase in belongingness in the IB and in Amsterdam due to gentrification. Second, respondents may feel ambivalent about gentrification, which leads them to renegotiate their representations of their surroundings, and their senses of belongingness.

Increasing belongingness

Anxiety about ethnic diversity and association with cosmopolitanism may lead people to appreciate gentrification. Lara (White-Dutch from Eindhoven) feels anxious about ethnic Others, and associates with White-Dutch middle-class residents of the IB. With gentrification, this type of residents numerically increases in the neighbourhood. Lara reflects:

> *'[Nowadays there are] Less head scarves [in the IB]. Maybe the yuppieness has increased. Not that I really seek that, but I do feel more comfortable with it.'*

Thus, Lara increasingly identifies with and feels belongingness in the IB as the number of yuppie similar others increases. For example, Lara mentions she feels increasingly comfortable and at home in the IB. Still, Lara dissociates from the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood. Gentrification also seems to increase Lorenco's sense of belongingness in the IB. Lorenco (White-Potuguese, from Porto) explains how he feels gentrification improved the IB:

> *' When I arrived 6 years ago, ... The area was mostly an area of foreign people, mostly Moroccan and Turkish people. ... But it became better.'*

According to Lorenco this improvement is evidenced by the increased number of art galleries, yoga places and high end food stores. Such changes match Lorenco's sense of Self.

For example, high end food stores allow Lorenco to consume according to his preferences, which was impossible before gentrification:

> *'… when you went there [to the IB] there'd nothing to buy because it's so focussed on head scarves, they sell a lot of stuff I don't know. … I don't go to the market, I feel excluded … I'd like to have more things to have it more diverse.'*

Lorenco's increasing belongingness in the IB encompasses more than increased consumption opportunities:

> *'Well I'm gay, if I hold hands with my boyfriend [among Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch] I'd have a problem. I'd have that problem in the IB six years ago as well, but much less now.'*

Lara and Lorenco will probably also experience belongingness with gentrification outside the IB.

Ambivalence

Contrasting Lara and Lorenco, Madelon, Maaike and Clarissa, who are White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* associating with ethnic diversity, feel ambivalent about gentrification. Curiously non-White Dutch respondents, who were all born and raised in Amsterdam, did not reflect on gentrification. Thus, gentrification does not appear to affect Cecile's, Afra's and Marima's senses of rootedness. White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* ambivalence towards gentrification is a sense of loss due to decreasing ethnic diversity and partial association with gentrification. Madelon explains:

> *'On the one hand I like it [gentrification]. A street with just [Turkish and Moroccan] grocery shops is no fun. … But [these gentrifier establishments] attract one group. … That's a bit of a waste to the neighbourhood. … It's very segregated. … I dislike that.'*

This segregation disrupts the ethnic diversity with which Madelon associates. Sara (White-Dutch from Utrecht), who also associates with ethnic diversity, does not seem to experience ambivalence towards gentrification. The difference between Madelon's and Sara's experiences seems due to their places of birth. Madelon grew up in Amsterdam, Sara did not. Thus, Sara sees little or no changes as she is unfamiliar with the IB, whereas Madelon experiences acute changes:

> *' … suddenly there's an invasion of young hip White students, … Whereas five years ago, there hardly were any White hip young people. So that [change] has been real fast, and it has a big impact.'*

Madelon's representations of the IB and Amsterdam, which derive from her rootedness in the neighbourhood and city, become challenged due to this acute impact, which makes Madelon depreciate gentrification. Nevertheless, Madelon also appreciates gentrification. For example, she enjoys visiting gentrifier cafés and coffee-bistros in the IB. Therefore, Madelon is ambivalent about gentrification, which necessitates her to renegotiate her sense of belongingness in the IB and Amsterdam by changing between depreciating and appreciating gentrification. Similar to Madelon, Maaike depreciates gentrification and yuppies:

> *'I just have an allergy or something [of yuppies]. I don't know why. Maybe because of before, because of my secondary school and so on. Let me put it this way, I don't want to be like them [yuppies]'*

By relating her experience of yuppies to her secondary school, Maaike relates her sense of standing out to her dislike of yuppies. However, Maaike does enjoy going to the Pijp, one of Amsterdam's most gentrified neighbourhoods, and, accordingly, probably enjoys visiting gentrifier establishments in the IB. Thus, Maaike renegotiates her sense of belongingness in the IB and in Amsterdam as the city is no longer 'her' city in which she does not feel excluded

for standing out, while she re-appropriates Amsterdam as hers by visiting gentrifier establishments.

Clarissa (White-Dutch from Amsterdam) is also ambivalent about gentrification. Gentrification in the Staatsliedenbuurt, the neighbourhood in which Clarissa was born, disrupts her representation of and sense of rootedness in the neighbourhood:

> *'Because of that [gentrification] I experience it [the Staatsliedenbuurt] less and less as home. … I always had a strong bond with the Staats, but because of these things I realize that has changed, that [the neighbourhood] is for different people now. I always thought I'd return sometime. Now I don't want that anymore. And because of my experience I don't see an Ali[Muslim name] in the street even though he's living there, because it's so yuppie now.'*

Thus, gentrification in the Staatsliedenbuurt draws Clarissa's focus to the extent she no longer experiences ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood, and has decreased her sense of belongingness. Simultaneously, Clarissa's reminiscences the toughness of the Staatsliedenbuurt. This reminiscence increases her belongingness in the IB as the neighbourhood retains some toughness. However, Clarissa dislikes messiness and appreciates the cleanliness that comes with gentrification, although this cleanliness probably decreases the IB's toughness. Clarissa dislikes messiness because

> *'There's little love in it [messiness], while it's so easy to make something pretty. I just like the idea that people care for their environment.'*

According to Clarissa, gentrification has brought increased public funding and maintenance, and cleanly cafés and restaurants. Thus, Clarissa is ambivalent to gentrification in a similar manner as Madelon and Maaike. According to Clarissa, this ambivalence may be resolved by a balance between gentrification and 'toughness':

> *'Well, the Staats has just gone too far. … Things should remain a bit tough … The Staats just lost that [toughness], it's become one big coffee-bistro. It'd be shame when you can't choose between thirteen (Turkish and Moroccan) grocery stores in Javastraat, but I also like that Hartje Oost and Bedfort Stuuvesant [gentrifier coffee-bistro's] have been introduced.*

Thus, a balance between gentrification and retaining a sense of toughness, which stems from ethnic diversity, contributes to Clarissa's sense of belongingness in the IB.

White-Dutch who are not from Amsterdam may, like Madelon, Maaike and Clarissa, feel ambivalent about gentrification. Harmen (from village in Friesland) explains:

> *'[Because of gentrification] It's not like it bustles, it's all so levelled out, so designed. Off course it's good when the neighbourhood is renovated and patched up, but it shouldn't go too far... But it's difficult to find that balance. If everything is rough and there's junkies and everything. Off course that's not good. But I think in the IB they go too far [with gentrification].'*

Similar, to Maaike and Clarissa, Harmen seems to appreciate a balance between gentrification and retaining, as he puts it, a *'bustle'*. However, unlike Madelon, Maaike and Clarissa, Harmen's ambivalence towards gentrification is due to his personality, not his sense of rootedness:

> *'I mean, as if the Javaplein has only become worthwhile since it hosts a coffee bistro. I really dislike that. That's just the way I am.'*

Thus, Harmen's experience of gentrification seems to relate to his tendency to seek and engage ethnic diversity, and not to his history in Amsterdam.

Conclusions

People's life course mobility and the mobility of their surroundings contain and constitute people's life course exposure to difference. This exposure influences and is influenced by people's negotiations of Self and others. Three contexts in which this occurs appeared to be particularly important. First, people's life course mobility may expose them to homogeneity and thus make them unfamiliar with difference. Depending on people's world-view, personality and other aspects of their life courses, such as their upbringing, this unfamiliarity can make people anxious and stressed about ethnic diversity and associate with cosmopolitanism, or to seek and engage ethnic diversity. For example, anxiety of ethnic difference may come about as someone is raised protectively in homogeneous surroundings, while seeking ethnic difference may come about if people feel they stick out amongst homogeneity, for example due to their sexual orientation. Furthermore, anxiety or association with ethnic diversity renders different understandings of difference. People who feel anxious about ethnic diversity tend to experience diversity as the presence of non-White ethnic Others, whilst people who associate with ethnic diversity seem to experience diversity as the presence of both (ethnic) Others and similar others. People's associations with either ethnic or cosmopolitan diversity render senses of belongingness. To people who are unfamiliar with difference, this belongingness consists of senses of excitement amongst either cosmopolitan or ethnic diversity.

Second, people's life course mobility may expose them to diversity and familiarize them with difference. This familiarity leads people to associate with diversity, and to dissociate from homogeneity. However, people are exposed to different diversities. Respondents in this study were exposed to ethnic or cosmopolitan diversity, which leads them to feel belongingness with either one of these diversities, in relation to, amongst others, their world-view and personality. These different associations render different understandings of diversity and senses of belongingness with difference. For example, someone who grows up in ethnically diversified surroundings may experience the presence of different ethnicities as commonplace, and may thus feel at home. Someone who grows up with cosmopolitan diversity may, for example, be somewhat prejudiced of ethnic Others, and seek cosmopolitan activities and experiences in the city centre. This study's non-White Dutch respondents feel excluded from homogeneously White-Dutch environments, and feel belongingness amongst ethnic diversity because this diversity contains people who are, to them, similar ethnic others. This sense of belongingness with ethnic difference is local because this study's non-White Dutch feel they are *Amsterdammers,* that is people who are born and raised in Amsterdam and who have a sense of local identity because of that, who are familiarized to living with difference.

Third, the mobility of people's surroundings affect their perceptions of diversity in relation to their life course mobility. Gentrification is a pre-eminent change in the IB. Respondents who are anxious about ethnic difference and associate with cosmopolitanism seem to experience belongingness with gentrification, which contributes to their sense of belongingness in the IB. Contrastingly, White-Dutch *Amsterdammers,* who associate with ethnic diversity, feel ambivalent with gentrification. On the one hand they appreciate establishments, such as coffee-bistros, that come with gentrification. On the other hand, they feel gentrification brings segregation between White-Dutch gentrifiers and non-White Dutch. This disrupts the ethnic diversity with which these White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* grew up, and thereby challenge their representation of and sense of belongingness with their surroundings.

Therefore, people's life courses affect their perceptions of different kinds of diversities as they are exposed to these diversities. This makes people's perceptions of diversity singular as no life course is alike. People's life courses affect their perceptions in relation with people's world-views and personalities. World-views that were found to be important were, amongst others, a morale of egalitarianism and a sense of seclusion due to being raised protectively. This means that people with similar exposure to the same kind of diversity can develop different perceptions of difference. Accordingly, people's life courses do not determine their perceptions of difference, but predisposes it in different ways. These predispositions form an inter-relational playing field in that different aspects of people's life courses contribute to people's perceptions in relation to each other. People's senses of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference are construed from this inter-relational playing field. Thus, people's predisposed playing fields are associatively drawn upon by them to supply experiences of encounters during encounters.

Daily Path

This chapter describes respondents' negotiations of Self and others during everyday encounters with difference. In doing so, this chapter explores this thesis' subquestion *What is the relation between people's daily paths and their sense of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?* This chapter' s structure is equal to that of the preceding chapter because its sections characterize respondents predispositions to experiencing encounters and thus reveals the interrelation of people's daily and life course paths. First, encounters of respondents unfamiliar with difference are discussed. Second, encounters of respondents familiar with difference are discussed. Third, encounters with gentrification are discussed. Throughout these sections several influences of people's daily paths are examined.

Unfamiliar with difference

People who are anxious, stressed and discomforted about ethnic diversity tend to feel anxious during ethnic encounters and to experience belongingness during cosmopolitan encounters. People who seek diversity tend to find ethnic encounters exciting, and experienc belongingness. These tendencies are affected by the times and spaces at which encounters occur, and the succession of people's daily situations.

Anxiety with difference

Respondents who are predisposed to feel anxious during ethnic encounters feel less anxious when their surroundings contain familiarities. Lara, who was raised protectively in a White-Dutch middle class neighbourhood in Eindhoven ,explains:

> *['When cycling through the city] I always felt uncomfortable in the IB. That[feeling] decreased as I cycled near the Oosterpark. [In the IB] the street was dominated by all kinds of ethnicities, not by Whites. I felt uncomfortable because I didn't find that diversity pleasant ... I experience the part near the Oosterpark as safer because the houses are more beautiful [than in the IB], and I feel the people who live there are more familiar, I trust them more.'*

Yet, Lara probably still encountered diversity near the Oosterpark as the area is visited by people of all kinds of (ethnic) backgrounds. Thus, Lara felt more belongingness during ethnic encounters near the Oosterpark than in the IB because she perceives of the Oosterpark and its visitors as more familiar than the IB. Lara experiences this comparative familiarity partially because of the succession of her daily situations as she transfers between situations that, to her, contrast in their familiarity and Otherness. This contrast makes her experience a difference between anxiety and belongingness, which makes both senses sharper. Lara's familiarity with her surroundings decreases her anxiety during encounters. Thus, she is less anxious during encounters in the IB than during encounters in unfamiliar surroundings:

> *'[Those people of non-White ethnicities] They're still here [in the IB], but I think I feel more familiar here. But when I go to the Transvaalbuurt for my sewing course ... they're [young non-White men] loitering and I just hope they won't talk to me ... That's like when I go to Bos en Lommer [in Amsterdam West], where we have friends. I wouldn't like to live in West, it's less cozy, there's more foreigners and I think it's more unsafe. But my friends say the same about Oost!'*

Lara is not anxious but excited during cosmopolitan encounters. For example, when Lara cycles into the Transvaalbuurt she encounters cosmopolitanism as she sees people with different lifestyles who she finds hip. This encounter is

> *'... pleasant, nice. Those terraces are full of familiar people.'*

Thus, Lara experiences belongingness during this cosmopolitan encounter. Lorenco moved from his hometown Porto, Portugal to Amsterdam because he felt he was not tolerated as a homosexual amongst the White-Portuguese Catholic homogeneity in Porto, while he did feel tolerated amongst Amsterdam's cosmopolitan open-mindedness. Lorenco encounters cosmopolitan diversity as he sees an increasing number of yoga places and art galleries when he cycles to Amsterdam's centre to visit a bar. This cosmopolitan encounter contrasts non-cosmopolitan surroundings, such as in Nieuw-West, an ethnically mixed area without gentrification, close to Lorenco's work:

> *'Like a street like Haarlemmerstraat [a hip cosmopolitan shopping street], ..., [has] different people, different kinds of shops. And when you cycle the Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan [in Nieuw West], there's only burqa shops, there's nothing to look at. When it's more [cosmopolitan] diverse you're looking around.'*

Lorenco's eagerness to look around on the Haarlememerstraat and his reluctance to do so in Nieuw-West reveal his association with cosmopolitan and dissociation from ethnic diversity, during and across everyday encounters. This process of association and dissociation indicates senses of belongingness. Such a process is affected by the succession of Lorenco's daily situations . For example, when he cycles to work Lorenco thinks about work, and thus disengages from his surroundings and withdrawing from any encounters that might occur. During his visits to bars in Amsterdam's centre Lorenco converses with cosmopolitan others. According to Lorenco, these verbal encounters easily come about because the people involved are open-minded. Verbal cosmopolitan encounters are important to Lorenco:

> *'[These encounters] ... , that's why I go to these places, ... Because you like to connect to people you know, ... And there, when you're with friends, with other people doing the same thing, you get that [connection], ... For me it's really good, I think for others as well, ... For me it's important.'*

Because of this importance, Lorenco deliberately seeks verbal cosmopolitan encounters, and, implicitly, the belongingness he acquires during those encounters. This situational belongingness probably feeds back into an overarching sense of belongingness, and thus into Lorenco's life course: because of the cosmopolitan diversity Lorenco encounters during his daily life he enjoys and will remain living in Amsterdam.

Transport modes are spatio-temporal situations affecting Lara's experiences of encounters. According to Lara, people usually disengage from their surroundings in public transport in Amsterdam:

> *'I think many people seclude themselves in public transport. That's like some kind of survival instinct or something, cause you don't want too many impressions coming at you.'*

Lisanne elaborates this *'survival instinct'* is not needed in Eindhoven, where people in public transport are more relaxed and open to each other than people in Amsterdam. Lisanne suspects these different attitudes come about as public transport users in Amsterdam are ethnically and otherwise diversified, while public transport in Eindhoven is dominated by elderly White-Dutch. Thus, Lara is more anxious in public transport in Amsterdam than in Eindhoven. This makes her disengage from encounters in Amsterdam. Lara's experiences of encounters are different when she cycles. Generally, Lara is open to her surroundings while she cycles because she can cycle away from encounters during which she feels anxious. Lara's openness on her bicycle is influenced by the succession of daily situations:

'After a day at work I'm really tired, and often grumpy. I just don't feel like [encountering] people then. But when I'm free for a weekend or a day I'm more open [to my surroundings].'

When Lara cycles home after work she dislikes ethnic encounters as she arrives in the IB:

'..., then my annoyance starts. I feel it's busier. People walk across the cycling lanes at those Moroccan and Turkish grocery stores [so I need to pay attention] ...'

Lara's annoyance indicates a sense of little belongingness, and motivates her to disengage from her surroundings. By disengaging herself Lara creates a personal space in which she feels comfortable, for example by listening to music or thinking about what she will be doing at home. When Lara is free and relaxed she tends to be more open to her surroundings, and is more receptive of encounters. Lara's state of mind as feeling relaxed may advance her sense of belongingness during encounters.

Lorenco's experiences of encounters are differently affected by transport modes than Lara. Lorenco is more open to his surroundings in public transport than on his bicycle:

'In the bus I always look around. There's always people and they do the most strange things when they're waiting for the bus. ... It makes me look around as well, because there's nothing else to do, looking at who is there, what are they doing. ... On the bike you don't have that, you're just by yourself.'

Nevertheless, Lorenco often experiences more belongingness during encounters while he cycles, because he only takes public transport when it rains, which negatively affects his state of mind. When Lorenco travels, both by public transport or bicycle, he focuses mostly on his music on his phone. Thus, both Lara's and Lorenco's ability to disengage is advanced by listening to music on their phones. By listening to music Lorenco auditory disengages from his surroundings, not visually:

'[Although I always listen to music] ... I always look around. I have an art background, architecture and design, so because of that I always look around. Looking at design, housing, shop windows, ..., what's for sale, streets, buildings.'

Thus, the way in which Lorenco visually engages with his surroundings is affected by his studies, and thus his life course. When Lorenco walks he is less inclined to listen music, especially during short trips in the IB. This makes him more attentive to encounters in his familiar residential neighbourhood, compared to encounters elsewhere.

Lara and Lorenco experience belongingness during cosmopolitan and ethnic encounters when they experience public familiarity. Public familiarity is a sense of recognising others and being recognised by others, without necessarily knowing them beyond facial recognition. Lara recognises people as she nears her home:

'That feeling [of comfort] increases until I'm inside [my home], ... [Also because] I recognise some people who belong there, who live there [in my street]. ... Like a familiar face. ... Something familiar is always pleasant. That's what it's all about, I don't experience unfamiliarity as pleasant.'

Thus, public familiarity diminishes Lara's anxiety during encounters. This sense of public familiarity in the IB intersects with Lara's familiarity with the neighbourhood: Lara is familiar with both the neighbourhood and some of its people. This double familiarity allows Lara to feel belongingness during ethnic encounters in the IB, despite her tendency to feel anxious during ethnic encounters. Since Lorenco learned to speak Dutch his sense of public familiarity has increased:

'When I go to the tobacco shop, the woman there has seen me for many years and

before she didn't say anything, but no we talk sometimes and she's like "Oh you learned some Dutch, that's nice!". ... You feel more part of here [in the IB, Amsterdam and the Netherlands] because of that.'

This feeling *'more part of here'* contributes to Lorenco's sense of public familiarity, and belongingness. Public familiarity is communicated through gestures of recognition and acknowledgement, such as nodding to each other or engaging in small-talk.

Gestures of recognition and acknowledgement are crucial to experiences of belongingness during encounters. For example, people's withdrawal from their surroundings is communicated through gestures. For example, Lorenco looks away from people and listens to music, and Lara assumes a closed off bodily posture and avoids eye contact when she feels weary after work and does groceries. By looking away or listening to music, people withdraw from encounters and gesture an unwillingness to engage others, by which they create a personal space in which they can feel comfortable. Even though Lara and Lorenco tend to disengage from ethnic encounters they do enjoy conversations with strangers. Lara explains:

'It's really rare when I'm spoken to, or that I have contact with someone ... But I always experience it as positive when it happens, but I don't look for it myself.'

To be engaged in conversations people need to gesture an at least somewhat open and engaging attitude. Lara elaborates:

'When somebody talks to me they see I can be talked to. ... They may look [around] curiously, like an intercourse-gaze, and then I look the same. But when I have my blinkers on ... and somebody asks me something, I always think ... "Wow he's got the guts to ask me something, that he's not put off by my attitude".'

Thus, gestures of acknowledgement and recognition can communicate openness and engagement, which contributes to people's senses of belongingness, or disengagement.

When Lara gestures openness and engagement she is sometimes approached by people who are, to her, Others. The resulting conversations can challenge Lara's prejudice:

'Like, for example I was at the library here [in the IB] and this lady with a head scarf reprimanded her children in her own [non-Dutch] language, and then she talked to me in perfect Dutch. I was so amazed! ... So I became aware of my own prejudice.'

Through this awareness Lara's perception of Others may change as she recognises that her notion of Otherness does not fit the Others she encounters, and, furthermore, as an Other becomes more similar to her because this Other speaks perfect Dutch. If such changes occur Lara's life course may be affected as her tendency to feel anxious during ethnic encounters may decrease. Therefore, this encounter is an incidental meaningful encounter in that it concerns an incident (verbal engagement) that becomes meaningful (Lara's prejudice is challenged). Not all incidental meaningful encounters involve verbal, or any other form of engagement:

'... yesterday I cycled to work ... and an elderly [White] man fell from his bicycle. I cycled towards him to help but was caught up by a scooter with two of those Moroccan guys. ... And they were there first [to help], while I thought they were like these rude boys with a [sterotypical] fur collar driving way too fast. That [they helped]doesn't confirm my perspective of them, and I enjoyed that.' (Lara)

Lara did not stop but cycled onwards when she saw the elderly man was helped. Thus, these two guys, who are Others to Lara, behave in a way that does not accord with Lara's notions of Otherness, which challenges her prejudice and may affect her perception of future encounters.

Engagement with difference

Harmen and Margriet are similarly unfamiliar with difference as Lara and Lorenco, but Harmen's and Margriet's unfamiliarity predispose them to seek and engage ethnic diversity and to feel excited about ethnic differences. Harmen is a journalist from a White-Dutch village in Friesland. Margriet is bisexual and from a White-Dutch labour class background in Eindhoven. To Harmen and Margriet, seeking ethnic diversity contributes to experiences of belongingness during ethnic encounters. These experiences are affected by the times and places at which encounters occur. Harmen, for example, feels at home when he walks amongst people of different ethnicities in the IB, but often disregards encounters outside the neighbourhood. Harmen usually feels relaxed when he walks in the IB, while he usually thinks about what he has done or will be doing when he is outside the neighbourhood, especially when he travels to and from work. Harmen explains his inattentiveness when he commutes :

> *'[Going to work is like] ... you've walked that route at least a dozen times, you're caught up in your thoughts and all of the sudden you're like "Oh shit, I'm already here". ... It's got to do with that you're thinking about work, like "What's going to happen today, what do I have to do". ... [While] When I've got the time I think it [my surroundings] are much more diverse cause you've got the time to reflect.'*

Margriet also disengages from her surroundings during her daily routine:

> *'[During my routine] ... it's like you're in a jet bridge [vliegtuigslurf], like when you're going into a place through such a trunk. You don't have to think at all, ..., it's always the same. So I hardly pay attention.'*

When Margriet's routine is disrupted she becomes more attentive. For example, Margriet explains she encountered people of different ages, occupations and lifestyles when she missed the train she routinely takes to work:

> *'So I was in another train with many people who did not go from Amsterdam to The Hague for their work [like in my usual train]. ... And I thought "Hey, this is something else". ... Usually it's only people in office clothes who are preoccupied with themselves, like me.*

The succession of people's daily situations also affects the kind of diversity Harmen and Margriet encounter. Harmen explains why he was struck by men at a Mosque in the IB wearing djellabas:

> *'[Those men in djellabas] I remember quite clearly cause I just interviewed those Syrians for work. ...[After those interviews] You just walk home differently, you're thinking about what they'll do, if they'll make it, and then at the Mosque you think "What did they [men at the Mosque] make of it".'*

Thus, Harmen is struck by ethnic and religious difference in the IB because he was involved with, to his mind, similar differences earlier that day. The succession of daily situations may also affect the degree of diversity people encounter. For example, when Margriet arrived in a solarium after a day at work, during which she was among similar other higher educated Whites, she heard lower class accents. These accents contrasted the preceding situations Margriet attended. This contrast renders Margriet a sense of difference .

Harmen and Margriet share a sense of excitement during ethnic encounters. This excitement is an experience of belongingness. For example, Harmen excitedly mentions that he moved to the IB because of its diversity, and that this deliberate engagement with difference makes him feel comfortable and at home in the IB, while it seems to give his daily live a certain liveliness. Accordingly, Harmen's is more excitement during ethnic encounters in the IB than during encounters in areas with which he is unfamiliar.

Margriet's sense of belongingness during encounters is a sense of not standing out:

> *'[I prefer diversity to homogeneity] Cause there's more possible, it's [you're] less easily divergent from the norm. There's no clear norm, there's just diversity.'*

This sense of not standing out relates to Margriet's bisexuality, which stood out in her hometown Eindhoven. Accordingly, Margriet is excited that Amsterdam is so diverse that you can hardly stand out, which made her decide to live in the city. Thus, Margriet's excitement of not standing out during encounter in Amsterdam feeds back into her life course. The presence of both similar others and Others during encounters is also important to Margriet's sense of belongingness:

> *'[So in the IB] I see hip young White people shopping ..., and, I don't know, Moroccan men shopping and working in the stores, and Surinamese men at the toko [exotic food store] ... So it's mixed here ... I enjoy that.'*

Margriet further explains that the presence of similar others signifies that she and people like her are recognised and acknowledged during an encounter.

Senses of recognition and acknowledgement can also be acquired through common purposes and communal experiences. Margriet elaborates:

> *'I feel at home in the evening [in the supermarket after work] and there's other people who get some food to quickly prepare. ... [That's the same as with] Those people who go and come back at seven in the morning and [seven in] the evening to [and from] work.'*

Thus, the common purposes and communal experiences of shopping and going to work render Margriet senses of belongingness. Such purposes and experiences may be shared with both similar others and Others. Harmen's and Margriet's senses of belongingness in the IB also consist of a sense of public familiarity, as with Lara and Lorenco:

> *'I walk past that grocery store every day. In the morning they're setting up shop. ... And they know I walk past there every day. That's nice, that makes me feel at home in my street. So that recognition and acknowledgement is important.'* (Margriet)

According to Harmen, a sense of public familiarity makes him open to his surroundings:

> *'Here [in my street] there's always boys playing football. That's interesting to watch, how they deal with each other. ... There's also this lady I always pass when I walk to the train in the morning. I always look for a moment. I'm interested, I'm conscious [during those moments] of what's going on around me.'*

This openness makes Harmen attentive to his surroundings, and can thereby contribute to his sense of belongingness.

When Harmen and Margriet are free and relaxed they may engage with difference. Harmen explains:

> *'Like here in the street, when I'm on my bench [at the street side of my house], I deliberately decide to greet everyone, like "Hello". Some greet back, others don't. And what's fun ... after three times [greeting] [some people] come and say "You look comfy" or "Bon appetite". ... And the fourth time, like now during the Ramadan, you talk about that [the Ramadan].'*

Through such encounters Harmen learns about Others and challenges his prejudice. Hence, these encounters are incidental meaningful encounters. Contrasting Lara's incidental meaningful encounters, which befall her, Harmen seeks these encounters, about which he seems excited. Yet, Harmen does not seek encounters outside of the IB because he usually disengages from enocunters outside his neighbourhood. Margriet does not seek incidental meaningful encounters, but privately engages with difference. Margriet regularly meets her Uighur friend, and ladies of the Moroccan women's association where she volunteers.

Meeting her ethnically different friends in public affects Margriet's situational sense of Self and others. For example:

> *'Two days back I was with one of those Moroccan women. ... We went for a walk in the Sarphatipark and the Albert Cuyp [a park and market in de Pijp, a gentrified neighbourhood]. ... and I noticed ... we stood out, many [White-Dutch] people looked at us, more than I'm used to. [I felt] Ambivalent. I enjoyed being seen, like "Yes, we're walking here!", but I also thought people were judging us. ... So my identity was ambivalent. When I'm alone there I'd be more like "They're like me, we're all the same." Now she was my context and because of that I can be anyone [in other people's eyes], a care-taker, a colleague, anything.'*

Thus, people's company can affect people's senses of Self and others during encounters. Because Margriet seems to find it exciting to be with a Moroccan lady and to be perceived ambivalently by others, she experiences belongingness during this encounter. This encounter may be incidental meaningful as Margriet's sense of Self as standing out from White-Dutch homogeneity could be strengthened through her association with a Moroccan woman. Furthermore, encountering Margriet and her Moroccan friend may be incidental meaningful to other people, particularly to White-Dutch, as their presumptions of White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch might be challenged.

Familiar with difference

People who are familiar with difference are predisposed to associate with diversity and to dissociate from homogeneity during and throughout encounters. This makes their experiences of encounters different from people like Lara, Lorenco, Harmen and Margriet, who are unfamiliar with difference. However, respondents are familiar with different kinds of diversities and develop different kinds of senses of belongingness. People who are familiar with ethnic diversity tend to feel belongingness during ethnic encounters while people who are familiar with cosmopolitan diversity tend to feel belongingness during cosmopolitan encounters. In their association with ethnic diversity and dissociation from homogeneity the experiences of Non-White Dutch respondents differed from those of White-Dutch respondents. Process of association and dissociation are affected the times and spaces at which the encounters occur and the succession of people's daily situations

Ethnic diversity

People who are familiar with ethnic diversity tend to experience ethnic encounters as commonplace. Madelon, who has always lived with difference in Amsterdam East, explains:

> *'Like last week I was talking with my boyfriend. He said "There's so many guys in djellabbas in the Javastraat lately". I didn't see that. [Maybe that's because] He lives at the Elandsgracht, a completely different kind of neighbourhood [more gentrified and expensive than the IB].'*

Thus, Madelon's and her boyfriend's perceptions of encounters in the IB are affected by their residential mobility, and their life courses. Because Madelon finds encountering djellabas commonplace while her boyfriend is struck by them, she seems to feel comfortable amongst Muslim men, and hence to feel belongingness. This sense of belongingness is different from Margriet's and Harmen's, who find diversity exciting rather than commonplace. Madelon further mentions that she no longer perceives of djellabbas or headscarves as signifying difference, but regards such clothing simply as clothing that can be nice or not:

'What strikes me more [about such Islamic clothing] is when someone wears a nice headscarf. Like a few days ago I saw this Turkish lady in a bright yellow car with a bright yellow jacket and a headscarf with flowers, and I though "Wow that looks cool". So I just see like nice headscarves [rather than Islamic clothing].'

Although encounters are commonplace to Madelon, she seems to find them important. Madelon explains she could not imagine a life without ethnic encounters, and mentions she feels nervousness during encounters with homogeneity. Thus, Madelon seems to acquire a sense of belongingness with diversity through everyday encounters with difference, which indicates that these encounters affect her life course because she chooses not to live without difference. Madelon's experiences of ethnic encounters are similar to Sara's, Gianni's, Clarissa's and Maaike's, who all lived with difference throughout their life courses. Senses of belongingness during encounters are affected by the times and places at which they occur. Madelon is familiar with ethnic diversity in Amsterdam East, and experiences ethnic encounters outside this area differently:

'... in that neighbourhood [the Staatsliedenbuurt] there's no shops, just houses, there's a lot of cars and a big thoroughfare, and many Turks and Moroccans. ... It's less nice and pleasant than here [in the IB]. It's bleak and I think it's more criminal [than the IB].'

Clarissa, a PR manager to organizations in the techno-music industry born in the Staatsliedenbuurt, experiences the Staatsliedenbuurt rather differently. Clarissa believes the neighbourhood lost its toughness and ethnic diversity, and is thus inattentive to ethnic encounters. Thus, Madelon's and Clarissa's experiences of encounters in the Staatsliedenbuurt are affected by their (un)familiarity with the neighbourhood: Clarissa's familiarity, and her reminiscence of toughness, makes her experience few encounters, whereas Madelon's feeling that the neighbourhood is unpleasant and criminal makes her anxious during encounters in the neighbourhood. Madelon's experience of the Staatsliedenbuurt also relates to her daily activities. Madelon works in home care and visited a client in the Staatsliedenbuurt. Madelon does not really like this client, and the client does not really like his neighbourhood. Thus, Madelon feels uneasy when she visits her client, and during encounters before and after this visit. The transport modes respondents used also affected their experiences of encounters. For example, Maaike explains she must be more attentive to traffic when she travels by scooter than when she travels by bicycle. Thus, Maaike tends to be more open to encounters when she cycles, which may increase her sense of belongingness. Respondents may decide to use certain transport modes to avoid or seek encounters. For example, Clarissa takes a car when she visits mother because she travels through Amsterdam's centre, which she dislikes because of its business, even though her mother lives in cycling distance.

Different times and places may concern different kinds of diversities. For example, Amsterdam South-East is inhabited by many Surinamese-Dutch and African-Dutch, while Nieuw-West is mostly inhabited Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch. Such different kinds of diversities may render different experiences. For example, Maaike, who has lived with difference in Amsterdam throughout her life course, feels

'... exceptionally uncomfortable in South-East.'

Maaike explains she feels this way because she is unfamiliar with the area, and because she associates South-East with Black men and criminality. Maaike feels more familiar with a kind of diversity to which she had been more exposed, such as in the IB. Experiences of encounters may also be affected by the business of locations at certain times. For example, , Clarissa finds busy locations such as a shopping street or train station distressing, especially

when she is weary after work. Such locations often host a multicultural bustle in Amsterdam. Clarissa does not dislike such a bustle as such, because she enjoys the IB's multicultural bustle. Thus, Clarissa experiences belongingness during ethnic encounters in the IB, but is anxious during encounters at busy locations. Similar to Margriet, Clarissa is inattentive to encounters =during her routine. For example,

> *'At CS [Amsterdam's main train station] it's very busy off course, but I don't mind that. I get a sandwich and a coffee, and I get in the train. I'm just used to that bustle.'*

Thus, can withdraw from encounters during her routine, even if her routine takes her through busy locations.

Recognition and acknowledgement of Self is crucial to experiences of belongingness during all encounters. People may feel themselves recognised and acknowledged in different ways. One way is to recognise similar others. Sara (from a ethnically mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht) explains:

> *'When I'm in the IB in a Turkish supermarket, and I go inside ... and there's only Turkish people there. That'd be ok cause I know we're ... in the IB, where there's two kinds of people: people of a completely different [non-White Dutch] culture, and [White] Dutch people who like to go to a Turkish supermarket. ... Thus, I feel it's not weird for me to be there [in the supermarket] because others like me also go there. I just feel comfortable. And respected and accepted ... That'd be different somewhere among Islamic people where I don't know if White people go there.'*

Thus, the (imaginary) presence of similar others signifies to Sara that she may be present, that she is recognised and acknowledged. Sara often focuses on similar others during encounters. What she deems similar differs. Sara explains:

> *'I usually look at students. ... I look at their clothes, what they're doing. I think about that. ... What [I look at and feel connected with] depends on the type of person. It can be someone of the same age group, but if there's like this guy [of the same age] in a suit, and I'm not wearing make-up ... then I don't feel connected at all. But if he wears something more casual and cycles at the same pace [as me], then I'd feel more connected.'*

Thus, when people assess other people's behaviour and features such as their clothing, they may acquire senses of belongingness when they feel others are (partially) similar. Other ways in which people may feel themselves recognised is sharing a purpose and experience with others. Sara explains:

> *'[When you're grocery shopping] ... you're in the same phase of the day, so you feel a bit like a group. ... So I do feel more connected in the AH [supermarket].'*

This connectedness relates to the succession of Sara's daily situations. When Sara would shop while feeling weary after a day of studies she may experience connectedness with co-shoppers who are also weary. When Sara would shop to get a quick bite before attending her studies she probably experiences little connectedness as she thinks about her studies and disengages from her surroundings.

People may also recognise themselves among people who they perceive of as Others. Maaike, for example, who has perceived of herself as standing out throughout her life course due to her peculiar primary school, recognises a warmly clothed African-looking man at the bus stop every morning. Maaike always wonders where he is from, if he is cold, and what he will be doing that day. Maaike explains she is struck by this African-looking man because he looks *'... exceptional...'*. Thus, like herself, the man stands out, which probably renders Maaike a sense of belongingness when she encounters him. Furthermore, because she encounters the African-looking man every morning Maaike feels public familiarity, which

also renders a sense of belongingness. Similar to Lara's and Harmen's senses of public familiarity, Maaike recognises this African-looking man as a co-resident but is in no way acquainted to him. Maaike also feels public familiarity when she encounters her neighbour loitering with his friends on the street, which decreases her anxiety during encounters in the IB compared to encounters in unfamiliar areas:

> *'[In West] ... it's the same as where I live [in the IB]. A poor neighbourhood, a diverse population in a non-[White] Dutch way. And there [in West] I feel less at ease [than in the IB]. The atmosphere on the streets is grimmer, even though I think it's the same population [composition]. Maybe it's cause I'm more familiar here. ... People know me. Like the guy living next doors, I think he's twenty-two [and Moroccan]. When these guys [with who he lingers on the street corner] make remarks he'll say "Hey don't fuck with the lady from next doors!" So I then I feel a bit protected. They know me, know I'm ok.'*

People's recognition and acknowledgement of each other is communicated through gestures. Gianni explains:

> *'It's just a good feeling to greet each other when you pass. It's a kind of safety rule. It can be so frustrating when people ignore each other in the street! ... A smile, looking at somebody ... that's all it takes. ... When I cycle and someone smiles to me, that gives me a kind of warm feeling.'*

According to Gianni, such gestures are most often and most easily communicated while people walk in their residential neighbourhood because people are not too hasty while they walk and pedestrians have the time to look at each other while they pass. To perceive and sent gestures people need to be open to their surroundings. Madelon explains that she dislikes encountering people whose face is covered, for example by a hoody or burqa

> *'When someone smiles while she is completely veiled, you don't know ... You can't see everything in someone's expressions, but you can see a lot. It feels as if those people close themselves off of conversations ... from all contact.'*

Incidental meaningful encounters may strengthen the association with difference and dissociation from homogeneity of respondents who are familiar with ethnic diversity. For example, Sara's encounter with White-Dutch homogeneity at a birthday party made her feel uneasy with homogeneity while she longed for the presence of people with different backgrounds. Similar to the way in which Margriet's walk with a Moroccan-Dutch lady in a park strengthened her association with difference, Sara's encounter at the birthday party can affect her life course as her sense of Self and others is strengthened. People who are familiar with difference may also see their prejudice challenged through incidental meaningful encounters. For example, if Maaike would encounter Black men in South-East who help her find her was she might see her prejudices of South-East and its inhabitants challenged.

Cosmopolitan diversity

Unlike Madelon, Sara, Clarissa, and Maaike, Gianni and Lisanne familiarized with cosmopolitan diversity. This familiarity predisposes them to feel belongingness during cosmopolitan encounters. This predisposition is similar to Lara's and Lorenco's association with cosmopolitanism, although Lara and Lorenco are not familiarized with cosmopolitanism. Senses of belongingness during cosmopolitan encounters are located as some areas are more cosmopolitan than others. Gianni, who familiarized with cosmopolitan diversity because of his theatre activities enjoys the area near his school, which is a central area with a market, cafés, and many tourists and daytime visitors. This area is cosmopolitan

to Gianni because of the many tourists and people with different lifestyles. Gianni also experiences the 9straatjes an area with trendy cafés and fashion shops, as cosmopolitan. Gianni is open to others in these areas, and often engages in small-talk. This openness and Gianni's enjoyment of these areas indicate senses of belongingness that are similar to Lorenco's, who often goes to the city centre to engage in small-talk in cafés and bars. Lisanne familiarized with cosmopolitanism as she lived in different countries around the world, lived in The Hague's centre, and attended an international-oriented university. Lisanne's sense of cosmopolitanism includes a sense of toughness that contrasts Gianni's and Lorenco's senses of cosmopolitanism. Thus, Lisanne does not feel belongingness during encounters in the 9straatjes.According to Lisanne, people in the 9straatjes are too posh. Lisanne neither enjoys Amsterdam's centre as Gianni and Lorenco do. Lisanne experiences Amsterdam's centre as

> *'Too hectic, too many tourists ... For you there's a hundred others. That's different here [in the IB], it's quieter.'*

Therefore, Lisanne probably experiences belongingness during cosmopolitan encounters at quiet locations with a certain toughness. Such encounters may occur in the IB, which Lisanne explains she experiences as tough and partly cosmopolitan as the neighbourhood hosts both ethnic and class diversity, and trendy coffee-bistros and the like.

Lisanne's and Gianni's experiences of encounters are, like the experiences of all other respondents discussed, affected by the succession of daily situations. Some of Lisanne's experiences are provided as an example, although these observations also apply to Gianni. As an earlier example of Margriet showed, the degree of diversity encountered is affected by the succession of daily situations. For example, Lisanne encountered diversity in a White-Dutch middle class neighbourhood in The Hague, after she visited an event attended by higher educated White-Dutch in Leiden. Thus, she went from a situation with no diversity to a situation with little diversity. The kind of diversity Lisanne encounters is also affected by the succession of daily situations, similar to Harmen's encounter with men in djellaba's at a Mosque in the IB. When Lisanne went shopping in Amsterdam South-East she encountered sports fans. Lisanne felt anxious during this encounter because

> *'I once went to a concert [in South-East] and at the same time there was an Ajax [Amsterdam's football team] game. ... there were riots and I internalised that [impression of South-East] cause I felt very unsafe.'*

Additionally, Lisanne encountered Black people in South-East. The diversity of sports fans and Black people is another kind of diversity than the ethnic diversity of the IB, where Lisanne returned after shopping in South-East. Thus, ethnic diversity strikes Lisanne as she moves into the IB because she came from a situation with different kinds of diversity. Furthermore, Lisanne experienced a difference in atmosphere with these different diversities:

> *'South-East is loud. People are always talking loudly. People here stand closer together, it's quieter. ... It's more an at-home atmosphere. That's nice and safe.'*

This contrast in atmosphere renders Lisanne a sense of belongingness in the IB. Such an atmosphere is be felt due to such as, in this case, bodily postures of standing close together.

Such bodily postures are gestures of recognition and acknowledgement. Gestures of recognition and acknowledgement are particularly shared when people have a common purpose or communal experience. Lisanne explains she felt belongingness when she and others waited for a delayed train:

> *'... everybody's going there, and then you feel connected. Like "We're going to Middelburg, we chose to go by train, and here we are", ...'*

The presence of similarities and familiarities also make people feel recognised and acknowledged. Lisanne explains:

'I have a thing for shirts. So if someone wears a perfect shirt I'm like "Yee, that's cool!".'

Thus, when Lisanne encounters someone wearing a *'perfect'* shirt she feels connected.

Lisanne's experiences of encounters are also affected by her routine, during which she experiences little or no diversity, like Harmen, Margriet and Clarissa:

' ... I'm usually reading or talking about work. I think Mickey and Minnie could come by, and I wouldn't notice.'

The kind of transport modes people also affect respondents' experiences of encounters. Gianni explains he focuses on traffic and on his music when he cycles, which makes encounters on his bike too fleeting to leave an impression. Like Lorenco, this Gianni's disengagementis auditory, not visually, as he does look around. Lisanne usually feels connected in public transport

'... because you're in a tight space, you're close together. ... So then you easily have these small moments of connectedness.'

Similar to all previously discussed respondents, Lisanne and Gianni encounter diversity most frequently when they walk in the IB

Lisanne sometimes has incidental meaningful encounters with difference. Lisanne recounts:

'..., I encountered a guy, a big guy, Black, with those gangster kind of clothes, oversized clothes and a cap. Very tough. He was cycling and carried a canary in a cage. That was so cool, I really liked that!'

Because this guy behaved unexpectedly by carrying a canary, Lisanne's prejudice about Black guys in *'gangster kind of clothes'* was challenged. This challenge led Lisanne to reflect

'There's always a segment of Dutch saying there's no integration, that society silted, that it's all going to shit. But when I see something like that I think "It's not that bad".'

Incidental meaningful encounters may become meaningful in relation to other encounters. For example,

'There was a Turkish man living here, ... This man didn't greet me [when I started living here]. I perceived he didn't greet women. I had a stereotypical image of him that really annoyed me ... I was like "How dare you". But then I talked with my neighbour about it and she said "No he has a weak hart and you disturbed him so much [because you were rebuilding] with all that dust that he got very little sleep, that's why he is annoyed." "Ouch" I thought, "so it's my perception that's wrong".' (Lisanne)

Thus, Lisanne's encounter with her Turkish neighbour became meaningful because of her engagement with another neighbour during another encounter. Through such encounters Lisanne learns about Others, which may increase her familiarity with difference, and may thereby contribute to her sense of belongingness during ethnic encounters.

White-Dutch and non-White Dutch

This study's non-White Dutch respondents Cecile (Ghanaian-Dutch), Afra (Moroccan-Dutch) and Marima (White-Dutch mother, Moroccan-Dutch father) often experience exclusion from and by White-Dutch. This sense of exclusion is important to their experiences of encounters. In addition to their ethnicity, Cecile, Afra and Marima identify themselves as local *Amsterdammers*, which affects their experiences of encounters. For example, Afra explains she feels excluded when she goes shopping in Amstelveen, a town that is homogeneously White-Dutch compared to the IB. Afra feels excluded in Amstelveen because people look depreciatingly at her and because she feels people talk about her in terms of

'"Oh no, there's some of those Moroccans".'

These depreciating gazes and remarks are gestures of recognition and acknowledgement, excluding Afra in this case. Afra does not feel excluded when encountering White-Dutch in the IB because these encounters usually involve both White- and non-White Dutch, and because Afra feels White-Dutch in the IB are more open and tolerant than White-Dutch in Amstelveen.

Marima also feels excluded from and by White-Dutch during encounters outside Amsterdam, even if these encounters involve both White-Dutch non-White Dutch. In Amsterdam Marima does seem to feel belongingness during encounters involving similar non-White Dutch others. Marima explains exclusion outside Amsterdam is communicated through gestures:

> *'[Through] Nondescript things. Like when I think someone looks at me because I wear a headscarf, like a dirty look.'*

Exclusion during encounters troubles Marima's identification as both White-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch Muslim:

> *'Hoorn [where my White-Dutch aunt lives] is kind of a rural backwater. I feel I'm being looked at there. And when I'm with my aunt people think "What're they doing together?" We were shopping once and someone said "How disturbing that your daughter has converted. " My aunt said "That's my cousin, not my daughter. She's Moroccan". Apparently it's ok then [to be Muslim].'*

Thus, Marima feels excluded as (Moroccan-Dutch) Muslim and feels banned from identifying as a White-Dutch during this encounter. Cecile also feels excluded outside Amsterdam. In addition, she associates with Amsterdam and its diversity. For example, Cecile experiences Utrecht as less diverse than Amsterdam, and experiences arriving in Amsterdam from Utrecht, after a day of studies, as arriving home. Afra and Marima similarly reflect how *Amsterdammers* live with difference, while people outside Amsterdam are less familiar with diversity. Therefore, Afra's, Marima's and Cecile's senses of exclusion and belongingness during encounters intersect with their local identity. This local identity, in turn, intersects with senses of public familiarity. Marima and Cecile were born in the IB, Afra moved into the neighbourhood when she was seven. Due to their long-term residence they may recognise co-residents in the IB, and thus feel public familiarity. Furthermore, Afra's, Marima's and Cecile's senses of public familiarity may be advanced by the friends and family they have in the neighbourhood, and by Afra's and Marima's community work.

Afra and Marima relate senses of exclusion to xenophobia in politics, public affairs, and media about Moroccan-Dutch and Muslim. Marima elaborates:

> *'I was shocked after those terrorist attacks [on comic office Charlie Hebdo, in Paris, France]. I was here [at work] and my father called that I should go home early cause he heard a Muslim girl was hit, here in Amsterdam. ... [A few days later] I was bringing some friends to the tram stop. I was walking back, around the corner of my house ... and suddenly, here, here and here, spit, spit, spit. ... I was really shocked. I thought "This is really wrong, if this becomes the way we live with each other".'*

This assault fiercely excludes Marima as she feels banned from walking in her place of birth and from publicly identifying as a Moroccan-Dutch Muslim. Such assaults may affect Marima's life course as she reflects on what society is coming to and may come to doubt her ideals of equality and respect. Thus, this assault becomes an incidental meaningful encounter as Marima's presumptions and ideals of living with difference are challenged. Because of such xenophobia Afra's and Marima's senses of exclusion are graver than Cecile's.

Afra's, Marima's and Cecile's experiences are affected by the succession of their daily situations. For example, Marima, who is partially paralysed and is revalidating, explains she disengages from her surroundings after she visits the hospital

'..., then I close myself off. ... I avoid everyone.'

Thus, Marima withdraws from (potential) encounters and creates a personal space in which she can focus on her thoughts and feelings concerning her revalidation. Similarly, Afra explains she disengages from her surroundings after her children have been loud and tiring in order to pay attention to her children, or to create a personal space in which she can relax Cecile disengages from her surroundings when she goes to her university in Utrecht by focussing on her studies. Thus, similar to other respondents, Afra, Marima and Cecile acquire a state of mind due to the succession of their daily situations that affects their (dis)engagement from their surroundings.

Afra, Cecile and Marima also disengage from their surroundings to manage senses of exclusion. For example, Cecile mentions:

'Like when I'm among Whites and I don't have my phone with me, then I wouldn't be so comfortable cause I'd think I can't share cause they don't understand my thoughts like the [similar other] people I'd talk with on the phone. And when there's diversity I think I can share more cause I know it from by background.'

Afra and Marima may also disengage from encounters when they feel excluded. For example, Marima mentions

'I feel uncomfortable when I feel I'm being looked at [because of my hedscarf]. ... Then, I close myself off.'

However, Afra and Marima also engage others during encounters to manage their sense of exclusion by being at their best behaviour, for example by speaking perfect Dutch and being overly polite. Through such engagement Afra and Marima aim to be exemplary Moroccan-Dutch, and to tackle White-Dutch prejudice and enmity. When Marima and Afra challenge White-Dutch prejudice during an encounter, the encounter becomes incidental meaningful. Marima elaborates on such an encounter:

'These moments when presumptions aren't right, when you can play with them and tackle them, these moments are great. I was in the tram across of a lady with a handbag. A [White-] Dutch lady, about forty. A Moroccan guy went to sit next to her, and she moved her handbag even though there was plenty space for the guy to sit ... The guy looked at her, and she immediately looked away and looked at me, and then looked further away, out of the window. ... But the windowsills in those trams are diagonal, so you can't put your bag there in a good way. So the bag fell. The guy got up the bag, and I moved to do the same. Cause I moved he thought it was mine and wanted to give it to me. I said it was hers and he gave it to her. And I said "You should look if everything is in the bag cause the zipper was open when it fell". And she just didn't know how to behave anymore, she was so amazed, she could hardly say "Thank you"!'

Thus, the White-Dutch lady's prejudice about Moroccan-Dutch is challenged and may change.

Mobility of surroundings: gentrification

Encounters with ethnic and cosmopolitan diversity are affected by people's daily encounters with the mobility of their surroundings, that is, with gentrification. People who associate with cosmopolitanism experience belongingness during encounters with gentrification, whereas

White-Dutch born in Amsterdam who associate with ethnic diversity feel ambivalent during these encounters.

Increasing belongingness

As the IB gentrifies the neighbourhood becomes more White and facilities and services become more cosmopolitan. Thus, the neighbourhood's ethnic diversity becomes less prominent. This makes Lara and Lorenco, who associate with cosmopolitan diversity as they sought Amsterdam's open-mindedness and enjoy the presence of different lifestyles, less anxious and more comfortable and connected during encounters in the IB. Lara explains her connection with similar *'... well-earning Whites in their thirties ...'* others:

> *'You know it's not that we have bond, but we share something. Like we both live in this neighbourhood and maybe experience in the same way.'*

Lara elaborates that such encounters have become more frequent during the seven years she has lived in the IB, and witnessed gentrification. Lorenco similarly reflects how the IB has become more like the (cosmopolitan) city centre, which he realises when he comes across, for example, yuppies at a hip café. Therefore, Lara's and Lorenco's encounters with cosmopolitanism become more frequent with gentrification, which increases their belongingness in the IB. This is an intersection between belongingness cosmopolitanism and local belongingness.

Lara also appreciates gentrification in other areas than the IB:

> *'[When I go to my sewing course] I go around the corner there and there's the Beukenplein that is refurbished [street furniture has been bettered and trendy bars were established]. The terraces there are full of familiar people.'*

Lara explains she opens herself to her surroundings at the Beukenplein by looking around, and takes in the familiar cosmopolitanism. However, after Lara passes the Beukenplein she enters a neighbourhood that is in comparison ethnically diverse, which contrasts Lara 's preceding cosmopolitan encounter and decreases her sense of belongingness. This makes her disengage from her surroundings.

Ambivalence

White-Dutch respondents who were born in Amsterdam, and hence familiar with ethnic difference, feel ambivalent during encounters with gentrification. These encounters occur as these respondents run into yuppies, shops, services and objects they relate to gentrification. Maaike explains:

> *' So you see yuppies, a different type of person, you know career, work, a different kind of life. ... [And I see gentrification because there's] Just more expensive stuff [on the street than before], expensive bicycles, clothing, everything like that.'*

Madelon and Clarissa similarly observe that bars and cafés attracting yuppies have been established, that public space has been refurbished to look more trendy, and how they see more expensive objects such as bicycles in the IB. Clarissa feels ambivalent about such changes. For example, she mentions

> *'It seems that the Baarsjes [in Amsterdam West] is completely gentrified and yuppiefied. But luckily it's still a bit tough here [in the IB].'*

While,

> *'I like to go to these [gentrifier] places as an experience, to walk and shop and drink there. I only think it [the Javastraat] needs a bio-food store, then it's complete.'*

This contrast between appreciating and depreciating gentrification reveals Clarissa's ambivalence. Madelon is also ambivalent about gentrification. Madelon likes to visit nice bars in the neighbourhood, while she feels that such bars are only visited by White people, and contribute to the segregation of different ethnicities and classes, which she depreciates. Thus, Clarissa and Madelon alternately feel belongingness and annoyance as they walk through the IB and encounter gentrification, which probably troubles their negotiation of Self and others, and their sense of belongingness in the neighbourhood. Clarissa and Madelon also experience gentrification in other areas. Clarissa (grew up in the Staatsliedenbuurt) mentions that gentrification in the Staatsliedenbuurt disrupts her sense of belongingness in the neighbourhood. In contrast, Madelon (grew up in Amsterdam East) does not seem to encounter gentrification in the Staatsliedenbuurt because she is not familiar with the area and does not realize how the neighbourhood changed. Thus, encounters with gentrification in areas with which they are familiar seem to trouble White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* negotiations of Self and others by disrupting their familiarity with these areas. Still, White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* also enjoy visiting gentrifier establishments, and thus appreciate gentrification. This ambivalence can affect respondents' senses of belongingness in their familiar areas and might make them nostalgic about the ethnic diversity with which they grew up even though they partially enjoy gentrification.

Conclusions

During encounters with difference people negotiate senses of Self and others by drawing on their predisposed associations and dissociations in relation to their daily paths. Therefore, people's senses of belongingness during encounters comes about through a convergence of people's life courses and daily paths. Several aspects of people's daily paths appeared to be especially important during this convergence. First, different times and places were found to be important. The times and places at which encounters occur bear implications for the kind of diversity encountered. For example, people are likely to encounter cosmopolitan diversity in Amsterdam's centre, and ethnic diversity in the IB. Additionally, people tend to experience more belongingness during encounters that occur at times and places with which they are familiar. Second, the succession of people's daily situations is important to their experiences of belongingness. This succession affects the state of mind people have as they as move into an encounter. For example, people tend to be disengage from their surroundings when they go to work, which makes encounters during this routine unimportant to then. The succession of people's daily situations also affect the kind and degree of diversity they encounter. For example, when people encounter ethnic diversity they may become more attentive to ethnic encounters later that day, and when people are in a hardly diversified situation they tend to experience the next situation as more diversified. These influences are the answer to this thesis' subquestion *What is the relation between people's daily paths and their sense of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?*

During all encounters people need to feel recognised and acknowledged to experience belongingness. Several processes or mechanisms advance recognition and acknowledgement. These mechanisms are presence of similarities and familiarities during encounters, having common purposes or communal experiences with others, and senses of public familiarity. Public familiarity is a sense of recognising others and being recognised by others. Senses of recognition and acknowledgement are communicated through gestures, such as nods or gazes. However, such gestures may also communicate senses of exclusion, for example when people feel others look depreciatingly at them. Senses of recognition and acknowledgement,

and exclusion, come about through the convergence of people's daily and life course path, and thereby render experiences of encounters. Experiences of encounters may also affect people's life course paths. For example, people may have incidental meaningful encounters that challenge or strengthen their presumptions of others. As people's presumptions are affected their negotiation of Self and others is affected, which can, for example, make people decide to seek or avoid diversity on a life course scale. Therefore, people's life course and daily paths are a dialectic that converges during encounters, and thereby renders senses of belongingness during encounters.

Conclusions and discussion

This study investigated people's experiences of everyday encounters with difference in a hyper-diverse society. This investigation contributes a time geographical approach and the concept belongingness to studies into everyday multiculturalism, and contributes to our understanding of the workings of mixing policies. In doing so, this study shows how people's experiences of belongingness come about through non-deterministic, dynamic and singular daily and life course path dialectics. The experiences of belongingness this study found seem to reveal that people have networks of dispersed and flexible senses of belongingness that constitute dynamic bridging and bonding ties. These conclusions came about by studying the question *What is the relation between people's life course paths, daily paths, and their senses of belongingness during everyday encounters with difference?* To answer this question thirteen higher educated young adults, of who three are non-White Dutch, nine are White-Dutch, and one is White-Portuguese, filled in travel diaries during two workdays. These travel diaries revealed where and when respondents encountered diversity, and who and what was involved in these encounters. To inquire into their senses of belongingness during these encounters, respondents were interviewed. During semi-structured interviews respondents were asked about their life course in relation to diversity, the encounters they listed in their travel diaries, and about other relevant aspects of their life courses and encounters not listed in the travel diaries. All respondents live in the Indische Buurt, an ethnically mixed and gentrifying neighbourhood that has seen mixing policies aiming to desegregate ethnic minorities and increase cohesion. Most of the respondents' encounters were ethnic and cosmopolitan encounters.

This study's findings are depicted in Figure 4. The model depicted is an elaboration and completion of the model in Figure 3. The top part of Figure 4 shows influences of people's life course paths, the bottom part shows influences of people's daily paths. The middle part shows the convergence of people's life course and daily paths in encounters. Through this convergence people gain situational senses of Self and others that may be recognised and acknowledged. Feeling recognised and acknowledged is an experience of belongingness. Senses of belongingness affect how people feel during their daily paths, and may affect people's life course associations and dissociations. Thus, this study shows that people's daily and life course paths are a dialectic that constitutes and is constituted by people's senses of belongingness during encounters.

People's life courses predispose their experiences of encounters. People's exposure to diversity is essential to this predisposition. People who have been exposed to homogeneity are predisposed to feel anxious about difference, or to engage difference. People who have been exposed to diversity were exposed to ethnic or cosmopolitan diversity, which predisposed them to associate with the diversity they were exposed to, and to dissociate from homogeneity. People's exposure to their surroundings renders senses of familiarity and rootedness in certain areas. Feeling rooted and familiar in an area positively affects people's senses of belongingness during encounters in that area. Gentrification was an important theme in respondents' exposure to their surroundings as it affected their senses of rootedness. People's world-views also affect their senses of belongingness. For example, people may be brought up with a morale of egalitarianism and respect, which predisposes them to be unprejudiced of Others. The life courses of non-White Dutch were found to render different

experiences of encounters than Whites because non-White Dutch tended to feel excluded from and by White-Dutch.

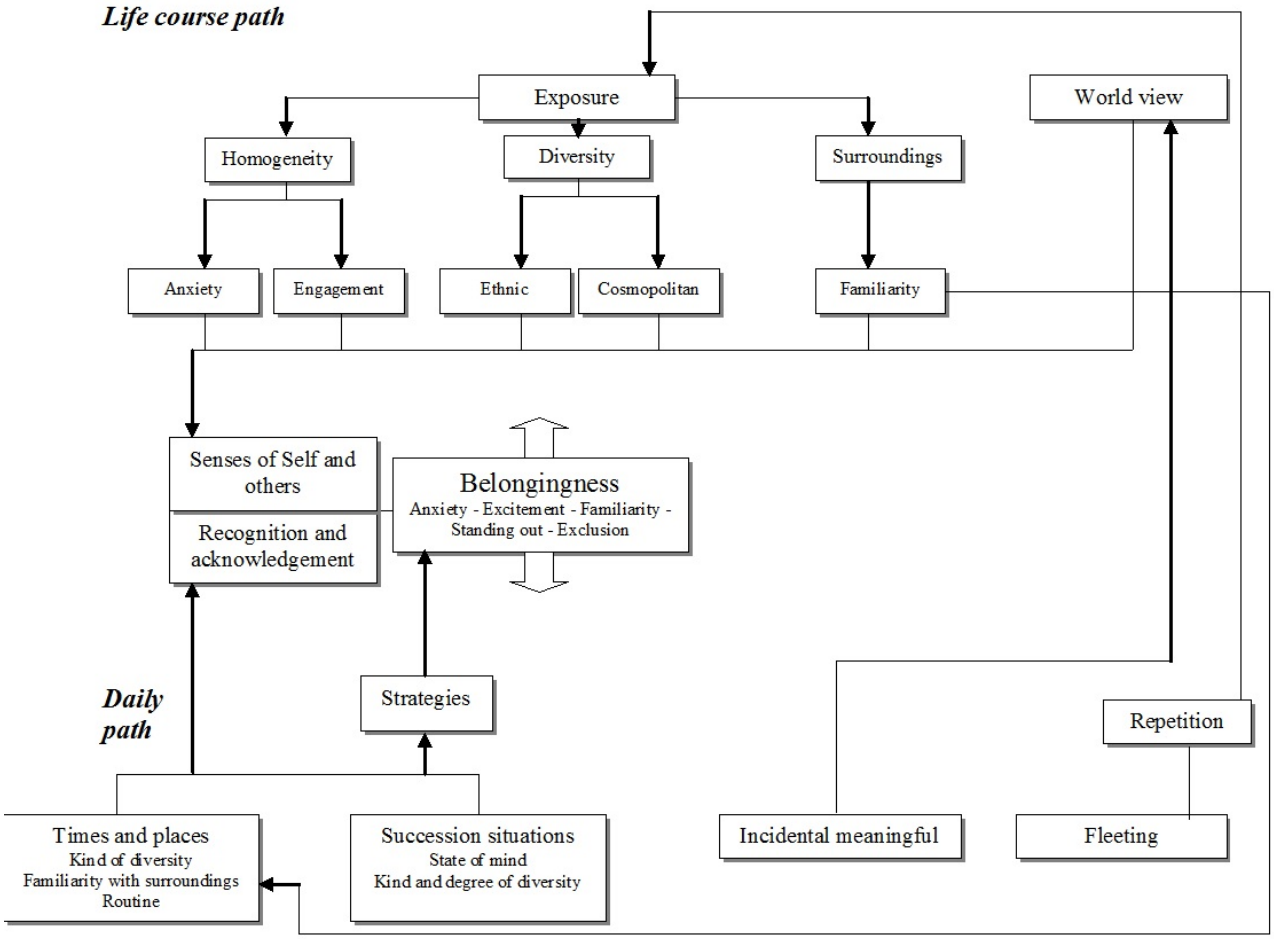


Figure 4: conceptual model

The daily path part of Figure 4 shows that the times and places at which encounters occur affect people's experiences of encounters in three ways. First, particular kinds of diversity are recurrent at certain times and places. For example, cosmopolitanism is often encountered in certain shopping streets in Amsterdam's centre, during shopping hours. Second, people may be familiar to their surroundings at certain times and places. Third, people tend to be inattentive to encounters during their daily routines. The succession of people's daily situations was also found to affect their experiences of encounters. This succession is important to people's state of mind and influences their perception of the kind and degree of diversity encountered. During their daily paths people have certain strategies at their disposal, such as listening to music on a portable audio device, in order to manage encounters and manipulate senses of recognition and acknowledgement. These strategies are ways of positioning and boundary setting. This study shows how daily incidental meaningful encounters, encounters that challenge or affirm people's presumptions of others, may directly affect their world-views, and how fleeting encounters constitute people's life course exposure to diversity through repetition. Thus, incidental meaningful and, potentially, fleeting encounters, are essential to people's daily and life course dialectic in relation to living with difference.

Daily - life course dialectic

Structuration

People's life course and daily paths form a dialectic because their everyday actions make up their life course paths, while their life course paths inform their everyday actions (Dijst 2009; McQuoid & Dijst 2012; Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1981). This dialectic between people's daily and life course paths reproduces and alters society as people's daily actions are informed by the way in which people are socialized into society, while society is the sum of people's daily actions. This interplay between everyday actions and societal structure is structuration (Dyck and Kearns 2006; Giddens 1984; Pred 1984). This study found that structuration to hyper-diversified society is a dynamic process in which people's life course exposure to diversity, which is the sum of their everyday encounters with difference, predisposes but does not determine experiences of living with difference. Little exposure to diversity can predispose people to feel anxious about ethnic diversity, or to seek ethnic difference. More exposure to diversity structurates people to associate with the kind of diversity they are exposed to, and to dissociate from homogeneity. These findings suggest that society's hyper-diversified structure is reproduced as individual, lifestyle, and ethnic differences are reproduced. However, people's structuration may also alter society. For example, people who are predisposed to feel anxious about ethnic differences may familiarize with ethnic diversity by living in an ethnically mixed neighbourhood. This familiarity may lessen their prejudice of and increase their connectedness to ethnic Others. Still, because this alternating structuration highlights dynamism and brings plurality, it is structuration into hyper-diversified society. Therefore, structuration seems to both reproduce and alter societal structure as people are structurated into hyper-diversified society through their predisposed associations and dissociations, in their daily and life course path dialectic.

These reflections on structuration concur with this study's findings on respondents' experiences of belongingness. People were found to experience belongingness differently during similar encounters, in spite of their similar backgrounds. Thus, people growing up with difference in, for example, Amsterdam, can be both prejudiced or tolerant of Others during encounters. People who remain prejudiced confirm studies that suggest prejudice persists (Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). People who are tolerant of Others confirm studies that suggest living with difference increases tolerance (Barnett 2005; Bell 2007; Laurier & Philo 2006; Neal et al. 2013; Wessendorf 2013). Therefore, this study's findings on belongingness suggest that prejudice or tolerance, segregation or integration, and, by extension, cohesion, are individual experiences deriving from people's daily and life course path dialectic. Experiences of belongingness are enacted. For example, people who are predisposed to seek ethnic diversity may deliberately engage ethnic Others, and thereby challenge their prejudice, while people who are predisposed to anxiety about ethnic difference may avoid ethnic Others, and thereby affirm their prejudice. In such actions people's life courses inform their everyday actions, while these actions feedback into their life courses. Thus, people's senses of belongingness and their enactment thereof may structurate a reproduction of their attitude to and understanding of difference.

Because people's senses of belongingness inform and are informed by their life courses, this study suggests that people's experiences of belongingness during encounters are indispensable to their daily and life course dialectics, and, in extension, to structuration. This

study further suggests that societal structure is simultaneously altered and reproduced, depending on the individual perspective taken, because experiences of belongingness and people's structuration are singular. This suggestion would mean that connectedness to others is an individual experience rather than an overarching cohesive relatedness between (groups of) people. Therefore, the concept of belongingness maybe better suited than the concept cohesion to study what people within a society share and what connects them, because the concept belongingness encompasses people's their singular experiences and can account for hyper-diversified plural and dynamic societal structure. Despite the importance of people's singular experience and societal plurality and dynamism, exposure to difference seems to point to general tendencies and themes. Foremost, this study indicates that exposure to diversity tends to increase people's senses of belongingness during encounters, and thus renders people experiences of bridging ties to Others. This interpretation indicates that mixing policies can work to advance people's senses of connectedness to Others, while the relation between these policies and cohesion remains unclear and ambiguous (Bolt & Van Kempen 2009, 2012; Bolt, Van Kempen & Phillips 2010; Galster 2010). Therefore, mixing policies might take up the concept belongingness rather taking up cohesion as an overarching aim.

Differentiation and meaningful encounters

People's daily and life course path dialectic is a negotiation of Self and others characterised by processes of association and dissociation, which are informed by structurated historicity, power relations and constructions of Otherness. Colonial history and power relations of White superiority and normativity, and non-White inferiority and deviance are thus important to people's negotiations of Self and others (Ahmed 2000; Fannon 1952; Nayak 2007; Said 1978). For example, this study showed that non-White Dutch often felt excluded during encounters with White-Dutch. This sense of exclusion seemed important to their sense of Self as part of an ethnic community versus a White-Dutch majority. As such, this sense of exclusion suggests segregation between White-Dutch and non-White Dutch. Despite this juxtaposition of White and non-White, people differentiate in between Others, and in between similar others (Ahmed 2000), and thus in between Whites and non-Whites. Respondents' ability to such in-group differentiation seemed to increase with their exposure to diversity. Thus, people who are familiar with ethnic diversity tend to recognise more differences between and within groups of ethnic Others than people who are unfamiliar with ethnic diversity. Differentiation between similar others and Others, and in between similar others and Others, occurs as people assess others and objects. Such assessment is possible as people and objects are inscribed by history and societal structures (Butler 1989; Foucault 1978). People's bodies, language, clothing, particularly headscarves and djellabas, and objects associated with gentrification, such as expensive bicycles, were found to be important inscriptions to people's assessments. Hence, such features signify difference. Because such signifiers are assessed as people relate to people and objects during an encounter, assessment is an intercorporeal and intersubjective process (Ahmed 2000). This process is individualized because the meanings people ascribe to signifiers are derived from their daily and life course dialectic.

This study's findings on people's daily and life courses bear implications for what encounters affect people's understanding of and attitude to difference, and therefore for what encounters are meaningful. Because people's exposure to diversity was found to affect their experiences of encounters and perception of living with difference, people's fleeting encounters, which largely make up their exposure to difference, may become meaningful. Fleeting encounters

can become meaningful if they are repetitive and thereby affect people's life courses. Another kind of everyday meaningful encounters are incidental meaningful encounters. Incidental meaningful encounters affect people's life courses by directly challenging or strengthening their presumptions of others. Therefore, this study suggests everyday encounters, in the form of fleeting and incidental meaningful encounters, can be meaningful because they can be

> *'... contact that actually changes values and translates beyond the specifics of the individual moment into a more general positive respect for -rather than merely tolerance of- others.'* (Valentine 2008: p.325)

This suggestion challenges Valentine's and Sadgrove's (2013) assertion that meaningful encounters are

> *'... encounters within the context of semi-institutionalised spaces of the family home, the workplace and a school.'* (p. 14)

However, everyday encounters do not automatically lead to a positive respect for, or tolerance of, others. This finding refutes studies into everyday multiculturalism asserting that living with difference leads to tolerance (Barnett 2005; Bell 2007; Laurier and Philo 2006; Neal et al. 2013; Wessendorf 2013). Rather, everyday encounters only become meaningful in their importance to people's daily and life course path dialectic. When people experience belongingness during an encounter and if this encounter becomes meaningful, an encounter can positively affect people's perceptions of living with difference.

Recognition and acknowledgement

This study shows that people need to feel recognised and acknowledged during encounters in order to experience belongingness. Several processes transfer senses of recognition and acknowledgement. First, the presence of similarities or familiarities, such as similar others or familiar surroundings, contributes to senses of belongingness. People recognise similarities and familiarities by differentiating them from Otherness. People also recognise similarities and familiarities when they know these are regularly present at the location of an encounter, even though they are not present during that encounter. Second, sharing purposes or experiences with other people contributes to people's senses of belongingness. For example, people share a purpose when they travel to the same destination by train, and share an experience when they are annoyed if that train is delayed. Such purposes and experiences render people a sense of *'belonging to the situation'* (Bissel 2007: p. 291, in: Wilson 2011) that does not seem to extrapolate outside the encounter. Third, senses of public familiarity contribute to people's senses of belongingness. Public familiarity is a sense of recognising and being recognised by others, without necessarily personally knowing them (Blokland & Nast 2014). Senses of public familiarity may intersect with people's familiarity with their surroundings. For example, several respondents felt public familiarity in the IB. In Blokland and Nast's (2014) study, public familiarity is found in people's residential neighbourhood. This study shows that public familiarity also occurs at other places and times, for example in the train people regularly take to work. Recognition of similarities and familiarities, sharing purposes and experiences, and senses of public familiarity, interrelate with people's daily and life course dialectic. For example, people gain a sense of public familiarity due to their exposure to their surroundings throughout (a period of) their life course.

Senses of recognition and acknowledgement are communicated through gestures, such as nods and gazes. Such gestures are a

> *'... series of interactions between a group of strangers getting along with each other.'* (Wilson 2011: p.638)

Thus, gestures can communicate an atmosphere in which people feel comfortable. However, gestures can also communicate senses of exclusion. Like signifiers, people assess gestures intersubjectively and intercoroporeal (Ahmed 2000). Through gestures and their assessments *'affective atmospheres'* (Bissel 2010) may come into being. When this happens, people can collaboratively experience belongingness. People can purposely use gestures. For example, people who nod to others invite engagement, while people who look down disengage. Thus, gestures are strategies to manage encounters.

Mankind's eccentric positionality is fundamental to senses of recognition and acknowledgement. For example, when people feel comfortable during an ethnic encounter, their internal perspective is one of recognition and acknowledgement. When, people are nodded to by others, their external perspective is also one of recognition and acknowledgement. In this case, internal and external positionalities are in accordance, which means that people feel connected to others and their surroundings, and thus experience belongingness. This experience is cognitive, emotional, embodied, and performed (Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming; Fischer 2009; Fuchs 2005; Heinze 2009; Mishara 2009; Lindemann 2009; Ratcliffe 2009). In this case people feel themselves acknowledged and know they are welcomed during the encounter (cognition), which makes them feel comfortable (emotion). This cognition and embodiment makes people relax their bodily postures (embodiment) while they can nod back to others (performance). When such an experience of belongingness is reciprocated by others, as they too feel internally comfortable and externally recognised and acknowledged, an *'affective atmosphere'* (Bissel 2010) comes about.

Managing encounters and belongingness

When people do not feel recognised or acknowledged, and hence feel little belongingness, they may set boundaries and position themselves to manage encounters and acquire senses of belongingness (Dijst 2014; Dijst & Gimmler forthcoming; McQuoid & Dijst 2012). People have many strategies to set boundaries and position themselves. For example, people may listen to music, phone others, think about work or other situations outside an encounter, focus on similarities and familiarities and ignore Otherness, or gesture openness or disengagement. Gesturing disengagement is a public code of conduct defined as *'civil inattention'* by Goffman (1963). This code of conduct is a

> *'... misanthropic disposition [that] might constitute a strategy for dealing with the stresses and strains of travelling with others.'* (Bissel 2010: p. 278)

This study found that taking different transport modes is another strategy for people to set boundaries and position themselves. Although people's experiences of transport modes are singular, some trends stand out. People almost completely disengage from their surroundings by taking the car. People partially disengage when cycling and, to a lesser extent, in public transport. Respondents were found to be most exposed to encounters when they walked because they had least strategies available to boundary setting and positioning on foot. People are probably so much exposed to encounters while walking because walking involves a complete sensory and embodied engagement with one's surroundings (Middleton 2010).

People's boundary setting strategies and positioning are stimulated by their state of mind during their daily path and by their life course associations and dissociations. Daily and life course stimuli converge during encounters. For example, people who are predisposed to anxiety during ethnic encounters particularly disengage from their surroundings when they are weary after work. Boundary setting and positioning may be privileged because non-White Dutch respondents tended to feel excluded from and by White-Dutch. Non-White Dutch

probably encounter less similarity than White-Dutch because White-Dutch are the majority population in the Netherlands, and because White-Dutch culture presides during most encounters. This means non-White Dutch need to take greater and more frequent efforts than White-Dutch to manage encounters.

By creating personal spaces, people create a '*relational space*' (Harvey 2007) because the times and places on which people focus are more important to their experience than their direct, absolute surroundings. Additionally, people can create networks by focussing on familiarities and similarities. These networks are '*relational spaces*' within *'absolute space'* (Harvey 2007) that, at least partially, bar people's exposure to Otherness during an encounter. Therefore, people are active agents in acquiring senses of belongingness during encounters. When people's efforts to set boundaries and position themselves abound during an encounter, the encounter becomes a patchwork of *'relational spaces'* (Harvey 2007) and networks of belongingness, rather than a communally lived *'affective atmosphere'* (Bissel 2010) of being together.

Belongings and diversities

Respondents were found to experience different kinds of belongingness with different kinds of diversities. First, Whites felt *'elective belonging'* (Savage et al. 2005) with ethnic or cosmopolitan diversity. For example, people can elect to live and experience belongingness with ethnic diversity in the IB, and with cosmopolitan diversity in Amsterdam. Second, Whites can feel belongingness with ethnic or cosmopolitan diversity due to their familiarity with these diversities. For example, Whites who grow up with ethnic diversity may experience ethnic encounters as commonplace, and thus feel comfortable during these encounters. This comfort indicates that these Whites were probably structurated to be tolerant and to enjoy ethnic diversity, which reproduces societal structures of tolerance and integration. Third, people can experience belongingness as they feel they do not stand out amongst diversity. People may, for example, feel they stand out amongst homogeneity because of their homo- or bisexual orientation. They may then move and blend in with difference, where there is no homogeneous majority to stand out from. Fourth, non-Whites can feel belongingness during ethnic encounters as these encounters include ethnically similar others. Furthermore, non-Whites can often feel excluded from and by Whites, which increases their belongingness during ethnic encounters. Non-White senses of exclusion are different from people who perceive themselves to stand out amongst homogeneity. People feel they stand out because of their individual identity and decide to live with difference to blend into a heterogeneous mass. Non-Whites feel excluded because of their ethnic rather than individual identity and associate with diversity because of its similarities and familiarities.

In addition to encountering ethnic and cosmopolitan diversity, respondents encountered gentrification in the IB. Experiences of encounters with gentrification differed. Respondents who associated with cosmopolitanism felt increasing belongingness as gentrification ensued. Gentrifiers are mostly White and higher educated (Butler 2003; Butler & Hamnett 2009), and seek an *'urban experience'* (Karsten 2007) of, for example, consuming distinctifying products (Kosta & Zukin 2004) and open-mindedness through living with difference (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Boterman 2012). Thus, gentrifiers are similar others to people who associate with cosmopolitanism. As the number of gentrifiers increases in a neighbourhood, contrasts between gentrifiers and non-gentrifier Others may become sharper, which could lead to

increasing differentiation of ethnic and lower class Others by cosmopolitans, and to increasing prejudice (Valentine & Harris 2014). In this case, different classes and ethnicities live parallel lives (Butler 2003; Butler & Robson 2001; Valentine 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove 2012, 2013). Therefore, gentrification may structurate segregation between White cosmopolitans and non-Whites. White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* appeared to feel ambivalent about gentrification. This ambivalence is probably felt because, on the one hand, gentrifiers are perceived as White and higher educated similar others, while, on the other hand, gentrification disrupts White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* nostalgic representations of their ethnically diversified surroundings. Thus, gentrification disrupts White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* sense of rootedness while it can simultaneously make them feel at home.

This study found striking differences between non-White Dutch and White-Dutch senses of belongingness. Non-White Dutch, particularly Moroccan-Dutch, tended to feel excluded during encounters with White-Dutch homogeneity, and during encounters outside Amsterdam involving White-Dutch. These senses of exclusion came about as non-White Dutch felt White-Dutch associated them with, amongst others, unemployment and terrorism. Senses of exclusion are communicated through gestures, such as depreciating gazes. Therefore, these gestures are

> *'... not only directed towards the individual concerned but incorporate others to reorganise the social space ... beyond [the encounter], ...'* (Wilson 2011: p. 641)

At which point encounters characterised by exclusion

> *'... reproduce wider discourses and processes of belonging and differentiation, such that ... the effects may be socially exclusionary and further enduring.'* (Wilson 2011: p. 641)

As such, senses of exclusion during encounters can extrapolate to a sense of being excluded from feeling belongingness in the Netherlands. Accordingly, the *'imagined community'* (Anderson 1983) of the Dutch nation-state seems imagined in terms of White indogeneity and belongingness and non-White out-of-placeness (Nayak 2007), and of White-Dutch tolerance of non-White Dutch without incorporation of non-White Dutch in the national imaginary (Hage 1998). This national imaginary draws upon (discursive) encounters, and constructions of Whiteness and Otherness (Ahmed 2000; Fanon, 1952; Nayak 2007; Said 1978). Consequentially, exclusionary encounters are everyday interactions in which societal structures of prejudice and segregation are structurated.

People experience multiple and intersecting senses of belongingness. For example, non-White Dutch *Amsterdammers* were found to feel more excluded outside Amsterdam than in Amsterdam due to their senses of belongingness in Amsterdam. In another example, respondents' sense of public familiarity in the IB was found to intersect with their familiarity with the neighbourhood. Thus, senses of belongingness with small social groups such as friends (Baumeister & Leary 1995), with larger groups such as the ethnic and national community (Yuval-Davis 2006, 2007), and with the local, regional and national environment (Gustafson 2009), intersect and affect each other, and geographic and social senses of belongingness are interrelated. Moreover, people may shift between senses of belongingness. For example, White-Dutch *Amsterdammers* may feel annoyed with gentrification during one situation, and associate with gentrification in another. Thus, the concept of *'elective belonging'* (Savage et al. 2005) can be expanded beyond electing to belonging to a residential neighbourhood, in order to encompass agentive variation in senses of belongingness during daily situations.

People's flexible and dispersed belongings, and the way these can be simultaneously lived at different levels (for example local and national), are arguably emblematic of hyper-diversity. In contemporary Western societies metanarratives, and traditional institutions and social norms have given way to individualization, plurality and dynamism (e.g. Lyotard 1984; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002), and individual identities have become multicplicit (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Guignon 2004). Dispersed and flexible belongings during and throughout everyday encounters reflect such a state of dynamism and plurality. Therefore, this study suggests that people's senses of belongingness during encounters structurate the reproduction of hyper-diversified societal structure. This would indicate that cohesion as an overarching connective web between (groups of) people is unidentifiable or does not exist. This study further indicates that belongingness may be taken up in policies and studies instead of cohesion, in order to refocus on individual experiences of connectedness that form flexible networks of bonding and bridging ties that bind society in a dynamic and plural fashion.

Limitations and implications

This study points out several directions for future research. First, future studies might employ a more diversified sample as this study's findings concern a limited sample. This study selected middle class people because they are relevant to reflect on mixing policies. Most of this study respondents have social scientific and healthcare education and occupations. This study further involved both White and non-White residents, although most are White. Finally, respondents are residents of the IB, which enabled a comparison of respondents' experiences of the neighbourhood, and ensured their experiences of encounters did not derive from living in different neighbourhoods. Future studies might sample people with different class backgrounds, with other than social scientific and healthcare education and occupations, with a bigger proportion of non-White respondents, and with residents of different neighbourhoods, cities and countries. Second, future studies would benefit from using non-White Dutch interviewers who are not opinionated about living with difference and gentrification, as this study may have been influenced by the researcher's identity as a White-Dutch middle class *Amsterdammer* opinionated about living with difference and gentrification. Third, future studies might inquire into other kinds of diversity than ethnic and cosmopolitan difference. Class differentiation may be particularly interesting to look into. Additionally, future studies can inquire into how different kinds of diversity intersect according to people's experiences. Fourth, this study focussed on people's exposure to difference throughout their life courses, while other aspects of their life courses, such as world-views are also important. Future studies should take such aspects of people's life courses into account.

This study bears several policy implications. This study shows that everyday encounters can positively affect people's understanding of and attitude to living with difference through fleeting and incidental meaningful encounters. Therefore, policies aiming to increase cohesion should increase the frequency with which people encounter difference. This frequency may be increased by creating mixed neighbourhoods with spaces for encounters. This study found that the Javastraat is an excellent space for encounters. The Javastraat is a shopping street with establishments for people of different backgrounds and with a convivial multicultural bustle, or a (multicultural) sidewalk ballet (Jacobs 1961). Spaces for encounters can also be created by distributing people of different backgrounds throughout a neighbourhood, rather than mixing a neighbourhood through the creation of middle and labour class sections. Another means to facilitate for encounters is promoting walking,

cycling, and public transport use in favour of car travel. Promoting these transport modes has additional benefits, such as reduced CO2 emission and increased physical activity. Policies could also promote cooperation between neighbourhood organisations with different target groups in order to create spaces for encounters.

A less direct and more ambitious way in which policy can deal with hyper-diversity is to shift the focus from cohesion to belongingness. This study indicates that overarching cohesion seems too hard to relate to everyday activities and is therefore un suited as a policy aim. However, people can and do feel belongingness with each other, and with difference. A conceptual shift from cohesion to belongingness would aim to influence people's lived experiences of and relations to each other, rather than aiming for immeasurable and abstract cohesion. This shift would expand the variables used in mixing policies from socio-demographic features, foremost income, to encompass mixing in terms of people with different life courses and according understandings of and attitudes to difference. For this policy shift instruments, such as questionnaires, that inquire into people's senses of belongingness with diversity need be developed. Such instruments might help to create a mix of people with engaging and disengaging attitudes in residential neighbourhoods. Through these policy recommendations, people can familiarize with difference through their daily and life course paths dialectic, and thus be structurated to feel connected to both similar others and Others. This would allow people to develop more or less compatible flexible and dispersed belongings, and would thereby strengthen networks of bridging and bonding ties in a hyper-diverse society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: housing stock, housing value and population composition of the IB

1A Housing stock composition				
Indische Buurt	**Total housing stock**	**Owner-occupied**	**Public housing**	**Private rental**
Absolute	11148	2173	7521	1454
Percentage	100	19,49	67,46	13,05

Table 1: housing stock composition of the Indische Buurt. Source: http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/# 1 August 2011

1 August 2011 CBS **1B Changes in the housing stock**	**Average value housing stock**	**Owner-occupied**	**Rental**
Indische Buurt	**(x1000 euro)**	**(% of total stock)**	
2004	95	7	93
2005	161	10	90
2006	159,5	-	-
2007	152,5	-	-
2008	172	-	-
2009	198,5	15,5	82
2010	202	15,5	82,5

Table 2: changes in housing stock composition and value housing stock of the Indische Buurt. Source: www.cbs.nl 1 August 2011

Neighbourhood	**Surinamese**	**Antillians**	**Turks**	**Moroccans**	**Other non-Western migrants**	**Total non-Western migrants**	**Western migrants**	**Indegenous Dutch**	**Total**
Indische Buurt	1552	248	2271	4565	2628	11803	2875	7588	22266

Table 3: ethnic population composition of the Indische Buurt. Source: http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/# 16-06-14.

Appendix 2: Travel diary

Uitleg

In dit reisdagboek wordt u gevraagd uw verplaatsingen en bestemmingen twee werkdagen lang bij te houden. U wordt gevraagd het dagboekje met u mee te nemen en gedurende de dag bij te houden, terwijl u uw dagelijkse activiteiten doet. *U wordt in het dagboek gevraagd naar uw ervaring van verplaatsingen en bestemmingen. Er is daarom geen juist antwoord mogelijk: u vult gewoon in wat u voelt, ziet en hoort.*

Aan het begin van de dag vult u de pagina 'Aan het begin van de dag in'. Bij een verplaatsing vult u de pagina 'Ik ben onderweg' in, en op bestemming vult u de pagina 'Ik ben op bestemming' in. Wanneer u op uw huisadres, of uw vaste werk- of studieadres bent, of vanuit één van deze adressen vertrekt, kruist u dit aan, en hoeft u de straat- en plaatsnaam niet in te vullen. U kunt uw huisadres en vast werk- of studieadres hier invullen:

Huis: Straat…….

Vast werk/studieadres: Straat…….

Plaats…….

Wanneer u niet op een vast adres bent, of niet vanuit een vast adres vertrekt, vult u wel de straat- en plaatsnaam in. Daarna vult u de tijd van aankomst of vertrek in. Deze kunt u afronden op 15 minuten. U vult alle vragen in volgorde in. ***Let op***: *Wanneer u bij de vragen 'Deze verplaatsing ervaar ik als een…' en 'Deze bestemming ervaar ik als een…' één van de twee meest rechter bolletjes aankruist hoeft u de daaropvolgende vragen niet te beantwoorden.* Bijvoorbeeld wanneer u deze vragen zo beantwoord:

Deze verplaatsing ervaar ik als een…

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	0	0	**X**	0	Niet diverse omgeving

Deze bestemming ervaar ik als een…

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	0	0	0	**X**	Niet diverse omgeving

Wanneer u meer verplaatsingen maakt en bestemmingen aandoet dan in dit dagboekje passen, hoeft u deze niet bij te houden.

Op de pagina 'Ik ben onderweg' vult u de door u gebruikte vervoersmiddelen in. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld met de fiets naar een treinstation gaat, de trein pakt, op het station waar u uitstapt de bus pakt, en nadat u uit de bus stapt een stukje loopt, vult u deze verplaatsing als volgt in:

Ik gebruik hiervoor de volgende vervoersmiddelen:

	Lopen	Fiets	Auto	Bus	Tram	Metro	Trein	Overig
Eerst	0	**X**	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	**X**	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	**X**	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	**X**	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Op de pagina's 'Ik ben onderweg' en 'Ik ben op bestemming' staan drie vragen over uw ervaring van diversiteit. Bij de eerste vraag vult u in hoe divers u de omgeving ervaart. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld in een restaurant zit waar mensen verschillende talen spreken, en verschillende huidskleuren en leeftijden hebben, kunt u deze vraag zo invullen:

Deze verplaatsing ervaar ik als een…

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	**X**	0	0	0	Niet diverse omgeving

De volgende vraag gaat over het soort diversiteit dat u ervaart. U vult hierbij de woorden in die u zou gebruiken om de diversiteit te beschrijven. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld in de tram zit met Surinamers, Nederlanders, ouderen en gothics, kunt u deze vraag zo invullen:

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende …… opmerk

X Etniciteiten	**X** Leeftijden	0 Talen	**X** Kledingstijlen
0 Inkomensgroepen	0 Geslachten	**X** Huidskleuren	

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:…….

X Gedrag, namelijk: een paar jongens met zwarte Metal kleren waren enthousiast over een concert aan het praten

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

Na deze vragen over het herkennen van diversiteit volgen een aantal vragen over hoe u zich voelt. Bij de eerste vraag vult u in, in welke mate u zich in bepaalde emoties kunt vinden. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld tijdens de tramrit, uit het voorbeeld hiervoor, ontspannen bent, en u de sfeer gezellig vindt, kunt u deze vraag zo invullen:

In deze omgeving voel ik mij…

Zeer prettig	0	**X**	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	**X**	0	0	0	0	Geïrriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	**X**	0	0	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	**X**	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	**X**	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Dan wordt gevraagd of een omgeving u bekend of onbekend voorkomt. In een bekende omgeving voelt u zich veilig. Een omgeving waar u vaker komt zal u bekend zijn, maar ook omgevingen die u vertrouwd voorkomen, bijvoorbeeld omdat ze u doen denken aan uw straat, zijn bekend. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld voor het eerst een Thais restaurant bezoekt, en dit restaurant doet u denken aan de Thai waar u vaker eet, kunt u deze vraag zo invullen:

Deze omgeving komt mij … voor

Bekend	0	**X**	0	0	0	Onbekend

De vraag ‘Ik vertrouw deze omgeving…’ lijkt op de vorige. U vertrouwt een omgeving wanneer u zich er prettig en veilig voelt. U kunt zich bij deze vraag afvragen of u denkt dat mensen elkaar zouden helpen mocht iemand struikelen, of mocht iemand zich agressief gedragen. Als u denk dat men elkaar zou helpen, vertrouwt u de omgeving. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld ’s nachts over een slecht verlichtte straat loopt waar u denkt makkelijk beroofd te kunnen worden, kunt u deze vraag zo invullen:

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving…

Zeer	0	0	0	0	**X**	Niet

Tot slot zijn er twee vragen over uw handelingen tijdens uw verplaatsing, of op bestemming. In de eerste vraag vult u in hoe u ging staan/zitten/lopen/fietsen of rijden ten opzichte van anderen. Wanneer u bijvoorbeeld in de slecht verlichte straat van hierboven met een boog om andere mensen heen ging lopen, vult u deze vraag zo in:

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen

Niet	0	0	0	0	**X**	Zeer

Belangrijke termen

Algemeen

Verplaatsing: U verplaatst zich wanneer u van de ene naar de andere plek gaat. Dit zijn ook kleine verplaatsingen, zoals het bezoeken van een winkel in uw straat.

Bestemming: U bent op een bestemming wanneer u op een plek bent. Dit zijn ook bestemming die u voor een korte tijd bezoekt, zoals een winkel.

Omgeving: De omgeving is de situatie waarin u zich bevindt tijdens een verplaatsing of op een bestemming. Deze omgeving bestaat uit alle objecten en mensen in de situatie. Voorbeelden van omgevingen zijn een treincoupé, of een ruimte waarin u bent terwijl u werkt. In dit onderzoek gaat om sociaal-cultureel diverse omgevingen. U kunt vooral tijdens verplaatsingen, maar ook op bestemmingen, meerdere omgevingen aandoen, bijvoorbeeld wanneer u meerdere vervoersmiddelen gebruikt of tijdens het werken van uw werkplek naar de koffiemachine loopt. Vult u a.u.b. de omgeving in die als het meest divers ervaart

Diversiteit: De sociaal-culturele diversiteit die u ervaart. Diversiteit kan uit veel dingen bestaan. Mensen die er verschillend uitzien en/of verschillende afkomsten hebben zijn divers, zoals Nederlanders en Turken, Hip-Hoppers en Hipsters, rijken en

armen, ouderen en jongeren, mannen en vrouwen, etc. Ook objecten die voor u voor diversiteit staan, zoals een krant geschreven in een buitenlandse taal of het uithangbord van een exotisch restaurant, zijn divers.

Uit de vraag 'Ik vond deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende …… opmerk'

Etniciteit: De culturele afkomst(en) die om u heen opmerkt, zoals Nederlands, Turks, Marokkaans, Surinaams of Antilliaans. Ook objecten kunnen een etniciteit vertegenwoordigen, zoals een Surinaams afhaal restaurant.

Inkomen: De inkomensgroepen die u om zich heen ervaart. U kunt bijvoorbeeld mensen opmerken waarvan u denkt dat ze rijk of arm zijn. Ook objecten kunnen een inkomen vertegenwoordigen, zoals een straat met veel afval, die u armoedig voorkomt.

Talen: De talen die u om zich heen hoort. U kunt talen, zoals Nederlands, Engels en Turks, en dialecten, zoals Amsterdams, Noord-Hollands of Brabants, horen.

Kledingstijlen: De subculturen die u ervaart. U kunt bijvoorbeeld hipsters, zakenmannen, hip-hoppers en gothics om u heen opmerken. Ook objecten kunnen een kledingstijl vertegenwoordigen, zoals een vintage winkel die u aan hipsters doet denken.

Uit de vraag 'In deze omgeving voel ik mij':

Verbonden: wanneer u zich tot een omgeving aangetrokken voelt, en u heeft het idee dat u het met (sommige) mensen en objecten zou kunnen vinden, voelt u zich verbonden

Waardering: wanneer u het gevoel heeft dat anderen u respecteren, en u een geschikt persoon vinden, voelt u zich gewaardeerd.

Uit de vraag 'Deze omgeving komt mij … voor':

(on)Bekendheid: hoe u zich thuis voelt. Een omgeving die u kent zal bekend zijn, maar ook een omgeving die u vertrouwd overkomt. Bekendheid kenmerkt zich door een veilig en betrouwbaar gevoel.

Uit de vraag 'Ik vertrouw deze omgeving…':

Vertrouwen: hoe prettig en veilig u zich voelt. Bij vertrouwen kunt u bedenken of u het gevoel heeft of mensen u zouden helpen als u bijvoorbeeld struikelt of valt, en of u een ander zou helpen als hij of zij valt.

Uit de vraag 'In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen':

Anderen vermijden: Wanneer u ergens gaat staan, zitten, fietsen of rijden om niet naast bepaalde mensen of objecten te zijn, vermijdt u ze.

Dag 1: ***Aan het begin van de dag…***

Ik heb de nacht doorgebracht: 0 Thuis 0 Anders, namelijk: Straat……..

Plaats……

Tijdstip van opstaan: …… Uur …… Minuten

Dag 1: ***Ik ben onderweg…***

Van:
0 Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat:
Plaats:

Vertrektijd: ..... Uur ..... Minuten

Ik gebruik hiervoor de volgende vervoersmiddelen:

	Lopen	Fiets	Auto	Bus	Tram	Metro	Trein	Overig
Eerst	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Medereizigers: 0 Geen 0 Familie 0 Vrienden 0 Collega's 0 Anderen

Deze verplaatsing ervaar ik als een…

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	0	0	0	0	Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende …… opmerk

0 Etniciteiten 0 Leeftijden 0 Talen 0 Kledingstijlen
0 Inkomensgroepen 0 Geslachten 0 Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:……

0 Gedrag, namelijk:……

0 Anders, namelijk:……

In deze omgeving voel ik mij…

Zeer prettig	0	0	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	0	0	0	0	0	Geïrriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	0	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	0	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	0	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij … voor

Bekend	0	0	0	0	0	Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving…

Zeer	0	0	0	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen…

Niet	0	0	0	0	0	Zeer

In deze omgeving

0 Bel/bericht ik anderen 0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving 0 Luister ik muziek
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Ben ik in gedachten verzonken 0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment 0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
0 Kijk ik om mij heen 0 Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk:……

……

Dag 1: ***Ik ben op bestemming…***

0 Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat:
Plaats:

Aankomsttijd: ……. Uur …… Minuten

Deze bestemming is

0 Werk/studie adres – vast- (kantoor, universiteit…) 0 Bij iemand thuis
0 Werk/studie adres –niet vast- (bibliotheek, koffiehuis…) 0 Horeca, bioscoop, entertainment
0 Winkel (boiodschappen, dagelijkse spullen) 0 Sportclub,cursusplek…
0 Winkel (overig) 0 Park, natuurgebied…
0 Overig, namelijk……

……

Deze bestemming ervaar ik als een…

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	0	0	0	0	Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende …… opmerk

o Etniciteiten o Leeftijden 0 Talen 0 Kledingstijlen
0 Inkomensgroepen 0 Geslachten 0 Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:……

0 Gedrag, namelijk:……

0 Anders, namelijk:……

In deze omgeving voel ik mij…

Zeer prettig	0	0	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	0	0	0	0	0	Geïrriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	0	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	0	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	0	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij … voor

Bekend	0	0	0	0	0	Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving…

Zeer	0	0	0	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen…

Zeer	0	0	0	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving

0 Bel/bericht ik anderen 0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving 0 Luister ik muziek
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Ben ik in gedachten verzonken 0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment 0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
0 Kijk ik om mij heen 0 Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk:……

……

Appendix 3: completed travel diary

Travel diary page completed by Cecile

Dag 1: ***Ik ben onderweg...***

Van:
0 Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat: Utrecht centraal
Plaats:

Vertrektijd: 8 Uur 10 Minuten

Ik gebruik hiervoor de volgende vervoersmiddelen:

	Lopen	Fiets	Auto	Bus	Tram	Metro	Trein	Overig
Eerst	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Medereizigers: 0 Geen 0 Familie 0 Vrienden 0 Collega's 0 Anderen

Deze verplaatsing ervoor ik als een...
Zeer diverse omgeving 0 0 0 0 0 Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende ..... opmerk
0 Etniciteiten 0 Leeftijden 0 Talen 0 Kledingstijlen
0 Inkomensgroepen 0 Geslachten 0 Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:.....

0 Gedrag, namelijk: oververmoeide mensen

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

In deze omgeving voel ik mij...

Zeer prettig	0	0	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	0	0	0	0	0	Geirriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	0	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	0	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	0	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij ... voor
Bekend 0 0 0 0 0 Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving...
Zeer 0 0 0 0 0 Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen...
Niet 0 0 0 0 0 Zeer

In deze omgeving
0 Bel/bericht ik anderen
0 Luister ik muziek
0 Ben ik in gedachten verzonken
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment
0 Kijk ik om mij heen
0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
0 Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

Dag 1: ***Ik ben op bestemming...***

0 Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat: Amsterdam Amstelstration
Plaats:

Aankomsttijd: 8 Uur 30 Minuten

Deze bestemming is
0 Werk/studie adres –niet vast- (kantoor, universiteit...)
0 Werk/studie adres –niet vast- (bibliotheek, koffiehuis...)
0 Winkel (boodschappen, dagelijkse spullen)
0 Winkel (overig)
0 Overig, namelijk: ... Station
0 Bij iemand thuis
0 Horeca, bioscoop, entertainment
0 Sportclub, cursusplek...
0 Park, natuurgebied...

Deze bestemming ervoor ik als een...
Zeer diverse omgeving 0 0 0 0 0 Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende ..... opmerk
0 Etniciteiten 0 Leeftijden 0 Talen 0 Kledingstijlen
0 Inkomensgroepen 0 Geslachten 0 Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:.....

0 Gedrag, namelijk:.....

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

In deze omgeving voel ik mij...

Zeer prettig	0	0	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	0	0	0	0	0	Geirriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	0	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	0	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	0	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij ... voor
Bekend 0 0 0 0 0 Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving...
Zeer 0 0 0 0 0 Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen...
Zeer 0 0 0 0 0 Niet

In deze omgeving
0 Bel/bericht ik anderen
0 Luister ik muziek
0 Ben ik in gedachten verzonken
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment
0 Kijk ik om mij heen
0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
0 Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

Dag 2: ***Ik ben onderweg...***

Van: Fontein Leeuw Haarlem

X Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat:
Plaats:

Vertrektijd: 9 Uur 00 Minuten

Ik gebruik hiervoor de volgende vervoersmiddelen:

	Lopen	Fiets	Auto	Bus	Tram	Metro	Trein	Overig
Eerst	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vervolgens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Medereizigers: X Geen 0 Familie 0 Vrienden 0 Collega's 0 Anderen

Deze verplaatsing ervaar ik als een...

Zeer diverse omgeving	0	X	0	0	0	Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende ..... opmerk

X Etniciteiten X Leeftijden ~~X Talen~~ X Kledingstijlen
X Inkomensgroepen X Geslachten X Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:.....

0 Gedrag, namelijk:.....

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

In deze omgeving voel ik mij...

Zeer prettig	0	X	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	0	0	0	X	0	Geïrriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	X	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	0	0	0	X	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	0	0	0	X	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij ... voor

Bekend	0	X	0	0	0	Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving...

Zeer	0	0	X	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen...

Niet	0	0	0	0	X	Zeer

In deze omgeving

0 Bel/bericht ik anderen
X Luister ik muziek
X Ben ik in gedachten verzonken
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment
0 Kijk ik om mij heen
0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
0 Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk.....

Dag 2: ***Ik ben op bestemming...***

X Huisadres 0 Vast Studie/werkadres

Straat:
Plaats:

Aankomsttijd: 10 Uur 15 Minuten

Deze bestemming is

0 Werk/studie adres –niet vast- (kantoor, universiteit...)
0 Werk/studie adres –niet vast- (bibliotheek, koffiehuis...)
0 Winkel (boodschappen, dagelijkse spullen)
0 Winkel (overig)
X Overig, namelijk thuis
0 Bij iemand thuis
0 Horeca, bioscoop, entertainment
0 Sportclub,cursusplek...
0 Park, natuurgebied...

Deze bestemming ervaar ik als een...

Zeer diverse omgeving	X	0	0	0	0	Niet diverse omgeving

Ik vind deze omgeving divers omdat ik verschillende ... .. opmerk

X Etniciteiten X Leeftijden X Talen X Kledingstijlen
X Inkomensgroepen X Geslachten X Huidskleuren

0 Andere uiterlijke kenmerken, namelijk:.....

0 Gedrag, namelijk:.....

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

In deze omgeving voel ik mij...

Zeer prettig	X	0	0	0	0	Onprettig
Tevreden	X	0	0	0	0	Geïrriteerd
Verbonden met anderen	0	0	0	0	X	Niet verbonden
Gewaardeerd	0	X	0	0	0	Niet gewaardeerd
Op mijn gemak	X	0	0	0	0	Angstig

Deze omgeving komt mij ... voor

Bekend	X	0	0	0	0	Onbekend

Ik vertrouw deze omgeving..

Zeer	0	X	0	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving vermijd ik anderen...

Zeer	X	0	0	0	0	Niet

In deze omgeving

0 Bel/bericht ik anderen
X Luister ik muziek
0 Ben ik in gedachten verzonken
0 Gebruik ik mijn telefoon/laptop/pad voor entertainment
0 Kijk ik om mij heen
0 Heb ik contact met bekenden in de omgeving
0 Heb ik contact met onbekenden in de omgeving
0 Slaap/dut ik
0 Lees ik een boek/krant/magazine
X Studeer/werk ik

0 Anders, namelijk:.....

Appendix 4: interview item list

General issues and focus points

- Let op focus tijdens verplaatsingen en bestemmingen: waar kijkt ze naar, wat denkt en voelt ze daarbij? Waar let je op, waar ligt je focus: Anderen, similarities, je volgende actie, wat je hiervoor hebt gedaan?
- Komen gevoelens door activiteiten, omgeving, iets anders?
- Hoe zit het met verschillende delen vd stad: worden die anders ervaren, hoe? Hoe verhoud dat zich tot buiten de stad?
- Hoe is lopen (binnen en buiten buurt), en in vergelijking met andere vervoersmiddelen?
- Hoe gaan mensen met encounter om: kijken ze alleen, treden ze in contact (meer of minder afstand en toenadering)? Waar, wanneer, met wie? Waarom sluit de 1 zich meer en de ander zich minder af (persoonlijkheid, situatie etc.)?
- Kleine gebaren: erkennings-gebaren, knikjes, de buschauffeur groeten. Wie, wanneer, waar en hoe wordt dat gedaan? Is het belangrijk voor mensen? Creëert het een fijne sfeer, betrokkenheid? Wat gebeurd er als iemand het doet, gaan anderen dat ook doen dan?
- Is openheid belangrijk in mensen, voel je je meer betrokken bij open mensen, is er eerder toenadering?
- Hoe zit ’t met objecten, non-human agents? Gebruikt men straatmeubilair (bv Javastr t.o.v andere plekken?
- Gemeenschappelijk doel (van a naar b gaan, boodschappen doen, genieten van een drankje en gezelligheid etc.) is dat belangrijk? Is er tussen mensen met gemeenschappelijk doel meer betrokkenheid? Wanneer, waar en met wie heeft met gemeenschappelijk doel, wat voor doelen zijn dat?
- Opeenvolging situaties: beïnvloed voorgaande het volgende, in gevoelens, in ervaren mate van diversiteit, in handelingen? Beïnvloed wat men gaat doen de handelingen, gevoelens en ervaring in het hier en nu, hoe? Hoe verschillen heen- en terugweg?
- Is iemand’s geschiedenis met een plek/situatie belangrijk (bekendheid, kritische in je hiervoor hebt incidenten)?
- Waar is belonging belangrijk? Mobility, mobility environments, woonbuurt, horeca leisure places, anders..

Structure and questions

Introductie

- Uitleggen diversiteit, verbondenheid, thuisvoelen etc.
- Was je je extra bewust van diversiteit, je emo’s etc., bij dit onderzoek, of let je er normaal gesproken ook op?

Familiarity with diversity

- Waar ben je geboren? Hoe was diversiteit tijdens je jeugd, op school, in de buurt, vriendjes, vriendinnetjes etc.?
- Waar heb je gewoond? Waren dit meer of minder diverse omgevingen? Hoe ben je opgevoed, leerde je op een bepaalde manier over diversiteit te denken of ermee om te gaan?
- Familie/vrienden/relaties gedurende je leven: zat hier diversiteit in?

- Je studie/werk, ook in het verleden, hoe divers was dit?
- Op clubs (sport, hobby's etc.): hoe divers is dit?
- Wat wil je doen in (nabije) toekomst, denk je diversiteit hierbij tegen te komen?

Encounters with difference

- De dagen in travel diary, dekken die gemiddelde dagen en dagelijkse ontmoetingen met diversiteit? Zo niet, wat is anders?
- Gevoelens tijdens encounters:
    - Dekte het dagboek jouw gevoelens tijdens encounters, of zou je ze anders beschrijven (met voorbeelden)?
    - Waren er specifieke dingen/mensen/gebeurtenissen waardoor je je op een bepaalde manier voelde? Of was het de gehele situatie, hadden je gevoelens betrekking op de hele situatie? (voorbeeld).
    - Waarom voelde je je zo?
- Handelingen tijdens encounters
    - Dekt het dagboek jouw handelingen?
    - Was je je bewust van het (niet) vermijden van anderen?
    - Deed je handelingen bewust, of was het meer een automatisme?
    - Doe je deze dingen normaal gesproken in soortgelijke situaties?
    - Waarom deed je deze dingen?
    - Is je omgeving (mensen en objecten) belangrijk in wat je doet, of handel je meer op basis van je eigen (interne) behoeften?

Familiarities and similarities

- Had je een specifieke focus tijdens encounters?
- Waren er specifieke objecten en mensen met wie je kon associëren, tot wie je je aangetrokken en/of verbonden voelde? En objecten/mensen die juist meer 'afstotend waren'?
- Hoe zou je je voelen in een compleet homogene situatie (foto), en in een compleet diverse situatie (foto/voorbeeld uit TD)?

Belongingness

- Zijn ontmoetingen met diversiteit, en ervaringen ermee, belangrijk voor je? Heeft het een invloed op je leven? (stel je voor dat er geen diversiteit is).
- Bij een heel diverse omgeving: heeft dit een tijdje invloed op je, denk je er wel eens over na, of is het onbelangrijk?
- Hoe zou je je voelen zonder of met heel weinig diversiteit. Zou je je daarbij thuis en betrokken voelen, en toe aangetrokken?
- In het algemeen, probeer je diversiteit te vermijden, of juist niet? Of maakt het niet uit?

Appendix 5: interview photos

Photo 1: a shopping street in Bos en Lommer, Amsterdam

Photo 2: the Javastraat, IB, Amsterdam

Photo 3: the Javastraat, IB, Amsterdam

Photo 4: a bus in Amsterdam

Photo 5: a metro in Amsterdam

Photo 6: a tram in Amsterdam

Photo 7: a train in the Netherlands

Photo 8: a train in the Netherlands

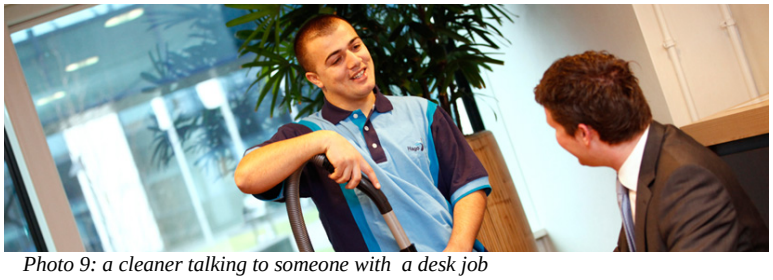

Photo 9: a cleaner talking to someone with a desk job

Photo10: a workplace

Photo11: a workplace

Photo12: a workplace