

Interethnic Contact of Turkish People in three Rotterdam Neighbourhoods

Master thesis
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Foreword

Before you lies my master thesis. I have always been interested in different cultures and started my life in one of the first multi-cultural neighbourhoods of the Netherlands, Spangen. Here I learned songs in many different languages. Although I soon moved to a more Dutch neighbourhood, my interest in the way different groups share our cities has always remained. The choice to interview Turkish people was also easily made as I decided to spend five months in Ankara, the capital of Turkey during my master. My time there was very valuable, both personally and scientifically. First of all, I got the chance to follow a course on transnationalism which was very interesting, also because of the link with my thesis subject. Secondly I have gotten to know the Turkish culture and people a little better and lastly I met some great friends. This summer I even went back to Ankara to be 'best man' at the wedding of a Turkish friend, which was a very special experience.

The process of writing my thesis has had its ups and downs and turned out to be a rather high last hill to climb. Something I did really enjoy were the interviews I conducted amongst Turkish respondents from three neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. I am very grateful to all my respondents who very warmly welcomed me into their homes to talk about their lives. Çok teşekkür ederiz!

Furthermore, I want to thank my supervisor Ronald van Kempen for his advice and patience. Also, I would like to thank Bureau Bartels for giving me the chance to start a job I really enjoy doing. Lastly, I really want to thank my friends and family for all the support they have given me over the years. Especially my mom and dad who always kept believing in me and supporting me.

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Introduction

The past couple of decades the Netherlands has become a multicultural society. Over the years the country has become more and more culturally mixed. Since the 1950's people from former Dutch colonies like Suriname, Indonesia and the Antilles have settled in the Netherlands. Furthermore guest workers came in the 1960's and 70's to make a new life for themselves. More recently, asylum seekers from all over the world entered the country in the hope of starting a new and better life here (Nicolaas & van Agtmaal-Wobma, 2008). All this has changed Dutch society considerably and as a result people have to get used to this new reality we all live in. As with all change this does not happen overnight. On the one hand Dutch people have to get used to sharing this country with people from very different backgrounds to their own. On the other hand, immigrants have to get used to their new surroundings and make it their own and their children and grand children have to find their place in this multiethnic country.

These developments have positive as well as negative sides and people have very different experiences, and different reactions to the changes in our society. On the one hand, some might feel the development of a multicultural society has enriched our culture and has added many chances for different cultural experiences. Especially in the larger cities cultural manifestations brought by immigrants have found their way into daily life and the cities' streets. Turkish, Moroccan, Indonesian and Surinamese restaurants have changed the way we eat and drink. Foods like nasi, Turkish pizza and roti have found their way onto people's tables. Immigrants brought music from their home countries which have brought along new styles to the Netherlands. Schools which teach Caribbean dance styles like salsa can be found all over the country. By becoming a multicultural society people have a chance of getting to know other cultures and enrich their own lives.

On the other side there are also less positive sides to a multicultural society; change always brings frictions, tensions and misunderstandings. People can feel threatened by all this new

cultural influx and do not enjoy seeing their cities change. Many cities face problems partly based on their multicultural population. Ethnic minorities still are generally less well off than the native Dutch population in terms of income and level of education. Some young people from the second or even third generation struggle to find a balance between the cultures of their parents and that of the country they live in. Almost every day papers write about problems young Moroccan boys cause in city neighbourhoods.

The negative sides of the multicultural society as well as events like 9-11 have hardened debate on the multicultural society and have put issues such as integration in the heart of political and social discussions. Political parties such as the LPF and more recently the PVV are very critical about the multicultural society and especially about the growing presence of Islam in the Netherlands. The integration debate has been one of the most important issues in the Netherlands, dominating both the press as well as politics. Where in the 1980's and even the 1990's attention was mainly focused on socio-economic integration, the past decade, attention has shifted to a more socio-cultural take on integration. An opinion that is heard more and more is that minorities should not only participate in society in a economic way, but should also respect Dutch values and norms and become part of the community (Snel and Boonstra, 2005).

Linked to these issues is the discussion about concentration neighbourhoods, which some believe to create parallel lives, instead of integration. A negative link between concentration neighbourhoods and integration has often been suggested by journalists and politicians. Integration is suggested to be slowed down by ethnic minorities living in concentration neighbourhoods. Some people even express fears for a movement in the direction of ghettos as can be found in many cities in the United States (Gijsberts, 2004). Implicitly it is assumed that by living in more socially mixed neighbourhoods there will be more social contact between people of different ethnic backgrounds. Socially mixed neighbourhoods are those areas that reflect the population composition of the wider city, region or nation (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). According to ideas from social psychologists increased contact between groups will make people understand each other better and therefore like and respect each other more (Blokland, 2003).

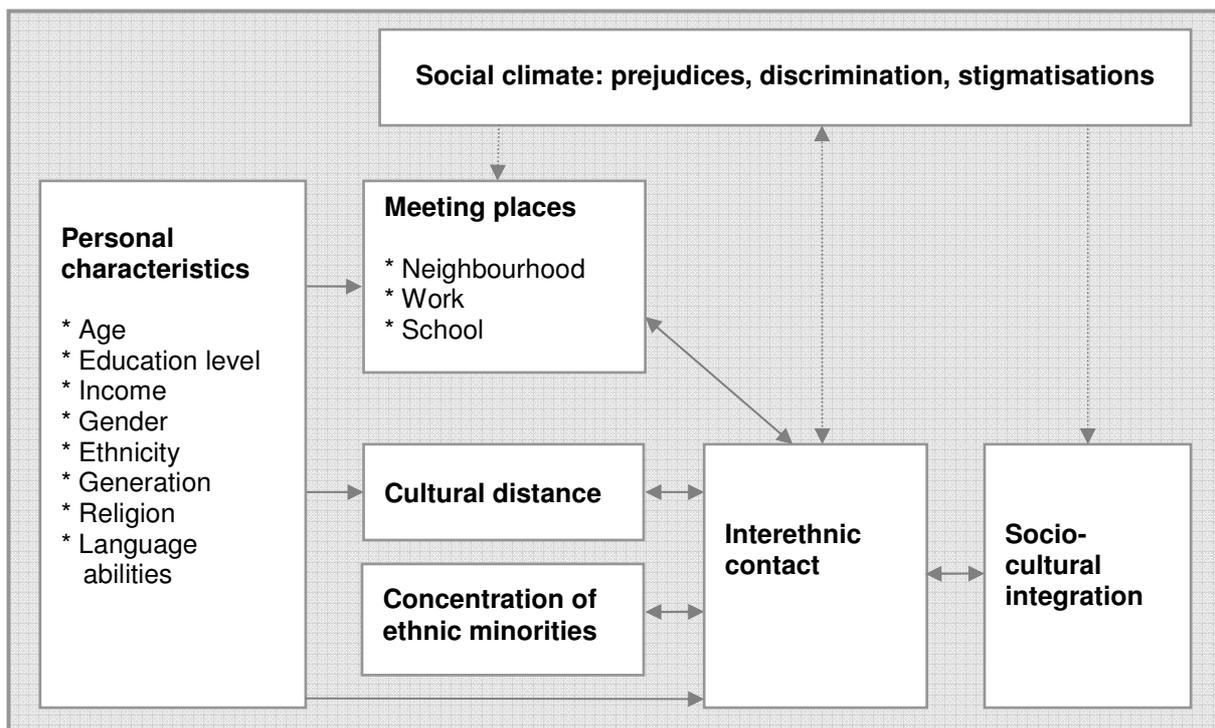
In political and public debates in recent years, concentration and segregation of ethnic minorities have often been described as some of the important issues the Netherlands have to deal with. Segregation and concentration have been seen as a phenomenon which reduces the opportunities for ethnic minorities to meet native Dutch people and to integrate

into Dutch society. This has led to policy to create socially and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods in countries like the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. This often results in policies of restructuring in order to keep or attract middle- and higher incomes to less affluent areas. Directly mixing ethnic groups is more or less impossible because of laws against discrimination (Cole & Goodchild, 2001). In the academic world however, there is more debate on whether mixed neighbourhoods are always better than more homogenous neighbourhoods (Pinkster, 2008).

Conceptual model

In the academic discourse there has also been much debate on the links between concentration neighbourhoods, interethnic contact and the effect of this interethnic contact. A conceptual model (figure 1) has been created to structure the existing knowledge and assumptions on interethnic contact.

Figure 1 Conceptual Model



Source: own work

The occurrence of interethnic contact is the central notion in the conceptual model. Interethnic contact is the about the contacts between people from different ethnic backgrounds (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). In this thesis we will focus specifically on the contact between people from an ethnic minority background and members of the majority population.

There are various factors which can influence how likely someone is to have interethnic contact. First of all, personal characteristics, like someone's socio-economic status, age and education level, all have an influence on how likely someone of a minority background is to have contact with members of the majority population. Based on assimilation theory for instance, integration and also contact with the host society, are believed to take time. Which implies that the children and grandchildren are believed to have more contact with the host society.

Some of these characteristics could also influence one's cultural distance to the host society. A cultural distance can be based on speaking a different language, your ethnicity, religion and your social norms (Ghemawat, 2001). Having a great cultural distance towards the majority population is likely to influence how much contact one has with people from the majority population, as it is easier, and more comfortable to communicate with people that are more like you. People from different cultures are used to communicating in different ways and the cultural distance between people can thus impact the way people from different cultural backgrounds have interpersonal interactions. According to Redmond (2000), the greater the cultural differences between people, the harder it is to communicate effectively, maintain relationships and integrate in the host society. This can influence the pace of integration, as the greater your cultural distance to the host society, the more effort it takes to get adjusted to the values and habits of the host society (Knox and Punch, 2000).

Furthermore, one's potential meeting places might have an impact on the amount of interethnic contact one has. In order for interethnic contact to appear it is important that there are meeting places where minorities and members of the host society can meet (Blau, 1977). These potential meeting places in their own right can be different for people with different personal characteristics. While some will mostly meet people at school or at work, others will have more contact in the neighbourhood they live in. The social environment one moves around in will determine who you meet.

As we have stated before, an important role for the neighbourhood is often assumed in establishing contact between people from different backgrounds. A high concentration of ethnic minorities in an area is often believed to have an influence on the amount of contact minorities will have with the members of the majority population. In the literature, this idea is called the isolation thesis (van der Laan-Bouma Doff, 2007).

The possible effects of interethnic contact, is also a much debated subject. Some authors believe interethnic contact may reduce prejudices and create understanding between people of different groups. This idea is also called the “contact hypothesis” and was already introduced in 1969 (Amir, 1969). On the other side there are authors that support the “competition hypothesis”. This hypothesis is based on the idea that interaction between different ethnic groups will cause conflict rather than understanding and respect (Dion, 1997). When minorities start to compete with members of the host society and move out of enclaves, they start to be really aware of the differences. Some have even stated that geographical nearness of people does not necessarily mean there is a social nearness as well. Problems like discrimination might even occur and cause frictions in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001). A social mix does not have to imply a balanced neighbourhood.

The last important aspect in this conceptual model is that of the current societal climate. Prejudices, discrimination and stigmatisation can influence interethnic contact and the nature of it. These factors could also influence the meeting places of other ethnic groups, for instance by driving minorities into concentration areas out of fear for discrimination, as well as by discrimination on the labour market.

Research questions

Now we know the frame of reference in which this study is placed, the main questions have to be presented. The following research questions will be central in this thesis:

- To what extent do ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch, what kind of contact is this and what factors determine this contact?
- What places, in and outside the neighbourhood, are important for interethnic contact and what determines this?
- Which kind of effects result from these contacts in terms of social integration?

The empirical part of the research will be based on the SPVA data base. This will be used to research the contacts ethnic minorities have with native Dutch, the role of the neighbourhood and the consequences of interethnic contact. This will be based on data from the four big cities in the Randstad (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht). Next to the analysis of the database, interviews will be held in three neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. To select and give a good image of the neighbourhoods that are going to be researched, data produced by the research division of the municipality of Rotterdam will be used. Three neighbourhoods have been selected; one with a relatively low percentage of ethnic

minorities, Ommoord; one with a relatively high percentage of ethnic minorities, Afrikaanderwijk; and one with an ethnic composition which is close to that of the city as a whole, Kralingen-West. These interviews are meant to go more in depth into the subject and to find out more about why things are as they are. The interviews will be conducted amongst one specific minority group.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis will start with a literature overview in chapter 2. Here the main theories in interethnic contact will be presented. Subsequently, chapter 3 will elaborate on the situation of ethnic minorities in order to put the analysis into its wider context. Chapter 4, will discuss the data and methods that have been used for this study. Which will be followed by the outcome of the analysis in chapters 5, 6 and 7. First, chapter 5 will discuss the amount of contact people from an ethnic minority background have with native Dutch people. Secondly, chapter 6 is about the meeting places and their relative importance in the formation of interethnic contact. And thirdly, chapter 7 will discuss the effects of the occurring interethnic contact in terms of socio-cultural integration. In other words, do people feel comfortable around native Dutch people and do they identify themselves as being (partly) Dutch? This thesis will end with the conclusions and a look at the (possible) future in chapter 8.

Theory

Central in this thesis is the notion of interethnic contact. Interethnic contact is the contact and informal social relations between people and groups of different ethnic background (Snel & Boonstra, 2005). Many societies in the world are no longer, or have never been, mono ethnic. In recent decades The Netherlands have become a truly multicultural society. The space we are living in has to be shared by people with all kinds of ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, especially in the larger cities. An assumption that is often made by politicians is that contact between these different ethnic groups creates understanding and mutual respect and thus helps ethnic minorities to integrate into the host society. In this chapter theories regarding the chances and reasons for interethnic contact to occur, the effects and the potential meeting places for interethnic contact will be discussed.

2.1 The occurrence of interethnic contact

In this section the main ideas and theories on the chances of interethnic contact to occur and the ideas on what factors may influence its occurrence will be discussed. First of all the social identity theory will be discussed which gives a starting point for what the likeliness of interethnic contact is. Subsequently, two views on the role of segregation and concentration on the occurrence of interethnic contact will be discussed, namely the isolation thesis and the emancipation thesis.

2.1.1 Social identity theory

Social identity theory came into full shape in the mid 1970's, when people like Henri Tajfel and John Turner researched issues such as intergroup contact, prejudices and intergroup discrimination (Turner, 1999). According to this theory people feel the need to be part of a group and base part of their identity on group memberships. Human beings categorise other

human beings to make sense of the world and create a social identity for themselves. The theory is often associated with large scale groups, like ethnic groups (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004).

Social identity theory is based around three major components of social identity; categorization, identification and comparison (Chen & Li, 2009). First of all by the process of categorization, people label others as well as themselves along ethnic lines, religion, gender, level of educational or other personal characteristics. Through the second component of identification results in the mental formation of in-groups and out-groups to which people feel they belong or do not belong. People can have multiple group memberships, based on different characteristics. In social psychology group membership is based on whether the persons concerned define themselves as part of a group as well as on whether others agree on the existence of such a group (Tajfel, 1982). By the third component, comparison, people compare in-groups to out-groups, often creating a positive bias towards the in-group.

People tend to favour in-groups over out-groups in both evaluations and behaviours. With this in-group favouritism people can create a positive self-image as well as an own identity. According to this theory, a positive opinion about the in-groups is combined with a more negative attitude towards out-groups, as these are groups one does not identify with (Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1999). There even tends to be some sort of 'ethnic hierarchy', in which some ethnic groups are preferred more than others. Groups that are more difficult to identify oneself with, or have a larger 'cultural distance' will be less positively perceived than those with who are more similar to yourself (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000).

Chrysochoou (2004) adds that group membership is not a fixed fact. People can attempt to change group membership. In relation to immigration, some people will ascribe themselves to the group of their ethnic background, while others – or other generations – will ascribe themselves to the host group. Changing group membership can prove to be difficult. The host society might not accept you as a member or your 'old community' might reject you for preferring a different group membership.

In short, people categorise others as being part of a group and identify themselves with certain groups. Then we compare 'our' group to 'other' groups, with a positive bias towards the own group. And lastly people want an identity based on what makes them different from other groups, as well as more positive. According to McDermott (2004), a person derives self-esteem from a group membership once one sees oneself as part of that group.

Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008), add that the effect of people's preference to socialize with similar people count more for closer relationships, than for more casual relationships. The closer a relationship, the more likely it gets that people are similar to one another with respect to characteristics like age, level of education and ethnic background. Partners are more likely to be similar to oneself than friends, and friends are more likely to be similar to oneself than acquaintances.

Of course, not all groups or individuals respond to intra-group differences in the same manner. According to Tajfel (1982), social behaviour varies on a continuum from interpersonal to intergroup contact. With intergroup social behaviour, interaction between two or more people is based on their differences, while interpersonal interaction is fully based on other factors. The way people approach contact with someone from another background depends on social and psychological factors and depends on to what extent you believe groups or group boundaries are changeable. Positive relations with someone from another background do not automatically lead to more positive ideas about the group as a whole; this depends on how someone approaches the contact. It can be that someone sees a positive contact as an exception to the rest of the group, while for others it could help to break down prejudices.

2.2 Concentration and segregation

As we have seen in the introduction in the academic world there is a discussion about whether ethnic concentration is positive or negative for the integration of ethnic minorities (Pinkster, 2008). There are two leading ideas on the impact of concentration and segregation of ethnic minorities in the literature, which van de Laan Bouma-Doff (2005) has called the isolation thesis and the emancipation thesis. The isolation thesis, described in section 2.3.1, focuses on the negative effects of concentration while the emancipation thesis, described in section 2.3.2, focuses on the positive effects of concentration.

2.2.1 Emancipation thesis

The emancipation thesis emphasises the possible advantages of the existence of concentration areas. This thesis treats the concentration area as a 'springboard', and thus only a transitional stage towards integration into the host society (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2005). Concentration is seen as a first step towards integration. The expectation is that

immigrants settle in affordable neighbourhoods first and will move to more advantaged neighbourhoods once they can afford to do so (Tesser et al., 1995).

Researchers of the Chicago School already saw the dispersal of ethnic groups as a sign of integration and socio-economic improvement in the 1920s. In that sense this thesis also has links with classic (spatial) assimilation theory. The core of assimilation theory is that time is a key factor in integration processes. The first generation immigrants will be of low socio-economic status and will have little social and cultural binding with the host society. There is often little contact with native people and there will be a large orientation towards the own group. This will gradually change – mainly through education and increasing language skills - with the coming of new generations born in the host country. As time goes by immigrants and their children will get adjusted to the behaviours and normative system of the host society and will slowly blend into the host society. As stated before, this can also have spatial impact in the sense that new generation over time are expected to move out of concentration neighbourhoods as their cultural orientation changes and they climb up the socio-economic ladder (Gordon, 1964; Logan et al., 2002).

Over time minorities are expected to focus on the host society and thus the wish to live in each others proximity will decrease. Moving to more mixed neighbourhoods will then also stimulate the assimilation process even further, especially for the children that grow up there (Massey & Denton, 1987). The larger the cultural distance, the longer the process of integration is expected to take. Gordon (1964) saw total assimilation as the end station of the integration process. Even though this is not necessarily seen as the preferred end station and has become a contested idea (Alba & Nee, 2005), assimilation theory can still be useful in researching interethnic contact in the sense that time and generation might be an important explanatory factor of ethnic concentration as well as integration.

Another criticism of assimilation theory is that socio-economic and socio-cultural integration do not always go hand in hand. An example are Asian groups that combine socio-economic success with a strong orientation towards the own group (Portes & Zhou, 1992). While on the other hand, Afro-American concentration in the United States remains high (Alba & Nee, 2005).

The main advantage of concentration neighbourhoods that is mentioned in the literature is the possibility of social networks within the own group. Firstly, concentration can offer a support network in a broader sense. Newcomers can find support and use the knowledge of people with the same background to find housing and employment in a new country. Also

later religious institutions and family ties can function as security networks (Modood, 1997). Living in proximity to people with the same background and ethnical facilities also give opportunities to maintain parts of the own culture, which can make people feel more safe and comfortable in the new environment (Wilson & Portes, 1981). According to Johnston, Forrest and Poulsen (2002), the desire to congregate often reflects a wish to maintain one's own culture and identity rather than the wish to distance themselves from the host society. It is believed that being able to practice one's culture is believed to give people self-worth and will make the transition into a new society more easy (Drever, 2004). In this sense ethnic concentration neighbourhoods can function as a home base from which full participation in the host society can follow (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007).

Secondly, concentration offers opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurship, as there potentially is access to a pool of labour, as well as a customer base which are necessarily for starting up a business (Rath, 2007). This can provide chances for social upward mobility and thus socio-economical integration (Portes & Zhou, 1992). Kloosterman, van der Leun and Rath (1999), observed that relatively many ethnic minorities find employment as (employee of an) entrepreneur. Finding employment often happens within the family, as relatives are believed to be reliable employees (Sanders & Nee, 1996). According to Uunk (2002), it is to be expected that employment found through the social network in concentration neighbourhoods is expected to be in the lower end of the employment market though.

2.2.2 Isolation thesis

According to the isolation thesis, segregation and concentration have predominantly negative consequences for the integration of minorities. While assimilation theory and the emancipation thesis see an important role for the factor time and assume the social and economical distance between minorities and the host population will decrease over time, the isolation thesis assumes that social mixing between minorities and host society will not necessarily decrease especially because of the interfering role of ethnic segregation (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005). It is thought that isolation from mainstream society will follow if immigrants are overrepresented in a certain neighbourhood (Semyonov and Glikman, 2009). This thesis treats concentration areas as 'ghettoes', as places where minorities are 'doomed' to live because of discrimination or a lack of financial means and their housing opportunities. The position of the black population in the United States is often mentioned as an example of how time did not improve the socio-economic situation of a minority group. Pamuk (2004) also adds that the persistence of 'Chinatowns' or a 'Little Italy' show that spatial dispersal does not automatically occur.

According to the isolation thesis living or growing up in a concentration neighbourhood – which can be based on a concentration of poverty and/or ethnicity – has an independent, negative impact on someone's chances in life. When living in a certain neighbourhood has an independent effect on someone's chances in life, one speaks of a 'neighbourhood effect' or 'concentration effect' (Uunk, 2002). Wilson (1987) used the notion of concentration effects to explain the position of Afro-Americans in the United States. He argues that social isolation, by which he means the lack of contact with people and/or institutions that represent the mainstream society, is the main issue in explaining the disadvantaged situation of the ghetto and its inhabitants. He observed that since the 1970's employment moved to the suburbs, which caused the black middle class to leave the inner cities. This left the black ghettos with a lack of job opportunities and a lack of contact with people with stable jobs and left the inhabitants isolated from mainstream society, culturally, socio-economically as well as geographically. Many American scholars have indeed found evidence for the existence of neighbourhood effects, for instance on educational attainment (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Crowder & South, 2003).

There are various explanations for the disadvantaged position of people living in concentration neighbourhoods. A lack of positive role models and a relatively large number of bad role models is often emphasised. Already in 1969 Oscar Lewis argued that concentration could cause a 'culture of poverty'. Because of isolation from the mainstream society and because of a lack of positive role models and a large number of bad examples, people's standards and norms may change and move away from mainstream norms, which makes it even harder to function in mainstream society. Because of long term poverty, being on welfare and showing criminal behaviour may become 'normal' to concentration neighbourhood's inhabitants. In other words, ambitions might be negatively affected by living in a concentration neighbourhood in the sense that people are not predominantly oriented towards education and employment for themselves and their children. In this way the disadvantaged position can be passed on to next generation (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2005). There are also factors from outside the neighbourhood that can play a role, such as stigmatisation of the inhabitants from concentration neighbourhoods (Permentier, van Ham & Bolt, 2007). It can be difficult to get mortgages (Aalbers, 2005) and jobs (Wilson, 1996). All these issues can also be rather negative for inhabitant's self esteem (Wacauant, 1993).

An issue with neighbourhood effects is that they are difficult to measure. Even if correlations are found, it can be hard to determine what the cause is and what the effect. Decades of segregation research (ethnic, economic, life-cycle) have shown that there are many

differences and inequalities between neighbourhoods. Buck (2001) stresses that this does not necessarily show neighbourhood effects. Clearly, there are other contexts which influence people's chances in life and social contacts, such as work and school. These will be mentioned chapter 6. According to some scholars neighbourhood effects tend to be biased upwards because of so-called selection effects (Tienda, 1991).

The isolation thesis is mainly based on the American situation, which is rather different from the European or Dutch situation. First of all, concentration neighbourhoods in the Netherlands are not mono-ethnic, but a mix of different ethnic minorities as well as native Dutch and the scale of concentration areas is also relatively small (van Kempen & Bolt, 2008). According to Uunk (2002), this heterogeneity hampers the occurrence of concentration-effects and decreases the chances of a 'culture of poverty' and inheritance of poverty from generation to generation. Another reason why it is difficult to translate American research to the Dutch context are the much more extensive government measures with respect to economic and social poverty (Kintrea and Atkinson, 2001), like the social security system, physical improvements of neighbourhoods and well-being measures within neighbourhoods like 'opbouwwerk' or community development (Pinkster, 2008).

However, there have been studies in the Netherlands that have shown that growing up in a concentration area can indeed impede integration (f.i. Veenman, 1995). By living in a concentration area people are believed to come into contact with native Dutch people less, because there are less meeting opportunities. Van der Laan-Bouma Doff (2007), as well as Gijssberts and Dagevos (2005), have found that minorities who live in concentration neighbourhoods have less contact with native Dutch people than those in neighbourhoods with a larger share of native Dutch inhabitants. An argument that Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas (2009) present is that the immigrant community, if its relative size is large, can act as third party and discourage contact with people from the host country because it might undermine the traditional norms of such a group.

Another argument in line with the isolation thesis is that learning Dutch can be more difficult in concentration neighbourhoods, which can decrease opportunities and contact with mainstream society. Firstly, because contacts with native Dutch people will be less numerous in concentration areas and secondly because the need to speak it is smaller as there are many people around with whom you can talk in your mother language. Many schools in concentration areas are so-called 'black' schools where there are fewer children who also speak Dutch at home and thus might have relatively weak Dutch skills (Özüekren,

1992). These factors would then impede both structural and cultural integration (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2005).

In conclusion, there are different ways of looking at concentration and segregation. As with many things, the truth is probably somewhere in the middle. The isolation thesis as well as the emancipation thesis sees an important role for social contacts with respect to the integration and participation of ethnic minorities. While the isolation thesis sees concentration as a hindrance to the integration process, because it reduces the chances of associating with members of the host society which reduces the chances for socio-cultural and socio-economic integration. The emancipation thesis on the other hand emphasises the importance of ethnic networks, from which immigrants can gain support and thus make the first step to participation in the host society.

2.3 Possible mechanisms of interethnic contact

In this section the mechanisms behind and possible effects of interethnic contact will be discussed. Two main visions will be talked about, namely the contact hypothesis which argues that there are mainly benefits from interethnic contact, and the conflict hypothesis, which has a more negative view on people of different background coming into contact.

2.3.1 Contact hypothesis

An important theory about interaction between people from different groups is the contact hypothesis, which was based on the ideas and research of Gordon Allport as early as 1954 (Chrysochoou, 2004). Allport believed that positive interethnic contact at the level of the individual would have positive effects on the image one has of the entire group. In other words this hypothesis states that getting to know people from another group and learning about their background can help to overcome prejudices and stereotype thinking about groups and thus interethnic contact is an important step towards cohesive multicultural societies (van Oudenhoven et al, 2006). Pettigrew (2007) also adds that indirect effects of interethnic contact can help to reduce prejudice. This means that having friends from your own group that have friends from other groups can have similar effects as having direct interethnic contact yourself. It is a theory with important policy implications (Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi, 2002), such as the desire to create mixed neighbourhoods.

Many studies do not say anything about the processes of how contact might reduce prejudice. Pettigrew (1998) however distinguishes four processes by which interethnic contact can influence prejudice. Just knowing about another group is not enough to change prejudice in itself. It is just one step in that direction. It can teach people about other groups, change peoples behaviour towards other groups, it might generate friendships and lessen anxiety and lastly it might make people reflect on their own culture and ethnic groups. Creating affective ties, like friendship, is another very important step towards more tolerance and mutual understanding. This might mean less contact with their own group and increased contact and bonds with people from other groups. So, Pettigrew (1998) shows that the route from contact to reduced prejudice and living together harmoniously is carried out in many steps. There are many possible gradations. Havekes and Uunk (2008) also argue that prejudice can be reduced by increasing knowledge of the other's norms, values, lifestyles and habits.

Researchers realise that the relationship between interethnic contact and reducing prejudice is not that straightforward. Just having contact is not enough to create respect and a cohesive society. So, Allport (1954) distinguished four conditions which have to be met in order to create positive interethnic contact: equal status between the groups within the situation, social and institutional support, cooperative interdependence (common goals) and acquaintance potential. If people from groups, which are perceived to be unequal, meet, this contact could lead to a reinforcement of negative stereotypes. Social norms and legitimate authorities have to promote contact between different groups in order for contact to be fruitful. The contact should be based on interdependence and having common goals, rather than be about competition; for instance, in a sports team or in an effort to improve a neighbourhood together. Lastly, contact should be of a reasonable frequency, duration and intensiveness. So in other words real relationships have to occur for interethnic contact to be beneficial and useful for decreasing prejudice (Chryssochoou, 2004).

There have been many studies related to this theory, not only for interethnic contact, but for inter-group contact in general. On the one hand some of these researchers have added new conditions. For instance Wagner & Machleit (1986) claimed that in order for inter-group contact to have positive effects a common language, voluntary contact, and a prosperous economy are required. On the other hand, many have shown that, even if not all consequences are met, contact does often have positive effects on reducing prejudices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). So, according to Pettigrew (1998), facilitating conditions should not be confused with essential conditions. Contact does not necessarily have to be optimal

in order to gain positive outcomes for interethnic contact. Pettigrew sees the four basic conditions and friendship potential as essential conditions and later added conditions as facilitating conditions. These can be different for different people or situations. He also added the dimension of time. Based on the earlier established conditions as well as someone's personal situation and experiences initial contact will occur, which might start a decategorization process. This may lead to a more established contact, which in the optimal situation might lead to reduced prejudices.

One important factor that has been added later by Blau (1977) is that in order for interethnic contact to appear meeting opportunities are needed. One's social network is not just based on personal preferences, but also on who one meets for instance in the neighbourhood, at work or at school. Group size and heterogeneity in a neighbourhood seem to be of great importance for opportunities for contact to appear. The relationship between the neighbourhood, meeting opportunities and interethnic contact will be further elaborated on in section 3.3.

An important problem with the contact hypothesis is the issue of the direction of causality. It is difficult to prove whether people have less prejudices because they have more interethnic contact, or that those that have more interethnic contact are the people with less prejudices to begin with (McLaren, 2003). But still the contact hypothesis remains a good starting point for researching interethnic contact and the possible effects.

2.3.2 Ethnic competition hypothesis

The ethnic competition hypothesis is an alternative hypothesis to deal with interethnic contact. This hypothesis is based on the notion that if different ethnic groups all make a claim on the same scarce resources, like housing, jobs and welfare, this can cause feelings of competition between individuals and groups (Belanger & Pinard, 1991, Gijbarts & Dagevos, 2004). Modernization and globalisation have increased competition for matters like space and employment. Some evidence suggests that living together and having contact with people from different ethnic groups does not necessarily have positive outcomes like the contact hypothesis does claim. Scheepers, Gijbarts and Coenders (2002), state that people that live in countries that have experienced a high level of immigration, are relatively intolerant to people from other ethnic groups. Lubbers (2001) adds that in Western Europe, people in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities vote for extreme right wing parties relatively often. Van Kempen and Bolt (2008) add that mixing different lifestyles in a

neighbourhood can also lead to irritations. By living close to each other people can become more aware of their differences.

Blokland (2003) also claims that negative ideas about other ethnic groups are likely to be stronger when competition in a neighbourhood (or elsewhere) is stronger, because other groups could be seen as threatening. It is often suggested that this competition is more real for people with a fairly low social-economic status, than for highly educated people with a good job. People that have a better competition position are likely to feel less threatened, than those in worse conditions (Quillian, 1995). Furthermore people from ethnic minorities – also in the Netherlands – relatively often have a lower social-economic status and thus compete for jobs and housing in the lower end of the economy (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2004). Ethnic competition does not just have to be about economic resources, but can also be about power, cultural resources and collective identity. People can feel their culture or their way of living is threatened by the presence of other cultures (Tolsma, Lubbers en Coenders, 2007). In fact Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior (2004), found that perceived threats to the national identity overshadow economic concerns. When the economic conditions are rather good cultural and religious issues are more often debated. Contact does not necessarily have to lead to mutual understanding and better knowledge about other cultures, as the contact hypothesis implies. Sometimes (ethnic) groups use parts of stereotypes to include some and exclude others from 'their' share of public space or activities. People will still try to construct an operative symbolic and social reality, which is often based on differences between people (Blokland, 2003). Negative stereotypes can be a possible perceived threat, as they imply an expectation of having possible negative experiences with people from a certain group (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Competition is also more likely to be felt by people from the host society that live in neighbourhoods with a large share of ethnic minorities; as a result they might think less positive about ethnic minorities. Various authors found evidence for this relation (Quillian 1995; Coenders en Scheepers 1998; Lubbers 2001; Gijsberts et al., 2004).

Competition does not always have to result in conflict. Competition is about a struggle between (groups of) individuals who are not necessarily in contact, while conflict is more personal and requires actual contact between the people that are in competition (Olzak, 1994). According to Belanger and Pinard (1991), ethnic competition will lead to conflict when the competition is perceived as unfair and there is a low interethnic interdependence. Living together in neighbourhoods could stimulate conflict, because people see direct individual competition, which can be negative for the ideas about each other (Barth, 1969).

Forbes (2004) goes a step further and takes it to a larger scale. He argues that even on a world scale the contrary can be observed. As international migration has increased massively, interethnic conflicts have increased as well. This suggests that contact has not reduced prejudices or conflict at all. There are many examples of countries where contact leads to conflict, like Israel, the Balkan and many African states. Forbes (2004), states that the contact hypotheses is somewhat naïve in thinking that contact will lead to more understanding and less prejudices, because in reality closer contact often comes with conflict situations. Contact between people or groups from different ethnic backgrounds may have an effect on negative variables like prejudice, discrimination and hostility because of cultural differences. Contact leads to situations where groups with different cultural backgrounds have to look for a common ground and common norms for dealing with each other. The more distant cultures are from each other, the harder it is to find these common values to base the contact on. This could lead to conflict situations.

There has been quite some research that showed that concentration has a negative effect on the image native people have of minorities, because native people feel threatened in a situation with a large minority population (Olzak, 1992; Quillian, 1995). This is in line with the competition hypothesis. Still rather little is known about whether the same counts for the minorities, there has not been much research on the image minorities have of the native Dutch and on living in the Netherlands and how this relates to living in a concentration neighbourhood (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005). Based on the contact hypothesis one would expect the images of both natives and minorities about each other to be more negative because there might be less contact between different groups.

2.4 Meeting places

As stated in paragraph 2.1.2 on the contact hypothesis, interethnic contact can only occur if there are meeting opportunities. Or as Verbrugge stated in 1977, 'there will be no mating without meeting'. The neighbourhood is often seen as an important scale and place in which to create interethnic contact and promote solidarity, integration and social cohesion amongst people by policy makers. In the academic world however, it has been debated whether the neighbourhood still plays an important role in today's peoples' lives at all. It is thus also important to look at other meeting places to determine the relative importance of the neighbourhood.

2.4.1 The neighbourhood

The isolation thesis and the emancipation thesis disagree on whether or not concentration in neighbourhoods has positive or negative effects, but both do see an important role for the neighbourhood in shaping someone's social network. This notion is also being questioned by some scholars these days (Drever & Clark, 2006). Already in 1986, Bulmer claimed, that neighbourhood contact is not as necessary anymore as it was until the beginning of the 20th century. Having contact with the neighbours these days is a choice, rather than a necessity. People are spending less and less time in the neighbourhoods where they live, as more time is spent at the work place, at school or at shopping centres. So that is why Ellis, Whright and Park (2003) argue that next to segregation and interethnic concentration in neighbourhoods, places like work, school and recreational spaces, also have to be studied. On the other hand Völker and Flap (2007), state that the area in which one lives is a particularly important meeting place, because no extra arrangements are needed to meet. It is a place for accidental meeting. They also state that people do spend a lot of time in their neighbourhood, also because places where people are active are often locally located. These included places like parks, libraries and playgrounds. Furthermore it is simply difficult to avoid the people you live next door or in close proximity to. The casualness of meeting in the neighbourhood can also be seen as a disadvantage. Ash Amin (2002) has argued that although the neighbourhood and its public spaces might be good places to meet people, spaces like the workplace, school, youth centres or sports clubs are more valuable for interethnic contact and dialogue, because contact is more compulsory.

The importance of the neighbourhood for one's social network might differ between different groups of people. The young, elderly and women with young children for instance are believed to spend relatively more time in the direct neighbourhood, and therefore are expected to have more ties within the neighbourhood (Healy, 1997), as do the unemployed (Völker, Flap & Lindenberg, 2006). Fischer (1982) adds that people with a lower socio-economic status rely on the neighbourhood more for their social network than people with a higher socio-economic status, because the cost (in both money and time) of having more distant friends can be too high. In other words proximity of social relations is especially important for people with limited economic resources or mobility (Bridge, 2002). Furthermore the amount of time someone spends in the neighbourhood influences how important the neighbourhood will be for his or her social life. This includes both the time spent in the neighbourhood per week and the length of residence in the area (Völker & Flap, 2007). If someone has many other opportunities to meet people, the neighbourhood does not have to play a big role in one's personal network (Völker and Flap, 2007).

According to Völker, Flap & Lindenberg (2006) between 10 and 20 percent of one's personal network consists of neighbours. Most people have some sort of relationship with the neighbours, because it is hard to totally ignore the people that live around you. Also, contact with people in your neighbourhoods gives you a feeling of home and security (Bridge, 2002). Contact with the neighbours often consists of weak ties, rather than complex relationships. According to (Granovetter, 1973), these weak ties – friends and acquaintances – are especially capable of crossing ethnic boundaries and these ties can be especially meaningful in winning information on jobs etc and can help immigrants to integrate (Putnam, 2000). Neighbours often help each other out with small things, like looking after each other's house when on holiday or borrowing or exchanging small goods. Compared to other people in one's social network neighbours – next to household members – are the most readily available and most suitable for helping with small problems. Another argument is that people are willing to help out because one day you might be the one needing help in return. Strong ties are less likely to develop within the neighbourhood. Neighbours rarely discuss personal matters, also because people feel a desire for privacy (Völker & Flap, 2007). Distance within the neighbourhood also seems to play a role in neighbourhood contacts. If people have social contacts in their neighbourhood these tend to be direct neighbours. These are the people they can rely on for help and support (Kleinmans, 2004).

Furthermore, apart from the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood, physical neighbourhood characteristics, such as parks, squares, streets and shopping areas, can also influence interethnic contact. Also because they potentially attract people from outside the neighbourhood (van Stiphout, 2006), the more meeting places there are in a neighbourhood, the greater the chance is that people will create social networks in their neighbourhood and interact with neighbours. Meeting places in neighbourhoods are places like parks, libraries, squares, schools, shops and other public services (Völker, Flap & Lindenberg, 2007). In her classic work on the American city, Jane Jacobs (1961) noted that cities' streets and their resources and facilities are key to the formation of a sense of community in neighbourhoods. Public spaces, both in and outside the neighbourhood, are often seen as a space for interethnic contact. According to Amin (2002), contemporary urban public spaces are not very likely to be a scene for contact between strangers. Sometimes public spaces are even being territorialized by specific groups. According to Dines and Cattell (2006) there are some conditions for social interaction to occur in public space, namely; familiarity with the space, regular use, the endurance of a public space over time and available facilities that give purpose to a space. Again, the fact that people use the

same spaces does not necessarily mean they will come into contact, but at least these places are localities where ethnic diversity is being experienced and negotiated.

In public spaces in the neighbourhood different types of encounters can occur. Contact can be serendipitous or routinely or social events and activities can be pre-organised either by groups of people themselves or by others. Routine encounters – such as meeting the neighbours in front of the house or meeting the same people at the market every week – are often important to maintain weak ties between neighbours. Such encounters can even be first steps towards friendships. With respect to organised events, events organised by the community are often seen as more valuable than 'institutional' events, such as concerts or carnivals. Sometimes people prefer using public spaces to be alone for a bit and might not be interested in meeting of others (Dines and Cattell, 2006).

Living together in a neighbourhood, does not automatically mean that people will get into contact. Snel and Boonstra (2005) state that in many multicultural neighbourhoods there is very little contact between different groups. People do not know each other, nor greet each other and do not live together, but just next to each other. Drever and Clark (2006) found that in German mixed neighbourhoods there is little contact between native Germans and people from minority backgrounds because they seldom share the spaces within neighbourhoods. They do not often share buildings and use different types of public space. Blokland (2003) has distinguished four possible routes for interethnic contact within a neighbourhood. Firstly, there is a route of indifference. This occurs when there is little interest in neighbourhood contacts and therefore ethnicity does not play a role in including or excluding people from the sense of community in a neighbourhood. People that are more prejudiced are also more likely to avoid contact with other ethnic groups, than their own (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Secondly, there are routes in line with the contact hypothesis in which people were interested in being good neighbours, for instance by helping out each other. This type of contact is not always based on equality, but also on trying to help minorities integrate and become more like yourself. Thirdly, conflict might occur. Often groups live in relative peace until they make claims on the same space. So this can only occur if the neighbourhood plays a considerable role in the inhabitant's life. Fourthly, there are routes of conflict based on 'unrealistic' ideas. In this case the distinction between 'us' and 'them' is used to create a sense of community for one group, but there is no real competition. Blokland (2003) argues that all of these routes of interethnic contact can occur next to each other in the same neighbourhood, by different people.

2.4.2 Other meeting places

Of course the neighbourhood is not the only place where people meet others, nonetheless much of the research on interethnic contact has focused on the neighbourhoods people live in. According to Blau & Schwartz (1984), workplaces, schools and clubs of all sorts might be equally important. According to Völker, Flap and Lindenberg (2006) people that have a sense of community outside the neighbourhood, for instance at work, might not feel the need to create a sense of community in the neighbourhood they live in. The more alternative meeting places one has, the less important contact in the neighbourhood becomes.

Work

The first possibly important place where people of different cultures can meet each other and come into contact with each other outside the neighbourhood is the workplace. For many people the working place is a place where they spend a great deal of their time. Wellman (1996) suggests the workplace as a locality of interaction is similar to the neighbourhood. He even suggests seeing the workplace as a person's second home, next to the actual home, this is often the place where one spends most of his or her time and thus people met at the workplace are also locally available for interaction. Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch & Combs (1996), emphasize that having a job outside the house at the very least makes people come into contact with more people than if they would stay at home. Also in the Netherlands it has been found that unemployed people from a minority background have far less opportunities to meet native Dutch (Kogan, 2006).

In some cases – for instance if one lives in a concentration neighbourhood, but works elsewhere – the workplace might be the main site for people to meet people from other backgrounds. According to Blumen and Zamir (2001), for many workers, going to work goes together with a shift in one's social milieu. Estlund (2003) found that the workplace is the place where people most likely meet people of other ethnic background in the United States. She also argues it is the place where bonds are most likely to form, because of the nature of work as well as because it's a relatively mixed space. In the workspace meeting people from other backgrounds is more compulsory than in the neighbourhood or free time. At work one might have to interact with people one would maybe avoid in one's private life (Schaafsma, 2008). People you can meet at work vary from colleagues, to clients, to bosses and to employees. In the Dutch case, according to Esveldt and Traudes (2001) work is by far the most important interethnic meeting place for native Dutch people. About half of the native Dutch get into contact with ethnic minorities here. The chances of meeting native Dutch

people at work are not the same for everyone. It is expected that especially higher educated and people that work in high-level functions will meet native Dutch at the work place, because native employees tend to be more concentrated in these functions (Kogan, 2006).

According to Bridge (2002), workmates are only a small portion of people's active social networks in terms of amount of people though. Contacts at work are often also not very intimate and colleagues are not often used for social support, like neighbours, but on the other side, contact at work is likely to be of a frequent nature. In other words, people at work are generally a relatively small proportion of people within our entire social network, but a group with whom relatively much time is spent with. Even though contact at work is often not very intimate, there is always the possibility of developing social relations or even enduring friendships. Pickering (2006) argues that the fact that there are no expectations for forming intimate ties in the workplace gives people the chance to form ties of various strengths with their colleagues.

It has been mentioned that the workplace is a space where some of the conditions for valuable interethnic contact occur as formulated by Allport (1954). Firstly, people are obliged to work together and to treat each other in a professional way (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Pickering, 2006). Secondly, there usually is a common goal, namely the goal of the organisation one works for and lastly, the work context is often one in which people are of a rather equal status, or should be treated as such (Houston et al., 2005; WRR, 2006). Although Ellis, Wright and Park (2003), argue that black and white people rarely work as equals in the same building or organisation.

Meeting each other at work does not automatically lead to fruitful interethnic contact. Gowricharn (1997) found that minorities often find it hard to connect with their native Dutch colleagues. This has to do with differences in working styles and also with getting included in the team. Bell and Nkomo (2001), found that black professionals in the US often feel excluded by or made to feel they do not belong in workplaces that are dominated by white co-workers. For the Dutch situation Dinsbach, Feij and de Vries (2007) also found that discrimination can occur on the work floor and people with an ethnic minority background often are less socially integrated at work.

School

For children and young adults schools are very important meeting places. From the age of four, in the Dutch case, children spend a large part of the day at their school. Children

themselves do not see school just as a place to learn and get an education, but also as a social meeting place, a place where they get into contact with peers (Pels, 2002). Traditionally the education system was seen as the most important institution to promote integration of migrants, by being a meeting place and by the education itself and the opportunities that offers. Although schools are important meeting places, they are not necessarily interethnic meeting places, as there is a rather large amount of school segregation in the Netherlands (Snel & Boonstra, 2005). Ethnic minorities and native inhabitants are often unevenly spread over schools, both geographically and with respect to the level of education (Dronkers & Levels, 2005). Even if schools are mixed, inter-ethnic contact is not guaranteed (Leeman & Veendrick, 2001).

Later in life, higher education institutions – like universities – can become important meeting places to establish new contacts and friendships. For minorities, university often implies more meeting opportunities with the host group. Again, meeting opportunities do not guarantee actual interethnic contact in universities. Volet and Ang (1998), did research on interethnic contact at Australian universities and found that there was little contact between Asian and Australian students, partly because members of both groups thought that the other group preferred to keep to themselves, rather than mix with others. They also found that the bigger the cultural difference, the less interethnic contact appeared on campuses. They conclude that breaking out of one's comfort zone and crossing ethnical borders requires mental effort from both minorities and majorities.

According to Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008), different social contexts provide different kinds of relationships. The neighbourhood and work are both rather important places to meet acquaintances, while friends are met in a broader range of places which also include schools or associations. To find a partner, the neighbourhood is of less importance, as partners are found more often at for instance clubs, while this is not a popular place to meet friends and acquaintances.

Conclusions

The first important notion in the discussions about interethnic contact, is that there need to be meeting places for interethnic contact to occur, or as Verbrugge (1977) stated: there is no meeting without mating. There are various potential meeting places where contact in general and interethnic contact in particular can occur, which will also differ per person. While some scholars – as well as politicians - see the neighbourhood as an important meeting place, others argue this importance has decreased over the years and more formal

environments like schools and the workplace are more important places for (interethnic) contact to come about. The social context in which one goes about will determine someone's 'pool' for potential contacts. Speaking the host society's language is also a factor which can add members of majority population into this pool of contacts to 'choose' contacts from, as mastering the language makes getting into contact with the host society easier (Martinovic, van Tubergen en Maas, 2009). Subsequently, preferences will determine with whom out of this pool one will choose to associate with. Whereby social identity theory suggests a positive bias towards people that are more similar to yourself, for instance because they are from the same ethnic background. This 'preference' for similarity in people one associates with is believed to be stronger for closer relationships than for more superficial contact (Mollenhorst, Völker & Flap, 2008) .

There are different views on concentration neighbourhoods and whether they are positive or negative for the integration of immigrants into the host society. On the one hand, supporters of the isolation thesis see ethnic concentration in neighbourhoods as something negative as it impedes meeting opportunities with people from the host society and thus increases the chances for ethnic minorities to get isolated from host society. On the other hand, supporters of the emancipation thesis argue that ethnic networks can be an important step to integration into host society as it provides support, both socially and economically. In this sense they see concentration neighbourhoods as a springboard towards further integration (van der Laan-Bouma Doff, 2007). This idea is in line with (spatial) assimilation theory, which sees time and socio-economic integration as important factors on the route to social integration, including interethnic contact.

Furthermore there are two important contradictory theories on the relations between ethnic concentration, interethnic contact and the way people from the host society and minorities look at and feel about each other – the ethnic competition thesis and the contact hypothesis. On the one hand representatives of the ethnic competition theory argue that large numbers of people from other ethnic groups can cause feelings of being threatened, in an economical or cultural way, which can cause negative feelings and views in the out-group. On the other hand, the contact hypothesis suggests ethnic diversity increases the chance of interethnic contact, which will lead to a reduction of prejudices about one another (Tolsma, 2009).

To conclude, there are many different views on the possible mechanisms behind interethnic contact and the effects this contact can have. These different stances can all help to explain where, when and why interethnic contact does or does not occur and whether this

interethnic contact has positive effects or not. All add different factors to take into consideration when studying interethnic contact and therefore will be used to explain the interethnic contact that occurs in the four largest cities of the Netherlands, and especially amongst Turks in three Rotterdam neighbourhoods.

Minorities in the Netherlands

In this chapter the situation of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands will be described. This has been done in order to put the results into the context in which they came about. This chapter gives important background information which can be rather important for the interpretation of the results. First of all, in section 3.1, the migration history of the four most numerous groups of minorities in the Netherlands – Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans – will be discussed. Secondly, section 3.2 will deal with the demography and geographical distribution of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Thirdly, section 3.3 will give an overview of the history of integration policy in the Netherlands. And lastly, a very specific policy with regards to the issue of segregation will be described, namely spatial dispersion policy as it has been implemented in the Rotterdam municipality.

3.1 Migration history

First of all, the main migration waves of the 20th century will be outlined to get a better understanding of the background of the most numerous ethnic minority groups that live in the Netherlands. The Netherlands has a relatively long immigration history. Being a rich trading nation, many people came to the Netherlands to seek a better life, especially since the 'golden age', the seventeenth century. Furthermore the Netherlands knew a relatively large political and religious tolerance which led to an influx of Jewish and protestant refugees from other European areas, like French Huguenots. After the 'golden age', there was a period in which fewer immigrants came (van Heelsum & Voorthuysen, 2002). In the early days after the Second World War the Netherlands even was an emigration country. In the late 1940's and early 1950's many Dutch families migrated to countries like the United States, Australia and South Africa as the economic situation was rather weak after the war. From the 1960's onwards net migration became positive again. The main post war immigration flows were post-colonial migration and labour migration (van Amersfoort, 1995). Both of these will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

Labour migration

As the rebuilding of the country and economy took a flight after World War II in the 1960's, the Netherlands coped with labour shortages, especially in low-skilled jobs in the industry. In the beginning guest workers were recruited in Southern European countries like Spain, Italy and Yugoslavia. Half way the 1960's the recruitment of guest workers shifted mainly to Turkey and then Morocco. In the beginning, employers took the initiative themselves and later the government made recruitment deals with the countries. The initial guest workers often came from rural areas where job opportunities were scarce. In 1973 the official work migration ended, when the demand for workers was heavily reduced because of the oil crisis. In this year immigration policy was implemented to stop the influx of immigrants (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002). By this time there were 30.000 Turkish and 21.000 Moroccan people living in the Netherlands consisting of almost only first generation migrants (de Jong, 2003). The initial idea was that labour migration would be temporary and guest workers would leave after working in the Netherlands for a couple of years. In reality many guest workers stayed and moved their families over or started a family here. Migration from Turkey and Morocco continued as family reunification – a right determined in international treaties – in the 1970s and as family formation until this day (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002).

Post colonial migration

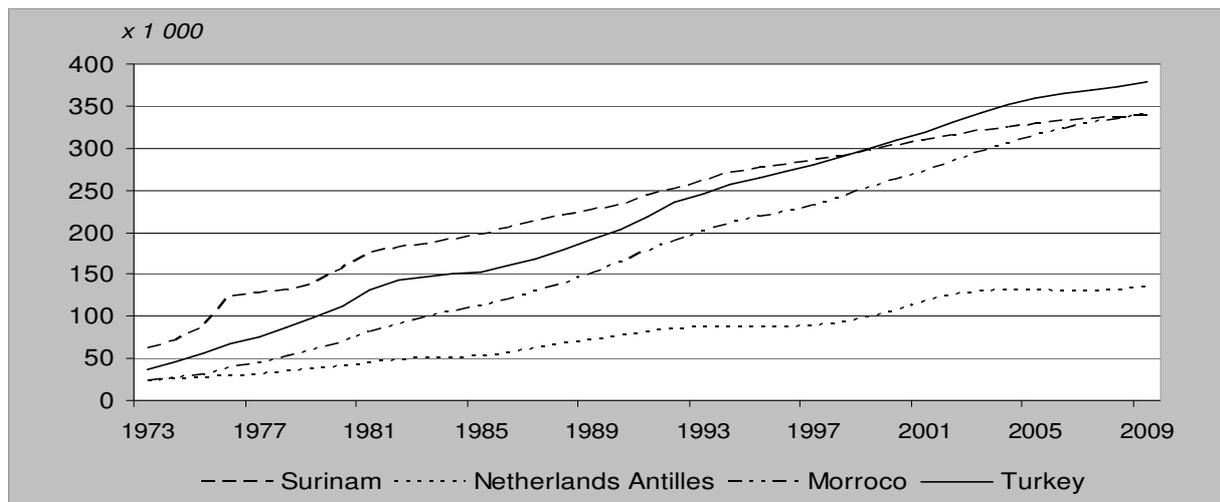
The second immigration flow was of people from former Dutch colonies. This included people from Indonesia, Surinam and the Dutch Antilles (including Aruba). Only the latter two will be discussed here. Since 1954 people from Surinam and the Antilles could move freely to the Netherlands and by 1960 there were 12.700 Surinamese and Antillean people in the Netherlands (WRR, 1979).

There had long been migration from Surinam to the Netherlands, but this was mainly the elite that came to study or do business in the Netherlands. From the late 1960's, early 1970's onwards, lower educated Surinamese started to migrate to the Netherlands. Push factors were the poor economic and political situation in Suriname (van Heelsum & Voorthuysen, 2002). In the 1970's there were two immigration peaks, after the independence of Surinam in 1975 and just before the end of the transition period in 1980, the year until which Surinamese could settle in the Netherlands without a visa (Lucassen and Penninx, 1997).

The larger scale migration from the Antilles started later than that of the other mentioned groups. Before the 1980's migration from the Netherlands Antilles was also mainly education

related. From the 1980's and especially 1990's there has been a larger influx of less educated Antilleans that are coming to the Netherlands to build a better life as the economic situation in the Antilles was deteriorating. Around this time the political situation was also relatively insecure as Aruba was on the way to get a new status within the kingdom of the Netherlands which broke up the Antilles as they had been for years. This caused a relatively quick growth of the number of people from the Antilles in the Netherlands. Between 1985 and 1992 their numbers tripled to 90.000 (van Hulst, 1997).

Figure 3.1 Number of non-western ethnic minorities per 1st of January, 1973 to 2009



Source: CBS statline, 2009

More restrictive immigration policy has caused a decline of immigration from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam since the 1990's. In figure 3.1 one can see the population development of the four groups that will be discussed in this thesis; Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. Labour migration and post colonial migration have not been the only streams of immigration that have reshaped the Dutch population, but they have been most influential. Since the 1990's there has been a steady influx of asylum seekers from for instance Yugoslavia, African countries and the Middle-East. The influx of asylum seekers is rather flexible and depends on the current immigration policy (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002). Since the enlargement of the EU with 10 new member states in 2004 and especially since May 2007 when a working visa was no longer needed for Polish people, there is also a growing group of Eastern-Europeans – especially Poles – in the Netherlands. The number of eastern European inhabitants grew from around 42 thousand in 2004 to around 74 thousand in 2008; this does not include seasonal workers (Nicolaas & van Agtmaal-Wobma, 2008).

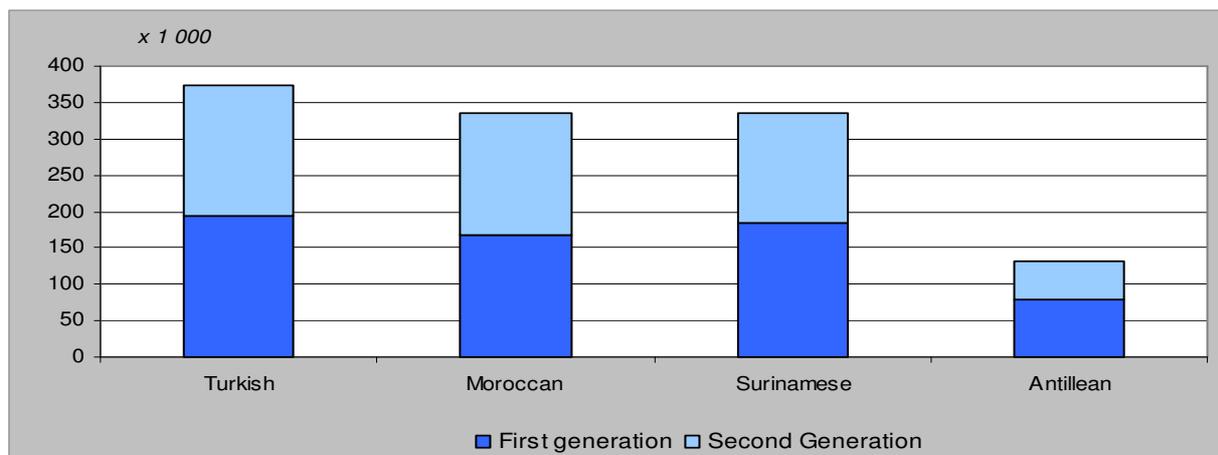
3.2 Demography and distribution

Even though immigration flows have become more complex in recent decades, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans still form the largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands today (Nicolaas & van Agtmaal-Wobma, 2008). After describing the history of migration, in this section the current demography and the distribution of these groups within the Netherlands will be discussed.

Demography

As we have seen in the previous section, the number of non-western immigrants has grown steadily since the 1960's, changing the composition of the Dutch population quite much. Between 1972 and 2005 the number of people from a non-western background – those born abroad or with at least one parent born abroad – has grown with 1.5 million, while the total population of the Netherlands grew by 3 million. In other words, half of the population growth since 1972 can be ascribed to the growing number of people from a non-western minority background (Garssen, Nicolaas & Sprangers, 2005). By 2008 around 3.2 million people in the Netherlands belonged to an ethnic minority, of which half belonged to a non-western ethnic minority and by now 11 percent of the Dutch population consist of inhabitants belonging to a non-western ethnic minority (Nicolaas & van Agtmaal-Wobma, 2008). The four largest ethnic minority groups – Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans – encompass around two thirds of all non-western minorities (RMO, 2005). Their numbers are shown in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Number of non-western immigrants of the first and second generation in 2008



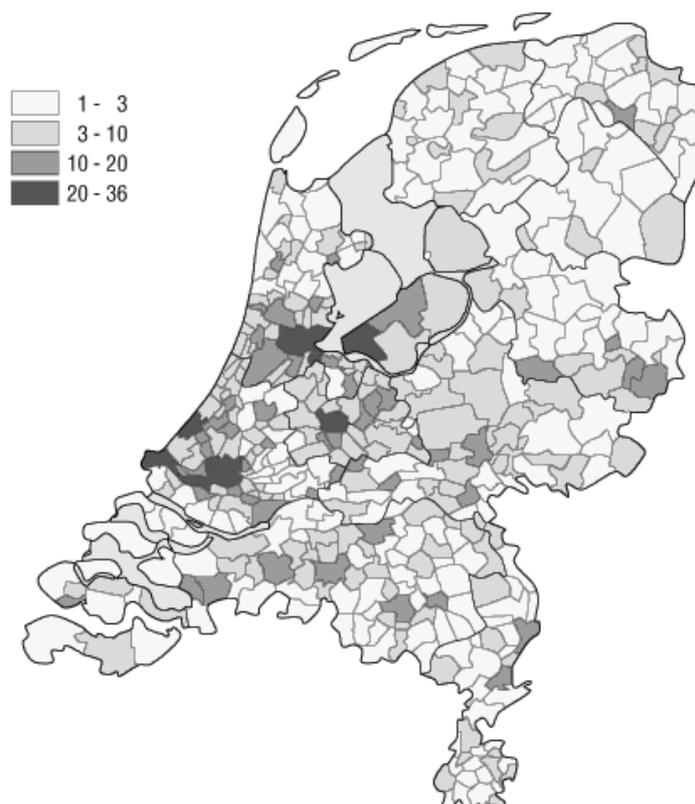
Source: CBS statline, 2009

Figure 3.2 also shows the share of people that belong to the first and second generation of immigrants. Of the people that fit the definition of non-western ethnic minority slightly more than 40 percent belongs to the second generation. For Antilleans this is a bit higher, as this group largely arrived later than the other three groups, as was mentioned in the previous section. The third generation of immigrants is still very limited and very young, partly because relatively many ethnic minorities of the second generation – especially amongst Turkish and Moroccan people – still marry partners from the country of their parents. In 2007 the third generation numbered 50.000, which was a doubling since 2000 (Nicolaas & van Agtmaal-Wobma, 2008).

Distribution

Ethnic minorities are not distributed evenly within the Netherlands. As can be seen in figure 3.3, a relatively large share lives in the western part of the country and especially in the largest cities in the Netherlands, like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. While nine percent of the native Dutch people live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands in 2008, 52 percent of Surinamese, 47 percent of Moroccans, 35 percent of Turkish and 24 percent of Antilleans did so in 2008 (CBS statline, 2008).

Figure 3.3 Percentage of non-western minorities per municipality in 2008



Source: CBS statline 2008

Different groups show somewhat different distribution patterns. Table 3.1 shows the population composition of the four largest cities of the Netherlands and this shows that there are different concentrations in different cities. This shows that Utrecht for instance has a relatively large share of Moroccan people, while Rotterdam has a relatively high share of Antilleans. Next to the four largest cities there are some striking concentrations too. Almere knows a rather large population of Surinamese migrated from Amsterdam. Den Helder has a relatively high number of Antilleans that work in the navy and industrial towns like Eindhoven and Enschede have a relatively high share of Turks and Moroccans who found employment there in the 1960's and 1970's (Boschman et al., 2008).

Table 3.1 Population composition of the four largest cities of the Netherlands percentages in 2008

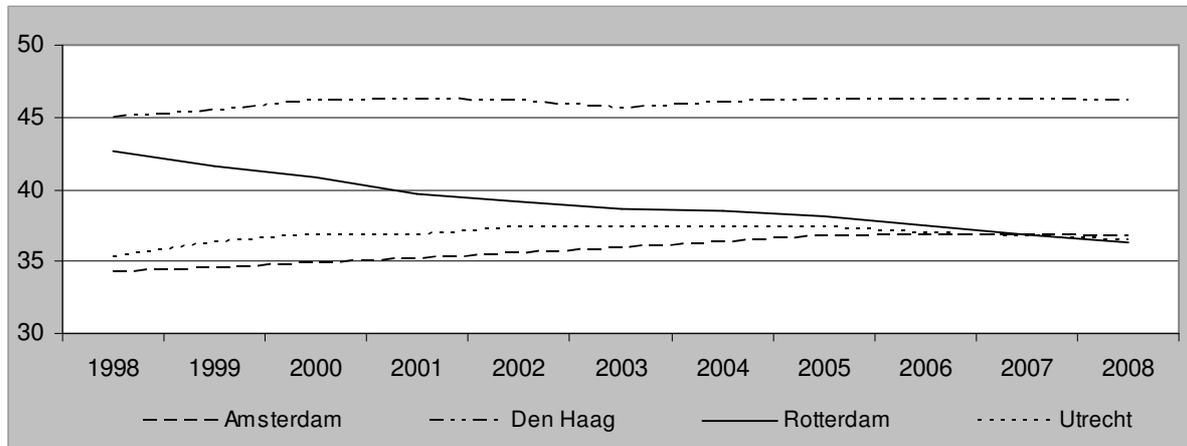
	Native Dutch	Turkish	Moroccan	Surinamese	Antillean	Total non-western minorities
Amsterdam	51	5	9	9	1	35
Rotterdam	54	8	6	9	3	36
The Hague	54	7	5	10	2	33
Utrecht	69	4	9	1	3	21
National average	80	2	2	2	1	11

Source: CBS statline, 2008

Within cities, ethnic minorities are not evenly distributed either. Many ethnic minorities live in neighbourhoods with a relative high concentration of ethnic minorities. The number of concentration neighbourhoods has also risen over the past few years. By 2005 there were 92 neighbourhoods in which the majority of the population consists of ethnic minorities, while five years earlier there were only 53 of these neighbourhoods (Garssen, Nicolaas & Sprangers, 2005). Based on segregation indices – a measure which shows how many people of a group should move in order for a group to be spread evenly over the city – van der Laan Bouwma-Doff (2005) concludes that segregation in the Netherlands is low to moderate compared to other western societies and that Turks and Moroccans live more segregated than Surinamese and Antilleans do. As can be seen in figure 3.4 the segregation index has slightly gone up in since 1998 in Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, while in Rotterdam it went down considerably in this period of time. According to Bolt, Hooijmeijer and van Kempen (2006), this is caused by the fact that minorities found their way into post-

war neighbourhoods, a process which already started in Amsterdam and Utrecht in the 1980's.

Figure 3.4 Segregation-index four largest cities between 1998 and 2008



Source: CBS calculated by ABF, 2008

The segregation index does not take into account the number of people from a certain group. A measure that does so, is that of statistical meeting chances. Bolt and van Kempen (2008) found that the chances of meeting native Dutch in the neighbourhood where ethnic minorities live have decreased for all groups and in all four largest cities, including Rotterdam, even though the segregation index went down there. This is caused by relative growth of the own group within neighbourhoods as well as cities as a whole, a growing number of other ethnic minorities – like Poles – in some areas, as well as out-migration of native Dutch inhabitants from concentration neighbourhoods and the largest cities. So, even in cities with stable or decreasing segregation indices, opportunities to meet native Dutch people decreased.

The residential segregation of ethnic minorities in Europe, including the Netherlands, is often linked to their low socioeconomic status. Minorities are likely to live in poorer neighbourhoods around the inner-city (Semyonov and Glikman, 2009). Since the 1960s there is a tendency for native-Dutch, often affluent families, to move out of the city. In recent years there has also been proof of suburbanisation of ethnic minorities. Concentration is partly explained by the concentration of more affordable dwellings. This probably played a large role when ethnic minorities first settled in Dutch cities, but cannot fully explain patterns now, as the average socio-economic status of groups has risen quicker than suburbanisation to more expensive areas. In the case of Turks and Moroccans, family ties often keep social climbers in the neighbourhood where they grew up. Ethnic minorities do

not seem to be living in concentration areas out of preference and have similar housing wishes to native Dutch (van der Zwaard, 2005). The housing position of all four groups, although still lower than for native Dutch on average, has improved over the years, as a growing number of people from an ethnic minority background live in owner-occupied housing and in low-rise, rather than apartments.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown the changes in the population of the Netherlands over the past decades. The large scale immigration has changed the Dutch population considerably. Different groups of immigrants have come to the Netherlands, all of which have different migration histories and come from places with different types of connections to the Netherlands, which means different groups have a different cultural distance to the Dutch majority population. These differences in cultural distance might influence the amount of contact people have with native Dutch people, as we have seen in the conceptual model.

Furthermore, this chapter showed the changing composition of the population, especially in the largest cities of the Netherlands. These changes have not only influenced the environment of the majority population, it has also changed the context in which immigrants and their children live. While first generation immigrants in the 1960's and 1970's came into a context in which they were a very small minority, younger generations were born in a much more ethnically mixed society. In this sense meeting opportunities have decreased and moving about in circles consisting of mostly people from a minority background, or even your own background have become easier.

Data and Methodology

After presenting the context in which this research is placed, this chapter will describe the way this research has been conducted. Firstly, section 4.1 will describe the way data have been collected. Two types of data have been used, quantitative in the form of the SPVA survey and qualitative in the form of interviews. Subsequently, section 4.2 will give a description of the three neighbourhoods in which the interviews have been conducted.

4.1 Data & methods

For this research, two sets of data have been used. On the one hand data from the Dutch survey research, SPVA will be used. SPVA stands for 'Sociale Positie en Voorzieningengebruik Allochtonen', or Social Position and Use of facilities Ethnic minorities in English. On the other hand interviews have been conducted amongst Turkish people in three kinds of neighbourhoods. Both data sets will be described in more detail in the following sections.

SPVA

The SPVA research has been conducted every 4 years since 1988. The data set used for this report was collected between February 2002 and April 2003 amongst Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean people. The samples were selected at random in the four largest municipalities of the Netherlands. Heads of households were asked to participate with their families at random. For heads of households a general questionnaire was used while a shorter version was used for their family members. Questionnaires were also available in Turkish and Arabic for Turkish and Moroccan people who preferred using those languages. The response was between 44 and 52 percent. The 2002 version was not entirely representative so weighing had to be applied to make the data set representative, based on age groups, gender etc. for the groups as a total.

To be able to measure the effect of the share of ethnic minorities on the neighbourhood, data provided by the CBS (Netherlands Statistics Bureau) have been used. The share of ethnic minorities is known per the four digits of the postal code. Postal code areas do not overlap exactly with neighbourhoods, but using these data gives a good idea of the share of ethnic minorities in the close proximity of where one lives. Three types of neighbourhoods have been distinguished. White neighbourhoods, mixed neighbourhoods and concentration neighbourhoods. According to Uunk and Dominguez Martinez (2002), the definition of a concentration neighbourhood is a subjective issue, as is the definition of ethnic minorities. Some use absolute measures, while other use relative measures. Here a choice has been made for a relative measure, which takes into account the share of ethnic minorities in the city as a whole. In social science literature concentration is often seen as a relative phenomenon of overrepresentation. This lead to a measure in which concentration neighbourhoods are neighbourhoods with at least a third more ethnic minorities than the city average and white neighbourhoods with at least a third less than average. Table 4.1 shows the classification of the three types of neighbourhoods for each researched municipality.

Table 4.1 Classification of the three types of neighbourhoods per municipality in 2002

	Percentage of ethnic minorities per type of neighbourhood			
	City average	White neighbourhood	Mixed neighbourhood	Concentration neighbourhood
Rotterdam	33.0	< 22.0	22.1 – 43.9	44.0 >
Amsterdam	32.7	< 21.8	21.9 – 43.6	43.7 >
The Hague	29.5	< 19.7	19,8 – 39.3	39.4 >
Utrecht	19.6	< 13.1	13.2 – 26.1	26.2 >

Source: CBS, 2008

Interviews

In order to answer the research questions not only quantitative data have been used, but also qualitative in the form of interviews. These interviews were conducted to get a deeper insight into the situation of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. First of all, the interviews were used to research issues that were not raised in the SPVA survey. This encompassed mainly the places for interethnic contact as well as the reasons why people do or do not have contact with native Dutch people. Secondly, the interviews were held in an attempt to get a better understanding of the causalities. As mentioned before in the chapter on theory – chapter 2 – it is often difficult to determine whether neighbourhood effects really play a role.

It can be difficult to determine what the cause is and what the effect (Buck, 2001). According to Laan Bouma-Doff (2007), more in depth research should be conducted to get a better insight into the real barriers that hinder interethnic contact in neighbourhoods or elsewhere. Thirdly, another advantage of collecting qualitative data is that you can come across issues or explanations you had not thought about beforehand (Boeije, 2009). Gratton and Jones (2004), add that interviews can be very suitable when dealing with the perceptions and experiences of respondents. Lastly, by using interviews the opportunity was created to incorporate stories of real people, rather than only using and talking about statistics.

People with a Turkish background have been interviewed. One group has been chosen, because of time limitation considering this is a master thesis. Turkish people have been chosen, because it is an important group in terms of numbers. As we saw in the previous chapter, it is now the largest group of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands as well as in Rotterdam. The respondents were people with different characteristics; young, old, highly educated, not highly educated, from the first generation of immigrants, and from the second generation.

Three different neighbourhoods have been selected in which interviews have been conducted. These are: the Afrikaanderwijk, a concentration neighbourhood with an especially large share of Turkish inhabitants; Kralingen-West, a neighbourhood with a share of minorities and Turks close to the city average, and lastly, Ommoord, a neighbourhood with relatively very few ethnic minorities and especially very few Turkish people. Table 4.2 shows the ethnic population composition of the selected neighbourhoods.

Table 4.2 Population composition of the selected neighbourhoods in percentages in 2008

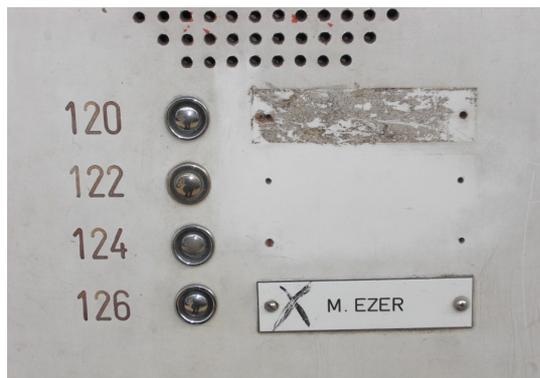
	Native Dutch	Turkish	Moroccan	Surinamese	Antillean	Total non-western minorities
Ommoord	78	1	1	4	1	13
Kralingen West	47	7	12	10	2	42
Afrikaanderwijk	15	34	13	13	5	79
Rotterdam average	54	8	6	9	3	36

Source: COS, 2008

Different strategies have been used in the different neighbourhoods to find respondents. In Afrikaanderwijk it was relatively easy to find Turkish respondents, as around a third of the

inhabitants is of Turkish origin. Here I randomly went from door to door to find Turkish respondents. In doing so I paid attention to Turkish last names and to make sure someone was from a Turkish background I asked them about their place of birth and background. Most people were quite willing to help, only a few times people were not interested in cooperating. I went to the neighbourhood at different times to be able to reach people with different time schedules and occupations.

Figure 4.1 Empty name plates in Kralingen-West



Source: Own work

In Kralingen West it was more difficult to find respondents. The atmosphere in the neighbourhood is rather impersonal and many doors and apartment blocks do not have name tags, so it was harder to find out where people with a Turkish last name live. Another disadvantage of the many apartment blocks is that it is much easier for people to say no through the speaker than in person. Still, I found people willing to help out by going from door to door as well as through friends.

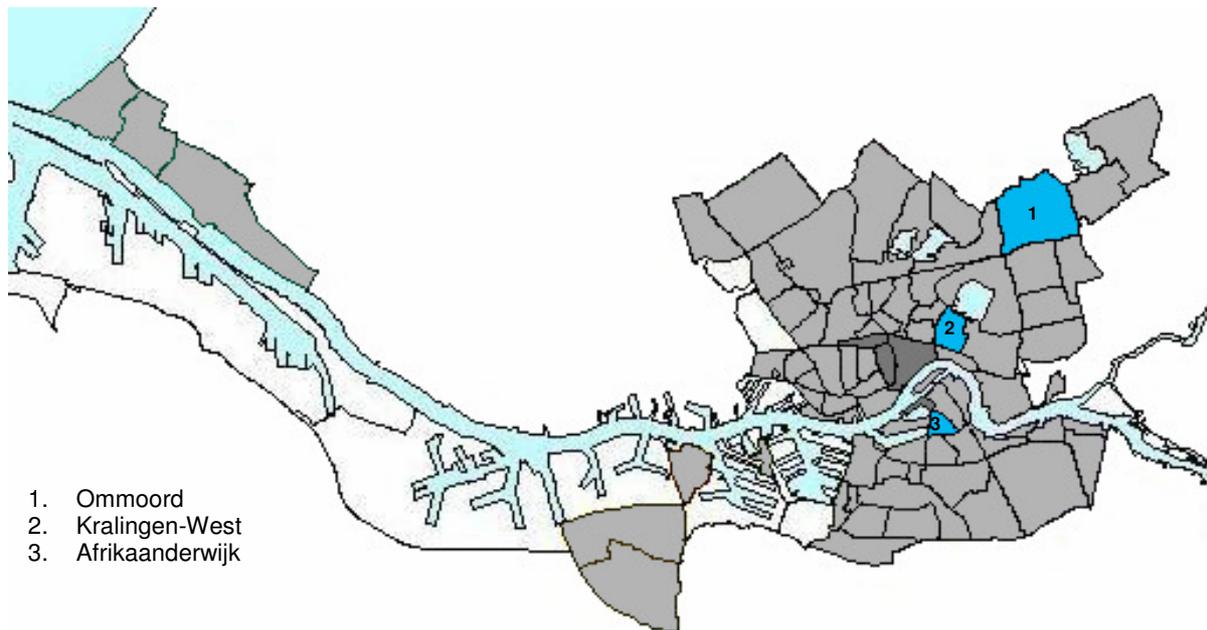
In Ommoord it was rather difficult to find respondents at first, as only a very small share of the neighbourhoods' inhabitants have a Turkish background. I tried various ways to find suitable respondents. At first I got into contact with the local community worker and a local Turkish association. I also consulted various acquaintances who might know some Turkish people in the neighbourhood and finally I spotted some Turkish flags during the EURO 2008 soccer championship. Eventually I found some potential Turkish respondents and through them I also got into contact with other local Turks. The interviews have been conducted in the summer and spring of 2008.

Most interviews were conducted at people's own homes, a few in local community centres and even some at pubs in Rotterdam. I was welcomed very warmly into most houses and language was not a real problem in most cases. In a few families one partner spoke Dutch rather poorly, but then I often spoke with both partners. On one occasion a women in Ommoord spoke and understood so little Dutch that we had to stop the conversation. Making an appointment with her husband was also difficult because neither of them wanted me to be home alone with the husband, but in the end we did speak over the telephone. Apart from this situation, I did not experience many difficulties in conducting the interviews.

4.2 Setting the scene - the areas of research

In this section, a description of the three researched Rotterdam neighbourhoods will be given to sketch the context of the areas where the interviews have been conducted. Figure 4.1 shows the location of the three Rotterdam neighbourhoods. The dark grey area depicts the city centre of Rotterdam.

Figure 4.1 Map of Rotterdam depicting Ommoord, Kralingen-West and the Afrikaanderwijk



Source: Basic map: COS, 2009

Now we know the location of the three researched Rotterdam neighbourhoods, it is time to give a description of all three neighbourhoods to set the scene and give an idea of the environments the respondents live in.

4.2.1 Ommoord

Ommoord is a neighbourhood on the north-east side of Rotterdam, on the border of the city, in the Prins Alexanderpolder. The area is relatively new and was built in the 1960s, designed by urban designer and architect Lotte Stam-Beese who was involved in developing many neighbourhoods in the period early after the Second World War to solve the housing shortage in Rotterdam (Deelgemeente Prins Alexander, 2005). It is a relatively large area consisting of 448 hectares and 12,628 dwellings in 2008. Almost 60 percent of the neighbourhood comprises high-rise apartment buildings which are situated in the centre of

the neighbourhood, also called 'the square of Ommoord'. The other 40 percent consist of areas with low rise family dwellings, surrounding this central high rise area. The majority of housing is rental accommodation, although the share of owner occupied housing has gone up from 17 percent in 1995 to 30 percent in 2008 (COS, 2009), particularly because housing associations have sold part of their housing stock.

The neighbourhood accommodates around 24,000 people, with a large share of people over 65, namely 31 percent. Especially in the high-rise area, there are still many people that moved to Ommoord in the early days and remained living in their flats until this day. Because there is a growing number of elderly in the relatively large flats in the neighbourhood there is a rather large share, 14 percent, of the dwellings that are under occupied. In the larger dwellings in the low rise areas there is a larger influx of new young families. The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has gradually become more mixed recent years. In 1993, 88 percent was still native Dutch, while that was 78 percent in 2008. Especially the influx of Turkish and Moroccan people has been rather recent (COS, 2009). So, the two most important processes in Ommoord are the aging and colouring of the neighbourhood. These can sometimes lead to some frictions between people, mostly between generations (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2009).

There are two main shopping areas in Ommoord, one in the west, 'de Binnenhof' and one in the east of the neighbourhood, 'de Hesseplaats'. Both of these consist of some supermarkets and mostly shops for daily use, like a bakery and butcher. Furthermore there is a rather large community centre, de Romeynshof, in the middle of the neighbourhood, with a library, music school and various other cultural and social institutions. The neighbourhood is connected to the city centre by metro, which takes you to the city centre in about 20 minutes. The neighbourhood itself is not very green. There is a small seldom used park where the two metro lines cross and there are small grassy areas between the high-rise buildings, but there is no real park which is used by inhabitants. The neighbourhood does border on some large recreation areas however, like de Rotte and the 'Lage Bergse Bos'.

Recently the neighbourhood has been changing, as there are various renewal schemes. A part of the social housing stock will be sold and the high-rise area is starting to be mixed with small scale low rise housing and both shopping areas will be renovated as well as many high-rise apartment buildings. Some of the apartments will be taken together to create larger flats which are more in line with current housing wishes. The ground floors of many high-rise buildings were often occupied by sheds, but are increasingly being transformed into



The centre of Ommoord is characterized by high rise buildings. Some of which have been renovated and restructured lately. In this case by creating apartments in the former basements



Ommoord is also characterized by low rise areas surrounding the centre of high rise apartment buildings



One of the two shopping areas of Ommoord called the 'Hesseplaats'. Every Wednesday a market takes place here. Since a while there is even a Turkish bakery stall

apartments, making the ground floor more lived on, which should also make the ground level feel safer and open. Some of the large apartment buildings have been repainted and green areas are also being made more open and attractive. All of these plans are part of the 'Toekomstvisie Ommoord' (Deelgemeente Prins Alexander, 2005).

Ommoord is rather safe neighbourhood. Since 1999 the municipality of Rotterdam uses the so-called safety index, which is based on police data, municipal services and the opinion of inhabitants on their neighbourhood. Issues like theft, violence, burglary, nuisance, cleanliness, vandalism and traffic are being taken into account. There are five categories of neighbourhoods: "unsafe", "problem", "threatened", "attention" and "safe" neighbourhoods. Ommoord has been categorised as safe since the start of this measure system in 1999 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2009).

4.2.2 Kralingen-West

Kralingen-West is situated on the north-east side of the city centre of Rotterdam. It is a working-class quarter, which has become more and more ethnically mixed over the years. From the 17th century onward country houses (*buitenplaatsen*) arose in the area that is now known as Kralingen. Most of these have now disappeared, although many area names still are reminders of these disappeared estates, for instance 'Jaffa', 'Lusthof' and 'Vredenoord'. Between 1860 and 1920 many areas between and on the estates were developed as working class housing streets (Fock-Deiters, 1995). In May 1940, parts of Kralingen were destroyed in the wartime bombings, leaving two empty spaces in the area which were rebuilt after the war. Since the Second World War various parts have been renewed during the urban renewal period of the 1980's, especially in the Western part of the neighbourhood called 'Jaffa'. An area which will be subject to urban regeneration again in the near future (Woningbedrijf Rotterdam, 2007). As a consequence of the rich history of Kralingen, the architecture is very diverse these days.

The area consists of 105 hectares and includes 8,140 dwellings. Again, the majority of dwellings are rental accommodation, but in the past 5 years the rate of owner occupied dwellings went up from 15 to 25 percent (COS, 2009). Most housing consist of around four stories high apartment buildings, sometimes with small gardens. The streets are quite narrow, with little green. There is one park in Kralingen-West, the 'Nieuwe Plantage', on the terrain of a former gas factory.



The 'Kralingse bos'. A very popular recreation area next to Kralingen-West for activities such as walking, jogging and having barbeques.



Van Berkel square in the Jaffa area. This is one of the few playing areas.



Kralingen-Weat Jaffa, which will be restructured in the near past. With the 'Kralingse Bos' at the background.

The area is also neighbouring the 'Kralingse Bos' which is the largest park of Rotterdam including a rather large lake. The neighbourhood is also rather close to the city centre, which makes the location quite attractive. Facilities are mainly found along the 'Oudedijk', 'Vlietlaan' and 'Goudse Rijweg', the main traffic route through the neighbourhood. There are mostly small (ethnic) shops, including grocery stores, call shops and bakeries.

As stated before, the population composition of Kralingen West has changed since the 1970's. In 1993 the majority of 61 percent of the neighbourhood was still of native Dutch origin, by 2008 this percentage was only 47. In this time there especially has been an increase in the Moroccan population and the neighbourhood is now very diverse (COS, 2009).

Kralingen-West – in particular the most western part of the neighbourhood – has its issues. In the past there have been problems of drug abuse and nuisance caused by children and youngsters hanging on the streets. The safety situation seems to have improved over recent years though, as at the beginning of this decade Kralingen-West was rated a problem area by the safety index, while since 2003 it has been rated an attention neighbourhood. Some other issues the neighbourhood has to deal with are messy streets, an unsatisfactory state of certain dwellings and theft and burglary. Another issue is that there is a high moving rate, which causes many people to feel little attached to and responsible for the neighbourhood (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2008).

Some of these issues have already started to be tackled. For instance, there is now more lighting, CCTV and back alleys have been renovated to create a safer atmosphere. In the near future the western area of Kralingen-West called 'Jaffa' will be restructured to tackle some of the above mentioned problems. One of the aims is to attract more middle and higher incomes. Because of the proximity to the Erasmus University, there are many students in the area and thus one way to attract the higher incomes is to build suitable housing to keep students in the area after graduation. To attract middle and higher income residents the area will need to be improved physically by creating more (green) space and building more ground based dwellings. The plans are currently still being created and the plan is to start the restructuring in 2011 (Woningbedrijf Rotterdam, 2007).

4.2.3 Afrikaanderwijk

The Afrikaanderwijk is a neighbourhood on the south side of the river Maas. The neighbourhood's history started around 1900, when the docks on the south side of the Maas



The Afrikaandermarkt.
One of the Netherlands
largest weekly markets.



The 'Afrikaanderplein'
with the Kocatepe
Mosque in the
background



Old residential streets.
With many children
playing outside.

were developed. The area was built as a neighbourhood for the dockworkers, many of which where migrants from more rural areas like Brabant or Zeeland. The names in the area refer to the main characters and locations of the First Boer War in which the Afrikaners defeated the English. The housing that was built was often of poor quality and from the 1930's onwards a part of the housing stock started to deteriorate. Many houses were nominated to be demolished and from the 1960's onwards many of the inhabitants who could afford to, moved to new suburbs on the edge of Rotterdam Zuid or in the Alexanderpolder. Further problems were caused by the decreasing job opportunities in the nearby docks, as the port moved further and further westwards (Buijs, 1998).

From the 1960s onwards the population composition started to change, with the arrival of guest workers, first from southern Europe and later from Turkey and Morocco. The privately owned housing that was left unoccupied after the original inhabitants left the neighbourhood, often was turned into pensions for guest workers by both Dutch and Turkish land lords. Not all the original inhabitants were happy about these developments which eventually led to riots in the summer of 1972 (Giesen, 2006). Since then, the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood kept rising. By 1972 the percentage of Turks and Moroccans in the neighbourhood was 12 percent. And in the 1980's and 1990's this kept rising. In 2008 only 15 percent of the neighbourhood still consisted of native Dutch people, while in 1993 this was still 32 percent. Especially the share of Turkish residents is very large, as around one third of the inhabitants is of a Turkish background. Slightly more than a third of the neighbourhood's population is of a Turkish background (COS, 2009).

The Afrikaanderwijk has had its share of problems over the years. For some decades there has been a white flight, and also social climbers from ethnic minorities have moved out of the neighbourhood. The housing stock does not match with their wish for moving onto one-family dwelling, preferably with garden, as most housing in the Afrikaanderwijk consists of apartments. In 2008 only 3 percent did actually consist of one-family housing. As the better off leave the Afrikaanderwijk, socio-economically worse off people stay behind, which results in for instance a high rate of people that are unemployed, around 15,9 percent in 2008, while this is only 6,6 in Rotterdam as a whole (COS, 2009).

The average income of the inhabitants is also much lower than the city average. Other major issues are problems like drug dealing and drug abuse as well as youths hanging on the streets. The neighbourhood has improved in recent years though, which has resulted in the safety status to climb up from problem neighbourhood to threatened neighbourhood in 2005 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2009).

Afrikaanderwijk Riots

In the summer of 1972, the Afrikaanderwijk saw what some called the first race riots in the Netherlands. From the 1960s onwards Turkish guest workers moved into the neighbourhood. The first year employers had to arrange housing for their new personnel, but after that the guest workers had to find their own way on the Dutch housing system. This was not that easy as the newcomers did not have many rights on the housing market yet and the housing needs were also different, as many men came alone to make money to send back to their families (Buijs, 1998). Both Turkish and Dutch housing owners saw opportunities to make some money. Houses were rented to Turkish men, with up to 40 beds in a single room, with hardly any facilities. In some cases the old inhabitants were more or less forced out in order to install these more profitable 'pensions'. Furthermore, people did not know anything about each other. The Turks, often from small villages in Turkey, came in a completely new environment. So, people did not like the smell of each others food and original Dutch inhabitants did not like the way 'they' looked at 'our' women (Soetens, 2006).



Source: Foto collection J. van der Schoor/Rein Wolters in De Oud Rotterdammer, 2006

August 9th 1972, the situation got out of hand. Some groups of Dutch inhabitants broke into to, at the moment empty, pensions in the Paarlstraat and threw out most of the furniture and belongings of the inhabitants. This led to 10 days of violent riots from both sides in the Afrikaanderwijk. Many got injured or arrested (Wolters, 2006). In later urban renewal schemes the Paarlstraat has disappeared from the map. Islam did not play a role in these riots yet (Giesen, 2006). There are different views on in how far these were true race riots, or in how far the socio-economic problems in the area caused the confrontation.

In recent years, the neighbourhood went through some more changes. There have been some extensive urban regeneration schemes. This has been targeted mainly at local social climbers – for instance educated second generation immigrants – that would like to stay in the neighbourhood especially. This has been a general trend in the Dutch urban renewal projects in recent times (Priemus, 2007). Some owner occupied dwellings have been built, many old dilapidated housing has been demolished and some historical buildings have been renovated. In 2005 the Afrikaanderplein, in the heart of the neighbourhood, has been restructured. There is a large open and green space and space for the weekly market that has been held twice a week in the Afrikaanderwijk for decades and which is one of the largest markets of the Netherlands. Around the square are many facilities like a playground, community centre and the 'Kocatepe mosque', which is located in a former school building.

Not only the neighbourhood itself has changed of the past few years, the environment has changed even more with the development of 'de Kop van Zuid'. In the next couple of years a new project will attempt to diminish the physical isolation of the Afrikaanderwijk. A new residential neighbourhood will be developed on the north east side of the Afrikaanderwijk, in an area which nowadays consist of railroads and other infrastructure, isolating the Afrikaanderwijk from neighbouring 'Kop van Zuid'. The new area will also include new facilities like a swimming pool and a havo/vwo (secondary) school. Parts of the Afrikaanderwijk will also be part of the plans which incorporates 350 new dwellings in the Afrikaanderwijk (van Velden & Theuws, 2009).

Interethnic contact

In this chapter the contacts of ethnic minorities with native Dutch in the four big cities in the West of the Netherlands – Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht – will be researched. A closer look will also be taken at what kind of contact this is and how intensive. Comparisons will be made between the experiences of the four largest groups of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands; Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans. A special focus will be on the effect of ethnic concentration on the contacts ethnic minorities have with native Dutch. The question that will be attempted to answer in this chapter is; *to what extent do ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch, what kind of contact is this and what factors determine this contact?* This chapter is based on SPVA data, mixed with data from the interviews that have been carried out in three Rotterdam neighbourhoods.

5.1 Contact with native Dutch

To start off this chapter, it will be researched whether ethnic minorities have any native Dutch friends or acquaintances in- or outside the neighbourhood at all and whether there are differences between the different types of neighbourhoods. The isolation thesis, as described in chapter 2, argues that living in an ethnic concentration neighbourhood tends to isolate ethnic minorities into isolation and prevents them from having contact with the host society. In this chapter the situation of ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands will be looked at to see whether concentration does indeed prevent people from having contact with native Dutch people. Another expectation is that Antillean and Surinamese people will have more contact with native Dutch than Turkish and Moroccan people, because their cultural distance to native Dutch is smaller (Esveldt and Traudes, 2001). These groups are expected to have been more familiar with the Dutch language and culture, even before the migration. Because of the colonial history migrants already have had some knowledge about Dutch culture and language before moving to the Netherlands. People from Turkey and Morocco did not have such a connection before the actual

migration, so can be expected to have more challenges in communicating and forming ties with native Dutch people. On the other side, groups that are more different from the host society are less quickly accepted, which makes contact more difficult (Redmond, 2000).

As can be seen in table 5.1, the majority – about 4 out of 5 – of people with an ethnic minority background has some native Dutch friends or acquaintances. These can be anything from friends, to neighbours, to colleagues, to schoolmates in – or outside the neighbourhood.

Table 5.1 Percentage of ethnic minorities that has native Dutch friends or acquaintances (N=5309)

		Neighbourhood (Cramer's V 0.10)			Total
		White	Mixed	Concentration	
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.25)	Turkish	92	77	74	76
	Moroccan	74	66	67	67
	Surinamese	91	88	87	88
	Antillean	93	89	90	91
Total		89	79	76	78

Source: SPVA 2002, GBA 2002

As was expected, the share of people that have native Dutch friends or acquaintances is larger amongst Surinamese and Antillean people than amongst Turkish and especially Moroccan people. The type of neighbourhood, however, does not make such a difference in determining whether someone has any native Dutch friends or acquaintances at all. There is a small correlation (Cramer's V of 0,10) between the neighbourhood and whether one has any native Dutch friends or acquaintances. When the four groups are looked at separately though, the significant correlation only holds for people of Turkish descent. In other words, only for Turkish people there is a significant difference between the three types of neighbourhoods. The difference between the percentages of Turks that have native Dutch acquaintances in mixed or concentration neighbourhoods are rather small, but the difference with people that live in a white neighbourhood is quite striking. This might suggest that not only the meeting opportunities with native Dutch people play a role, but also the lack of Turkish people to have contact with within the neighbourhood. In mixed neighbourhoods there are more theoretical opportunities to meet native Dutch people than in concentration neighbourhoods, but there are most likely also many Turkish people – and often also

relatives – around, so it is still quite easy to stay in a rather closed network. In white neighbourhoods this will be harder, because there will be fewer Turkish people around.

Overall, a large majority of the people from a minority background have native Dutch friends or acquaintances, but there is also a group – slightly over 20 percent of people from an ethnic minority background – that does not. According to the social identity theory people prefer to associate with likeminded people, for instance people with the same ethnic background (Tajfel, 1982). So does this mean this group prefers not to associate with native Dutch people at all? For some it does, but a majority of those who claim not to have any Dutch friends or acquaintances, would prefer to have Dutch friends. Around six percent of Surinamese and Antilleans, and 16 percent of Turks and Moroccans, would like to have native Dutch friends or acquaintances, but does not have any. There are people in all types of neighbourhoods that do not have native Dutch acquaintances but who would like them, even in white neighbourhoods. This suggests that next to preference other factors play a role, such as social skills. Amongst the Turkish respondents from three neighbourhoods in Rotterdam some claim to find it rather difficult or even a bit scary. A 21 year old girl from the concentration area Afrikaanderwijk argues she finds it more challenging to make the first contact with native Dutch people than with other minorities, because she feels like she does not know what they will expect from her.

Around a tenth of the people from a minority background prefers not to have any native Dutch friends or even acquaintances. This share is especially large amongst Moroccan people, with sixteen percent preferring not to have native Dutch acquaintances. Generation and age play an important role in this, amongst young people and people from the second generation the share that prefers not to have Dutch friend or acquaintances is considerably smaller. Even in white neighbourhoods there is a share that does prefer to not have contact with native Dutch, as well a group that would like to have native Dutch friends, but do not have them. This suggests meeting places alone are not enough to establish interethnic contact, but personal preferences and abilities also play a role in determining whether people have interethnic contact. This is in line with the argument of Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008), who state that the social context in which someone moves delimits 'the pool' from which people can choose their friends and acquaintances and subsequently preference plays a role in who one chooses to associate with out of this supplied pool of potential acquaintances. In other words there is a supply and a demand side to interpersonal contact (Kalmijn & Flap, 2001).

5.2 Contact in spare time

So, the majority of people with an ethnic minority background have some native Dutch friends or acquaintances. This contact with native Dutch can still vary from greeting the neighbours, to working with people, or to having real friends. To get a better grip on the intensity of the interethnic contact, the frequency in which ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch in their spare time will be researched. The focus is on whether people associate with native Dutch people in their free time, because the contact one has in the free time is normally contact with the people you actively choose to spend time with, so it says more about the preferences one has and choices one makes. Formal contact is more dependent on who happen to be your colleagues, schoolmates or clients and thus who you associate with. In the next chapter more will be said about places for contact and the workplace amongst other places will be discussed there.

Again, based on the isolation theory, the expectation is that people that live in concentration neighbourhoods have contact with native Dutch less frequently than people that live in mixed or white neighbourhoods. Another expectation is that the Caribbean groups have contact with native Dutch more frequently than the Mediterranean groups, based on their cultural distance. Table 5.2 shows the frequency in which ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands have contact with native Dutch people in their free time.

Table 5.3 Frequency of contact with native Dutch in the free time in different types of neighbourhoods in percentages (N=5289)

		Frequency			Total
		Never	Sometimes	Often	
Type of neighbourhood (Cramer's V 0.14)	White	17	35	49	100
	Mixed	25	44	32	100
	Concentration	33	45	22	100
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.25)	Turkish	38	47	15	100
	Moroccan	35	46	19	100
	Surinamese	14	42	44	100
	Antillean	14	35	51	100
Total		28	44	29	100

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

Around 70 percent of the people from an ethnic minority background in the four largest cities in the Netherlands has contact with native Dutch in their spare time. As this percentage is lower than the share of people that have native Dutch friends or acquaintances, apparently there is also a group that just has acquaintances at work or school, which they do not see in their spare time as well; this will be further addressed in the next chapter on meeting places. This is in line with the argument of Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008) that the closer a relationship, the less likely it gets that people will be from different (ethnic) backgrounds.

So, do people in concentration neighbourhoods in the four largest cities of the Netherlands have less frequent contact with native Dutch than those living in white neighbourhoods, as would be expected on the basis of the isolation thesis? The type of neighbourhood one lives in indeed seems to play a role in the frequency in which ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch. As can be seen in table 5.3 there is a correlation (Cramer's V of 0.14) between the neighbourhood and the frequency of contact with native Dutch people in the spare time. As expected, people that live in concentration neighbourhoods have contact with native Dutch in their free time less often, than people that live in mixed or white neighbourhoods. This counts for all groups, but the people of Moroccan descent. Overall meeting opportunities are of importance as Blau (1977) suggested.

Even though the share of people that have contact with native Dutch is larger in white neighbourhoods, there is also still a share that never has contact with native Dutch in those areas. A quarter of the Turkish people in white neighbourhoods does not have contact with native Dutch people in their spare time. Amongst the Turkish respondents in the white neighbourhood Ommoord, the most common reason for not having much contact with native Dutch people was that they already had a group of friends from school, or from their previous neighbourhood. Most respondents have not lived in Ommoord for a very long time yet – about 4 or 5 years – so they did not establish the basics for their social network in this neighbourhood, but often in more mixed areas closer to the city centre. A 34 year old man that has lived in the Rotterdam neighbourhood of Ommoord for five years claims: *“I don't have time for new friends. Dutch people are also very different I do not know if I could be friends with them. I wouldn't mind, but it just hasn't happened. I already had my Turkish friends”*. So living in a white neighbourhood, does not necessarily cause interethnic contact, but might be able to help stimulating it by offering more opportunity. Meeting opportunities alone are not enough to create interethnic interactions, especially not closer types of contact. The effects of living in a white neighbourhood will probably be stronger for their children. They will grow up and go to school in a more Dutch environment and form the

basis of their social network in such an environment. As Healy (1997) stated young children are likely to spend relatively much time in the neighbourhood and are thus more likely to form new contacts there than adults.

As we have seen in chapter two, the neighbourhood one lives in and the ethnical background one has are not the only factors that determine whether someone from an ethnic minority frequently has contact with native Dutch people or not. As can be seen in table 5.3 the correlation for ethnicity and the frequency of contact with native Dutch is stronger than for the neighbourhood. As expected on the basis of the cultural distance (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000), the chances that someone from an Antillean or Surinamese background associates with native Dutch frequently is quite a bit bigger than for someone from a Turkish or Moroccan background. Apart from ethnicity and the neighbourhoods many other factors can play a role in whether people from a minority background spend time with native Dutch in their spare time. One can only speak of a neighbourhood effect when the neighbourhood still plays a significant role after controlling for the characteristics of the neighbourhood and the influence of other factors (Wilson, 1987; Uunk, 2002). In many concentration areas there are more people that have a low education level and work at a low level of employment or have a relatively low income (Snel & Boonstra, 2005), which might influence the outcomes. In other words, outcomes might be based on the composition of the neighbourhood rather than the influence of that neighbourhood.

Deeper analysis

In the conceptual model, several factors that potentially influence the existence of interethnic contact have been considered. In this section, the influence of personal characteristics and the concentration of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood as well as the city as a whole will be taken into account. A binary logistic regression analysis has been carried out to determine the individual influence of all these different factors on the amount of contact which people from a minority background have with native Dutch people. The number of respondents is lower than in the previous tables, because the analysis only includes the heads of households. This because some of the survey question – such as the one on language skills – have only been asked to these family members. As language skills are expected to be an important factor to enable interethnic contact, the choice has been made to only include the heads of households in the binary regression analysis.

Two models have been created to find out more about what determines whether someone with a minority background has contact with native Dutch people in their spare time. Two

have been made because there are three possible categories. Someone never, sometimes or often, has contact with native Dutch. The first models attempt to explain why some never have contact with native Dutch in their spare time, and model 2 shows what determines that someone often has those contacts. Both models are binary regression models and have been checked for multi-collinearity. Initially the length of stay was also included, but this correlated with the generation too much, which means it measured more or less the same. Thus, this variable has been excluded. The following variables have been included in the binary regression models:

- Ethnic concentration in the neighbourhood and city: As mentioned in chapter two, the isolation thesis expects the existence of concentration neighbourhoods to be a hindrance for contact between minorities and the host society. So based on this theory we expect people in neighbourhoods with a larger share of ethnic minorities to have less contact with native Dutch people.
- Generation: On the other hand according to the assimilation model, ethnic minorities will blend in with the host society more after they have been in the country for a while and new generations will find their way in the host society easier as they climb up into the education system and workforce (Gordon, 1964). This would imply the second generation will have more contact with native Dutch people than their parents' generation. This second generation consists of people that were born in the Netherlands but have immigrant parents as well as those that immigrated before they were six years old. This second generation is on average higher educated and is expected to speak the language better than their parents.
- Language and education: Combined to this is the aspect of education. First of all, being able to speak Dutch is expected to be important for contact with native Dutch, as a common language is essential for inter-human contact. Also, the higher level of education one has finished, the more likely one is to have contact with native Dutch in their free time. Again, meeting opportunities might play a role here. Ethnic minorities are still generally lower educated than native Dutch (Martens and Weijers, 2000) and therefore the chances of meeting native Dutch are higher at schools with a higher education level. Ethnic minorities are still a minority in most higher education institutes, which is different though in many secondary schools and lower level education institutes that ethnic minorities in the four big cities often attend. On the other hand, as more people from an ethnic minority background are attending higher education (HBO or university) more and more student associations are being found that are meant for students from a certain ethnic or religious background

(Hooghiemstra, 2003). Hooghiemstra (2003) also notes that in the case of many Islamic Turkish and Moroccan young people, the social control is less pressing for young children that reach a higher level of education, than for those who do not. They often get more trust and respect from their parents for their independence, which makes it easier to get in contact or even become friends with people from the other sex or ethnic background. Moreover, education is believed to develop cognitive competence, and increases open mindedness which tends to foster a more tolerant stance towards ethnic out groups (Hello, Scheepers, & Slegers, 2006).

- Income:
Income is another characteristic that has been added as a measure of socio-economic integration, which according to spatial assimilation theory would go hand in hand with socio-cultural integration, including contact with members of the host society. Furthermore, Blokland (2008) argues that people with a higher education and higher income have more trust in other people and are therefore more open to contact with people with other backgrounds.
- Age: Marsden (1987) showed that the composition and size of peoples' social networks changes over one's lifespan. At first family is the most important kind of relationship. Then the size of one's social network tends to grow when someone becomes a young adult and will start to include more people outside the family and own ethnic group. When one gets older the social network tends to decrease again and family gets more important again. In other words, the social network of people is most diverse for young adults and to a lesser extent for people in their middle age. So, since only people over the age of 15 are included, it is expected that age will have a negative impact on interethnic contact.
- Ethnicity: As stated in the conceptual model a greater cultural distance, is expected to have a negative impact on interethnic contact. This implies, as mentioned before that Surinamese and Antilleans are expected to have more contact with native Dutch than Turks and Moroccans (Esveldt and Traudes, 2001).
- Religion: Furthermore, non-believers and Christians are expected to have more contact with native Dutch than Muslims and Hindus. In 2002, 40 percent of all Dutch did not support any religion, 52 percent claimed to be Christian and only 8 percent supported another religion (CBS, 2008). Churches are more likely to be places where one gets to meet native Dutch people than Mosques or Mandirs. According to Tubergen (2007), due to a greater cultural similarity it can be assumed that Christian Antilleans and Surinamese have a stronger preference for interaction with native Dutch than Islamic Turks and Moroccans.

- Experienced discrimination:

Lastly the discrimination someone has experience has been added to the model, in order to include the social climate. If someone has experienced discrimination, they may become less trusting of people from other groups and therefore interact with members of other groups less.

Table 5.3 (at the next page) shows the logistic regression model of the frequency of contact people with a minority background have with native Dutch people. The mentioned main variables and their Wald statistics are shown in bold. These show the importance of the variable as a whole. Beneath the main variables the categories within these variables are shown in normal font.

So, the main question now is, does the neighbourhood still play a role after adding personal characteristics into the equation? Indeed, even after controlling for personal characteristics the concentration of minorities in the neighbourhood one lives in still plays a significant role in explaining why someone has less contact with native Dutch people than others. So, in other words residential concentration of ethnic minorities does lower the chance of someone from a minority background having contact with native Dutch in their spare time. Striking is that a larger share of ethnic minorities in the city does not effect people not to have any contact, but it does play a role in why some people often have contact with native Dutch in their spare time. This suggests that if there is more choice for having contact with people from the own group within the city one live is, the chances of choosing to spend a lot of time with native Dutch people reduce. In other words, if the pool of people one can pick acquaintances from includes more people with the same background, people are more likely to choose contacts with a similar background. This is in line with the social identity theory, which assumes an in-group bias.

This effect of the neighbourhood should not be overestimated though. Even though the concentration of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood does play an independent role, the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood one lives in, judging on the Wald statistics, is not the most important factor. By far the most important factor determining whether ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch is their Dutch language skills. Not being able to speak Dutch well, is a more important barrier for having contact with native Dutch.

Table 5.4 Logistic regression analysis of contact with native Dutch in the spare time
(N = 1860)

Variables	Categories	Never vs. Sometimes/Often		Never/Sometimes vs. Often	
		B	Wald	B	Wald
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood		-0.01	6.16 *	-0.01	7.61 *
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the city		-0.02	1.10	-0.04	16.68 **
Ethnic group (Turkish ref. cat.)			0.58		15.73 **
	Moroccan	-0.03	0.04	0.48	5.99 *
	Surinamese	0.04	0.02	0.96	12.92 **
	Antillean	-0.13	0.14	1.06	14.17 **
Age		0,01	4.16 *	0.01	1.94
Generation (first generation ref. cat.)	Second generation	0.67	8.14 *	0.77	25.02 **
Income		0.00	0.17	0.00	8.40 *
Level of education (Max. primary school ref. cat.)			19.24 **		36.75 **
	VMBO	0.13	0,61	0.39	6.01 *
	MBO, HAVO, VWO	0.51	8.14 *	0.74	22.38 **
	HBO, scientific	1.08	14.65 **	1.05	29.93 **
Dutch speaking skills (Bad ref. cat.)			99.33 **		55.53 **
	Mediocre	1.21	30.20 **	0.84	2.57
	Good	2.32	92.09 **	2.17	18.21 **
Gender (Male ref. cat.)	Female	-0.29	4.38 *	-0.30	6.73 **
Religion (No religion ref. cat.)			9.50 *		16.69 *
	Hinduism	-0.70	4,43 *	-0.78	11.06 **
	Islam	-0.74	5.89 *	-0.68	7.68 *
	Christianity	-0.17	0.37	-0.47	8.21 **
	Other religion	-0.65	2.21	-0.66	3.53
Experienced discrimination (No ref. cat.)	Yes	-0.12	0,95	-0.34	9.10 *

** p < 0.05, ** p < 0.001

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

People that speak Dutch better are more likely to spend some of their free time with native Dutch friends or acquaintances. This is not surprising as a common language is a basic necessity to be able to communicate. Lien van Warmenbol (2007) also found in her research in an Antwerp neighbourhood, that Turkish inhabitants who do not have sufficient Dutch skills, have strongly reduced chances for good interaction with native Belgian people. Language skills are especially important in explaining why some people do not have any contact with native Dutch in their free time. For explaining why others often have contact with native Dutch in their free time it is still the most influential factor, but less strongly compared to other factors. It is difficult to establish the direction of the correlation though. People who speak Dutch properly probably seek contact with native Dutch people more easily than those who have problems speaking Dutch. A Turkish respondent from Ommoord, mentioned that his wife – who does not speak Dutch very well – is often shy to speak to Dutch people she does not know. She is afraid that people will not have the patience to have a conversation with her and as a result she does not actively seek for contact with people which whom she can not communicate in Turkish with. Some of the respondents who feel they do not speak Dutch very well also feel a bit awkward talking in Dutch. The 53 year old Turkish chairman of a community centre in Kralingen-West, who migrated to the Netherlands in 1985 to marry his (ex-) wife, explains the difficulties he has experienced especially in the early days of his stay here. *“Of course I have contact with Dutch people. I live in the Netherlands, so I should have contact with Dutch, Moroccan and Surinamese people. They are all here, so I should have contact with them. It is not good to associate with just Turkish people. I find that important. I am also a little ashamed that I do not speak Dutch very well after 23 years. In the beginning I worked with Turkish people and at home we also spoke Turkish. Much later I came into contact with Dutch people. I also did not have the time; I worked 6 days a week. Now it is hard to learn”.*

In line with (spatial) assimilation theory, structural integration seems to positively relate with the frequency in which ethnic minorities have contact with members of the host society. The higher educated members of ethnic minorities are, and the higher their income, the more frequent minorities have contact with native Dutch people. Also, the second generation is more likely to have any contact with native Dutch as well as having contact with native Dutch more often than their parents generation. This is in line with the findings of van den Broek and van Ingen (2008) who found that compared to the first generation immigrants, the second generation is much more willing to have frequent contact with people from other ethnic groups.

These assimilation effects have to be looked at critically though. Even though the second generation has more frequent contact with native Dutch people, the growing number of neighbourhoods – as we have seen in chapter 3 – with a very high concentration can have negative effects. During some interviews with people of Turkish descent in concentration neighbourhood the Afrikaanderwijk, some of the children of first generation immigrants seemed to have more problems with communicating with native Dutch people than their parents. The example of a 21 year old Turkish girl that was born in the Netherlands and grew up in the Afrikaanderwijk illustrates this nicely. She states she does not meet many Dutch people and definitely does not spend much time with them in her spare time. *“There are people I greet, but I don’t really see them outside school. I would like to have that more, why not. It is possible. I do have contact with Turkish, Moroccan, Hindu girls. I am not the kind of person who can associate with Dutch people just like that; I expect something from them first”*. Her father, on the other hand, has a lot of contact with people from many backgrounds. *“He can jabber away with anyone, it does not matter who it is”*. In more families in the Afrikaanderwijk, the children seem to have less contact with native Dutch people than their parents. When their parents moved to the Afrikaanderwijk some decades ago, the population composition was still rather different. There were many more native Dutch people than nowadays. So, when parents moved to the neighbourhood or when they grew up there, the concentration of Turks – as well as other ethnic minorities – was not so strong yet, while their children grow up in a neighbourhood with very few native Dutch and a lot of other Turks.

Gender as well as age only have a small influence on whether people spend time with native Dutch in their spare time. For Turkish, Moroccans and Surinamese, the difference between the men and women is very small, while for Antilleans the correlation is moderately strong. This correlation is mostly caused by the relatively very high percentage – 65 percent – of Antillean men which has contact with native Dutch very often.

Strikingly, the ethnic group only plays a role in determining whether one has contact in their spare time with native Dutch often, not in explaining why people have contact at all. This means, after controlling for other factors, people from all groups are equally likely to have at least some contact with native Dutch people in their spare time. But when it comes to having contact in the free time often people with a Turkish background are less likely to have contact with native Dutch often than all three other groups. Most likely, different groups have different preferences on whether to have much contact with native Dutch. This most likely

has to do with cultural differences. In the Turkish community family ties are very strong, which leaves less time to spend with others (Yerden, 2000).

In conclusion, there are various factors that help determine whether someone from an ethnic minority background has contact with native Dutch people in their spare time, of which speaking Dutch well is by far the most important one. The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood one lives in does also play a role as well, but a relatively small one. So, increased meeting opportunities, do influence the amount of interethnic contact, but speaking Dutch well and having an education are far more important explaining factors.

5.3 Composition of social network

Now we know more about the frequency of contact with native Dutch in the spare time of ethnic minorities, it is also important to know what the composition of the social network of ethnic minorities looks like and what the role of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood one lives in is on this. In other words, are people with an ethnic minority background that live in concentration neighbourhoods more likely to have contact with mostly people from their own group than those who live in more mixed or white neighbourhoods?

According to the social identity theory people prefer to socialise with likeminded people. People that live by more or less the same norms and ideas. Furthermore it is believed that people feel the need to be part of a group and to base part of their identity on (ethnic) group membership (Tajfel, 1982). Based on the social identity theory it is to be expected that ethnic minorities will have more contact with people from the same background, than with native Dutch people. First of all, the family often is a base for most people's social network and according to Pels and Dieleman (2000), young people also often find their best friends in their own circles. Hooghiemstra (2003) adds young people find it more pleasant, more easy as well as safer to deal with people from their own ethnic background. This counts especially for Islamic youngsters. Having friend within the own group avoids gossip. So it is more 'safe' to spend time with people from their own group and go to activities meant for their own group. Table 5.4 shows with whom ethnic minorities have more contact; people from their own group, or native Dutch people and whether this is different between the three types of neighbourhoods and the different ethnicities.

Table 5.5 Ethnic composition of social network of ethnic minorities (N = 5307)

		Frequency			Total
		More with own group	With both equally	More with native Dutch	
Type of neighbourhood (Cramer's V 0.16)	White	38	32	29	100
	Mixed	52	34	14	100
	Concentration	62	30	8	100
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.25)	Turkish (0.08)	71	23	6	100
	Moroccan	62	32	6	100
	Surinamese (0.16)	43	40	17	100
	Antillean (0.19)	33	34	33	100
Total		56	31	13	100

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

It appears that more than half of the ethnic minorities in the four largest cities still have more contact with people from their own group than with native Dutch people. Again there is a significant correlation between the type of neighbourhood and the composition of one's social network, which is a bit higher than it was for the frequency of contact with native Dutch in the spare time. People in white neighbourhoods more often have more or equal contact with native Dutch people than with their own group than people that live in mixed or concentration neighbourhoods. So, living in a concentration neighbourhood seems to increase the chances of staying in a rather closed social network. This holds more strongly for Surinamese and Antillean people, while the majority of Moroccans and Turks in all types of neighbourhoods are more likely to have contact with people from the same background.

Deeper analysis

Again, a binary logistic regression analysis has been conducted to determine what factors influence the ethnic composition of the social network of people from an ethnic minority background. Table 5.6 shows the result of this regression analysis. Next to concentration and ethnicity, the same personal characteristics have been taken into account, to determine whether the type of neighbourhood has an independent effect on whether one mainly has contact with people from their own group or not. So even if other factors are taken into account does the level of concentration of ethnic minorities still play a significant role in determining whether someone has a relatively closed network or not?

Table 5.6 Regression analysis of composition of the social network of ethnic minorities (N=1860)

Variables	Categories	More with own group vs. equal or more with native Dutch	
		B	Wald
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood		-0.01	16.60 **
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the city		-0.05	16.14 **
Ethnic group (Turkish ref. cat.)			23.53 **
	Moroccan	0.46	7.46 *
	Surinamese	0.41	2.48
	Antillean	1.04	13.21 **
Age		0.02	16.14 **
Generation (first generation ref. cat.)	Second generation	0.58	12.15 **
Income		0.00	5.37 **
Level of education (Max. primary school ref. cat.)			21.40 **
	VMBO	0.39	6.36 *
	MBO, HAVO, VWO	0.56	12.57 **
	HBO, scientific	0.86	18.19 **
Dutch speaking skills (Bad ref. cat.)			65.50 **
	Mediocre	1.32	38.64 **
	Good	2.34	37.89 **
Gender (Male ref. cat.)	Female	-0.18	2.10
Religion (No religion ref. cat.)			15.88 *
	Hinduism	-0.78	9.35 *
	Islam	-0.69	7.96 *
	Christianity	-0.63	10.96 *
	Other religion	-0.50	1.70
Experienced discrimination (No ref. cat.)	Yes	-0.12	1.05

** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

Again, the type of neighbourhood one lives in plays a significant role in explaining whether people have a relatively closed network or not, even after controlling for other factors. The same holds for the concentration of non-western minorities within the city. So, people in neighbourhoods with a stronger concentration of ethnic minorities are more likely to have more contact with people from the own group than people from neighbourhoods with a lower share of ethnic minorities. This again suggest meeting opportunities play a role, but it could also suggest people in concentration neighbourhoods more often prefer to stay in a more closed network. This will be further discussed in chapter six. The influence of one's neighbourhood's population composition on the ethnic composition is stronger is even relatively stronger than for the amount of contact with native Dutch people in one's spare time. In other words having a social network which is made up of mainly people of you own background does not automatically mean you have little or no contact with native Dutch in the spare time.

Based on assimilation theory it is to be expected that in time people will become more familiar and comfortable with the customs and values of the host society. Furthermore immigrants are expected to participate more in the host society and thus become more like the host society in terms of characteristics such as education and income level. Thus, people from the second generation are expected to have a more mixed social network. The emancipation thesis adds that concentration and initial social contact with the own group will function as a springboard into the host society (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2005). In the previous section we saw a rather large influence of factors which the emancipation thesis and (spatial) assimilation theory assume to be of importance, such as level of education, Dutch language skills and income. People with higher incomes, a higher level of education and better Dutch skills are more likely to have a network that does not predominantly include people from the same ethnic background. This is also in line with Blokland's (2008) findings that higher educated people and people with higher incomes have more trust in other people and are therefore more open to contact.

To measure the effect of cultural difference the variables religion and ethnicity were included in the model. Both have some independent influence on whether people have most contact with people from their own ethnic group. People that are not religious are less likely to have a social network consisting of mostly people of their own ethnic group, than people that are religious. Strikingly enough the difference between Christians, Muslims and Hindu's is not that large, when other factors are taken into consideration. In fact, Christians seem to be most likely to have a social network consisting of mostly people from their own background!

This is not in line with the idea that a greater cultural difference hampers contact with native people.

Based on their cultural distance it is expected that Surinamese and Antillean people are more likely to have a rather mixed social network than Turkish and Moroccan people. Ethnicity did not play an independent role in whether one has no contact with native Dutch at all, a small roll in whether one spends time with native Dutch in their spare time often and now it appears that ethnicity plays an even larger role in the ethnic composition of people from minority backgrounds. Turkish people are most likely to have a social network based on mostly people of their own background. Fennema and Tillie (2000) also found that, Turkish people in the Netherlands have relatively little contact with native Dutch people, because the Turkish community is a relatively close and cohesive community compared to other groups. A very striking outcome however is that Surinamese – after controlling for the other factors – more often have most contact within their own group than Moroccans, even though Surinamese more frequently have more contact with native Dutch people than Moroccan people as we have seen in the previous section. This also suggests that having a relatively closed social network does not necessarily mean you will not also spend time with native Dutch in your spare time. This is in line with the emancipation thesis, which assumes being able to fall back on people from the same background, makes it easier to make contact with the host society (Drever, 2004).

Amongst the Turkish respondents from Rotterdam are also some people that combine a close social network with good contact with their Dutch neighbours. A Turkish man from Ommoord who spends most his weekends with his Turkish friends from the neighbourhood in which he grew up, is married to a Surinamese woman who claims their family is very much adapted to Dutch culture (“we are very ‘vernederlandst’”) and have a lot of contact with their Dutch neighbours. So having a lot of friends from his own culture does not cause him to have little contact with native Dutch people.

A 38 year old, highly educated Turkish respondent goes a step further and believes that when there is more contact between Turks, they will also have more contact with Native Dutch people. *“That’s why I do not mind Turks having contact between themselves. It’s only good, they can learn from it. For instance, experiences they have in Turkish organisations can also be used outside that organisation. I think it is absurd that people say self-organisations cultivate segregation. That is exactly the place where Turks come together, make contact and learn from each other how to make contacts and then they can take the*

step to other groups. It is only enriching'. So in line with the emancipation thesis, some of the respondents indicate their close ethnic networks make it safer to try and establish contacts with majority population members, as they have their Turkish friends and family to fall back on.

According to Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008), the closer a relationship gets, the more likely it is that people are more similar to each other. So do Turks in Rotterdam indeed have more mixed networks of acquaintances than circles of friends? Many Turkish respondents of the interviews held in three Rotterdam neighbourhoods mentioned that although they have some contact with native Dutch colleagues and neighbours, their 'real' friends are often Turkish; so much of their time is spent with Turkish people. Many claim that is not a real preference, but just the way things turned out. It is easier to make friends with someone with the same cultural background, because you do not have to explain things that are naturally to people from your own culture. A 45 year old inhabitant of the Afrikaanderwijk, who has been in the Netherlands for 19 years, for instance says he has good contact with Dutch people. He says he gets along with everyone and thinks everyone is the same. At the same time he indicates that he mostly visits Turkish friends, because of his culture. He cannot eat everything (for instance pork meat), drink alcohol or do drugs. With people from his own culture he does not have to explain or cause inconvenience for his host. His 15 year old son goes to school close to the area and also claims that there are hardly any Dutch children in his class. He does think it would make a real difference if there would be more, because he just finds it hard to deal with Dutch people, but he also finds it easier to deal with people from his own culture. *"The Dutch have a different culture. I can't make the same jokes with them as I would with my Turkish friends"*.

Another aspect respondents mention is that they feel more distance in their contact with native Dutch people than in their contact with fellow Turks. A 34 year old mother from Kralingen-West explains she feels she can be more herself around people with a similar background and that is a very important part of friendship for her. *"If us Libanon girls¹ come together we talk about a lot of things. Sometimes we are very angry at Turkey, or Turkish people, sometime we are very proud of Turkey andn the people. We talk about minorities here, about the majority population here. But we are all neutral; you can say whatever you want. That is not possible when you're in a group, if it is half-half, a division will occur and that is uncomfortable. So you talk about unimportant things. But that way you will never*

¹ Group of friends from Libanon Lyceum, the secondary school in Kralingen the respondent attended

become friends. You can only be friends with Dutch people if you can be open. If you can receive and give criticism. You have to be able to say anything. For instance, I think you should be able to say that Wilders has a point on some issues. And you should not be more careful in what you say because if there are Turks or Moroccans present.”. Earlier she already explained she does have few native Dutch friends, but that does not mean she has a one-sided group of friends. *“Mixed in the sense that there are several cultures included, but few Dutch women or men. More from my own background, but I also have Moroccan, Pakistani friends. And my girlfriends are very mixed within the Turkish culture; there are some with headscarf, without headscarf, I even have a friend from Australia who came here, god knows why. It’s very diverse....but they are all Turkish. So there is variation, so it’s not too limited!”*.

Another example is that of a 34 year old divorced mother from Ommoord who has been in the Netherlands for 17 years also talks about the distance she feels when communicating with native Dutch people. She would like to have more contact, but says it is never the same as it would be with Turkish people. *“Dutch people are a bit different from Turkish people. For instance I drink coffee with my Turkish neighbour every day. I go to her or she comes to me, to chat for a while. But I cannot do that with my Dutch neighbours, although I would want that. Next to me lives a woman with whom I have good contact, I never really had that with Dutch neighbours before. I find they are very nice people, but there is always a little distance”*.

Not all Turkish respondents have difficulties becoming friends with native Dutch people though. On the other hand a 29 year old Turkish man from Ommoord, who is married to a Dutch woman, reacted almost offended to the question whether his friends are mostly Turkish or more mixed. He is also a bit confused about why you would ask this question at all. *“I have mixed friends, I have Turkish friends, I have Dutch friends. I don’t select on skin colour!”* For him being from a Turkish background is part of his identity, but not the most important part.

In summary, the ethnic composition neighbourhood does influence whether someone from a minority background has a social network which consist of mainly people from their own background. Indeed the influence is somewhat larger than for explaining the amount of contact with native Dutch people.

Conclusions

In this chapter we looked at the social contacts of people from ethnic minority backgrounds in the four largest cities in the Netherlands and whether the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood influences that. In conclusion, there are many factors that can help determine whether someone has contact with native Dutch people and how intensive this contact is. Evidence for both the isolation thesis and the spatial assimilation theory has been found for the four largest cities in the Netherlands. On the one hand, there is some proof that the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood people live in plays a role in the amount of contact people have with native Dutch people. This role, however, is only small. On the other hand, personal characteristics, such as language skills and level of education, play a much larger role. People with a better socio-economic status are more likely to spend time with native Dutch people more frequently and it is less likely that they spend most free time with people from the same background than those with a lower socio-economic status. The same counts for the second generation. Although a majority of Turkish people have some native Dutch friends or acquaintances and at least have some contact with native Dutch friends in their spare time, many people also indicate that their real friends are often Turkish. People find it easier to communicate with fellow Turks and often feel a bit more uncomfortable or less themselves around native Dutch people. The fact that most friends are Turkish is often not a real conscious choice, but just the way things turned out. Now we know more about the influence of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood one lives in on the amount of contact people have with native Dutch people, it is interesting to see how important the neighbourhood is for people's social network and whether interethnic contact actually takes place in the neighbourhood. Therefore the next chapter will discuss possible places for interethnic contact, including the neighbourhood.

Places for interethnic contact

In the previous chapter we discussed the occurrence of interethnic contact between ethnic minorities and native Dutch people in the four largest cities of the Netherlands and whether there is a difference between people who live in concentration neighbourhoods, mixed neighbourhoods or white neighbourhoods. In this chapter the places where this interethnic contact can take place will be discussed. Meeting each other is the very first condition for interethnic contact to be able to occur (Blau, 1977; Snel & Boonstra, 2005). Or as (Martinovic, van Tubergen and Maas, 2009) argue, the composition of one's social network is not based on just preferences, but also of the socio-demographic composition of the context in which one lives, works or goes to school. This social context will create the 'pool' of contacts out of which one can choose friends and acquaintances.

This chapter will discuss where interethnic contact is likely to occur. Again a special focus will be on the neighbourhood. Is the neighbourhood still important for people? Or are other places more important for meeting people and forming relationships? This chapter is mostly based on the interviews conducted amongst Turkish people in the Rotterdam neighbourhoods of Ommoord, Kralingen-West and Afrikaanderwijk. The question that is central to the chapter is; *What places, in and outside the neighbourhood, are important for interethnic contact and what determines this?* First of all, the neighbourhood will be discussed in section 6.1, followed by the workplace in section 6.2 and schools and higher education institutions in section 6.3.

6.1 Neighbourhood

In the previous chapter we have seen that a high level of concentration of non-western minorities reduces the chances of members of ethnic minority groups spending time with native Dutch people in their spare time. In this section we will look at the actual contact Turkish people from three Rotterdam neighbourhoods have within their neighbourhood and

in how far this contact is interethnic. This in order to get more insight into the role of the neighbourhood on the occurrence of interethnic contact.

Importance neighbourhood

As we have seen in chapter two, while the neighbourhood is seen by some as an important level for integration by policy makers (Kleinhans, 2004), in the academic world the importance of the neighbourhood in people's life today has been questioned (Drever & Clark, 2006). This section will look at how much actual contact there is in the three studied neighbourhoods in Rotterdam.

For most people, if they have contact it is mostly limited to their direct neighbours, people close in the own street, or in they same building in the case of high rise buildings, or apartment buildings. Kleinhans (2004), also stated that many scholars have found neighbourhood contact is often about contact with people in the direct environment of one's house. The majority of contact for most people is of a casual nature. Or as Granovetter (1973) would say mostly weak ties exist in the neighbourhood. People greet their neighbours, and sometimes have some small talk with each other.

However, this contact seems to be somewhat closer in the Afrikaanderwijk and Ommoord, than in Kralingen-West. Here, most people have only limited contact and do not talk about their neighbourhood very enthusiastically. This is different compared to the respondents from the Afrikaanderwijk and Ommoord. Here most people are in general quite content about their neighbourhood and the contact they have with their neighbours often adds to this feeling of content and feeling at home in the neighbourhood. Bridge (2002) also argues having contact with your neighbours will give you a feeling of home and security. It must be added that in Ommoord, this counts a bit stronger for those who live in low-rise areas, than for those in the high-rise area.

According to Putnam (2007), there should be a third theory, next to conflict and contact theory, which he calls the constrict theory. According to him, if a neighbourhood is very ethnically mixed, trust and understanding in others, will be less than in more concentrated areas and people will have less contact with both people from other, as well as people from their 'own group'. This seems to be occurring in Kralingen-West. The lack of nameplates on the doors, as we have seen in chapter 4, for instance, also shows a lack of trust and feeling bonded to the area. People live rather anonymously in the neighbourhood. In Ommoord people chose consciously to live in a white neighbourhood, and in the Afrikaanderwijk there

is a very large number of Turkish people around which makes most respondents feel comfortable in this neighbourhood. In Kralingen, Turks feel less wanted than in Ommoord and less comfortable because there is a smaller Turkish community than in the Afrikaanderwijk.

Another factor which seems to be playing a role in the lack of neighbourhood contact in Kralingen-West is that the respondents are often disappointed in their neighbourhood and say the neighbourhood is not as they expected it to be when they came to live here. Some are disappointed by the amount of criminality, others by the number of people from a minority background. For a 45 year old father of three children who moved to Kralingen-West 6 years ago, the neighbourhood did not bring him what he was hoping for. He heard it was a quiet neighbourhood with little criminality, with few youths on the street. Everyone wanted to live in Kralingen then, but he is disappointed. He also moved because he thought there would be few Turks which would be good for his children, to adjust and improve their Dutch. The chairman of the local community centre says people have less and less contact in the neighbourhood. Not between different groups, but also within the Turkish community. *“When I came here, everyone wanted to live here. Now there are fewer Dutch people. They all move to small villages. That’s not good. Look, I am a foreigner, but I’m also a Dutchman now. Of course I greet people from all backgrounds. I know Dutch people and Turkish people are different, but we do have to live together. That’s important!”* At a meeting of the residents’ platform Jaffa² people say that contact has decreased since restructuring in the 1980’s. Residents tend to stay relatively short in the neighbourhood and people seem to want to be rather anonymous. Völker and Flap (2007) also found this negative impact of a low average length of stay to be of negative influence on neighbourhood contact. Many people have their curtains closed and many houses do not have nametags. The – only Dutch and Surinamese – residents also feel like people are mainly having contact with people from their own ethnic background, especially the Turkish and Moroccan people in their eyes.

As mentioned in the theory part, having ties outside the neighbourhood can affect someone’s desire for ties in the neighbourhood (Völker and Flap, 2004). This seems to be especially true for higher educated respondents. For most highly educated Turkish respondents in all neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood is not very important for their social life, as they spend much time outside the neighbourhood. For instance for work, but also because they have friends in various locations. Friends they have met in college or

² Jaffa is a small part of Kralingen-West at the western part of the neighbourhood

university went to live in different places around Rotterdam or even as far as Turkey. This is in line with Fischer's (1982) argument, that people with a higher socio-economic status rely on the neighbourhood less than those with a lower socio-economic status. A highly educated mother who is not working at the moment to take care of her 3 year old daughter tells she used to go to a local school in Kralingen-West, but her friends all lived outside the neighbourhood. So she did not really make friends in the area in her teens. When she got married she and her husband bought a house in a white neighbourhood in Barendrecht, a small town to the north of Rotterdam, and lived there for a while. They still have contact with their Dutch neighbours there. When her husband wanted to start his own business they sold the house and moved back to a cheaper place in Kralingen to be able to invest the released money. They chose Kralingen simply because her family lives there and they can babysit the children and spend time together. Because she has her friends outside the neighbourhood and her close relatives in the neighbourhood, the desire for more contact in the neighbourhood is not there.

The amount of time one spends in the neighbourhood also plays a role in whether one has many contacts in the neighbourhood. Work is most often a factor that ensures people spend little time in the neighbourhood. Of course not only for highly educated people work can be a barrier, especially when people work unusual hours, like night shifts, work can be a barrier. *"We sometimes visit each other. Because of my work I am not home much and at strange times. We are with 3 Turkish families here, 1 Dutch, 1 Spanish and 1 Ethiopian. I have good contact with all of them"* says a 38 year old man from Kralingen who works in security and has been in the Netherlands for 15 years.

For many people who do spend more time in the neighbourhood, this area is more important for their social life. This counts mostly for people who do not work, because of choice, or because they are unfit to work. For a 37 year old woman that has grown up in the Afrikaanderwijk her neighbours are very important nowadays, because she had an accident and is not very mobile anymore. *"My family and my neighbours are enough for me. They are my most important contacts. Relatives come see me every day. Neighbours come and bring me food and stuff now I'm ill. Very attentive"*. Some of the women who do not work and have lived in Ommoord for a couple of years, miss they neighbourhood contacts which they had in the old neighbourhood, also with relatives that used to live nearby. For them living in a white neighbourhood can be a bit lonely during the day, as contacts are less intensive compared to their old neighbourhood.

A phenomenon some respondents have noticed, is that contact in the neighbourhood has decreased over the past few years. As Bulmer already argued in 1986 it is not necessary to have contacts in the neighbourhood any more. It is a choice rather than a necessity. A highly educated woman from Kralingen with two young children thinks the little amount of contact between neighbours has mainly just to do with a city mentality. People become more individualistic and so there is less contact in the neighbourhood. She claims the same thing is happening in Turkish cities nowadays. A 34 year old father who married a woman from Turkey some 6 years ago and lives in Ommoord indicates that Turks have also become more distant over the years, which make it harder for his wife to approach people. Warmenbol (2007) observed the same developments in a neighbourhood in Antwerp. Where not only interethnic contact, but also contact between Turks has become less over the past few years.

To meet people from outside your own street and very close surroundings, public spaces in the neighbourhood can be of importance. Völker and Flap (2007), stated the importance of these public spaces such as parks, libraries and play grounds. So, do these kinds of public places generate contact between people in Ommoord, Kralingen-West and the Afrikaanderwijk? Here there are big differences between neighbourhoods again. Whilst in the Afrikaanderwijk public spaces are being used rather frequently by many respondents, the same can not be said for Ommoord and Kralingen-West. In the Afrikaanderwijk the park and market space – also including a playing garden – are a very clear centre for the neighbourhoods where many facilities are concentrated. This area has recently been redeveloped and many people really appreciate the new situation. The municipality wants the Afrikaanderplein to become the heart of the wider vicinity. Many of the Turkish respondents are very happy with the new park and square and many mention they use the park often. A 45 year old man that moved to the Afrikaanderwijk from Turkey 19 years ago to marry his wife says: *“Before the neighbourhood was not that beautiful, but it has improved a lot lately. There are many new houses; there is a nice new park. When people have some spare time they can walk there with friend or neighbours. They come into contact with other people. I like it this way”*. In the park many events are organised, especially during the summer. There are concerts and many events especially for children. On afternoons like this there are children from all backgrounds playing in the park. It has to become a place to meet people and especially to meet people from different cultures. People go to the park with neighbours and relatives that live in the area and really value this space in order to meet up with their neighbourhood contacts.

In Kralingen-West, no one spontaneously mentioned using public space in the area. There is a park, but people do not really use it, except for walking to the metro station. Apart from that there is a square called, the van Berkelplein, which people do not really appreciate, as the surroundings are quite unattractive and there is not much space to sit down. This square is in the middle of the area mentioned in chapter 4, which will be renewed the coming decade. What people do value is the nearby Kralingse Bos, which people use mostly for family outings.

Lastly, in Ommoord there are hardly any public places in Ommoord where people meet each other. As a 43 year old man tells: "*There is not much to do in Ommoord. So, outside the Grassenbuurt we do not meet many people*". None of the respondents mention any places in the neighbourhoods where they meet people outside their own street. People only have contact with the neighbours and some people close to home, but rarely meet people elsewhere in the neighbourhood. There are no real parks and many people do not even make intensive use of the local shops, because they often shop in more mixed neighbourhoods closer to the city centre, as there is a lack of facilities such as Islamic butchers. So as the emancipation theory assumes, people tend to wish for some ethnic facilities, but nowadays they do not necessarily need to be in one's own neighbourhood, as it is relatively easy to go to other areas. The wish for ethnic facilities can in this way be combined with the wish for living in a quiet suburb lacking these facilities.

Interethnic contact

In the previous chapter it became clear that ethnic minorities who live in a concentration neighbourhood have less contact with native Dutch and more often have more contact with people from their own group than with people from other ethnic groups than people in whiter areas do. This suggests that the neighbourhood is still an important place for people to meet others. This section discusses how much actual contact people have within their neighbourhood and in how far this contact is interethnic.

As pictured in the previous section, there are difference between neighbourhoods and people in how important the neighbourhood is for one's social network. So the next important question is, in how far the contact people have in their neighbourhood is interethnic. Chapter five showed people in concentration areas have somewhat less contact with native Dutch than those in less concentrated areas. So, do these differences also show in the interethnic contact in the three studied neighbourhoods?

As stated before in the Afrikaanderwijk many people have quite some contact with their neighbours. Although much of this contact is with fellow Turks including relatives that live in the area. Most Turkish respondents in the Afrikaanderwijk do have some contact with native Dutch people in their streets. In fact, having so many people of one's own background around makes it easier for some people to approach native Dutch people; this is in line with the emancipation thesis. As it shows living in a concentration neighbourhood, can slowly prepare people for a more mixed network from a safe haven. A 42 year old man that has lived in the Afrikaanderwijk for nine years thinks it is very important to have good contact with the neighbours. Although he likes that there are quite a lot of fellow Turks around he also likes to have contact with his neighbours from other backgrounds. *"You have to be social to make the neighbourhood safe. Get to know everyone for the children. We have a lot of contact with the neighbours. We have each others keys. We go see each other to have coffee or to eat together. There are also Dutch people amongst them"*. A 42 year old man who moved to the Afrikaanderwijk 9 years ago, because it was close to his job, the city centre, and he could buy a nice house there, also says the people in his street are quite close, including the few native Dutch people. *"Sometimes we call each other to go to the park. We meet there when the weather is nice. I spend a lot of time there. I also watch football in the pub with neighbours. It is a group that likes to watch and cheer a lot! I also have a Turkish and Dutch flag"*.

So does living in a concentration neighbourhood hinder the chances for interethnic contact as the isolation thesis argues? Many Turkish respondents from the Afrikaanderwijk do feel this is the case somewhat. And many would prefer things to be different. Although most of them appreciated having many fellow Turks around, quite some respondents from the Afrikaanderwijk think the small share of native Dutch people is a pity, because it reduces their chances for interethnic contact in the neighbourhood, and especially because it limits those chances for their children. A 45 year old man that moved to the neighbourhood directly from Turkey to marry his wife says: "It's a pity there are so few Dutch people here. It's strange and not good. I live in the Netherlands now, so I want contact with Dutch people. I do not like it for myself, and not for my children, There are only two Dutch people in our street!". In the community centre the Arend, a 42 year old resident and employee, reminisces about when he was a young boy and how he used to spend a lot of time at the house of an elderly Dutch woman. He misses this contact from the early days. One university schooled father even moved to a whiter neighbourhood, mainly to make sure his children meet more Dutch children, because he noticed the schools were getting too black. Even though the Afrikaanderwijk can be a safe haven from which contact with the majority population can be

started, some also feel a bit isolated from mainstream society by the lack of native Dutch. Some even feel left behind by all the native Dutch that have left the neighbourhood to move to whiter suburbs.

The social climate has had its impact the past couple of years too. A highly educated young father who just moved away from the Afrikaanderwijk, claims that there used to be very closed groups of the different backgrounds, but he feels like this is getting less since the integration debate. He thinks in recent years there is starting to be more interethnic contact in the neighbourhoods again, especially at organised events. The local residents' organisation tries hard to let people meet each other, get into dialogue and do things together.

In Ommoord, a 'white' area it is most easy to get into contact with native Dutch people, simply because most people are members of the majority population. And as Völker and Flap (2007) argued it is difficult to avoid any form of contact with your direct neighbours. The basis for contact, meeting opportunities are ample here. Based on isolation theory, which argues living in non-concentration neighbourhoods stimulates contact, as well as the contact hypothesis which also sees meeting opportunities as the basis for interethnic contact, one would expect people in Ommoord to have most interethnic contact in the neighbourhood. Not surprisingly, most respondents from this area indeed have interethnic contact, again mostly with their close neighbours. Most greet and have an occasional chat with native Dutch neighbours, while other even visit each other for a cup of tea. Especially for some stay at home mothers, this kind of contact during the day is very valuable. Even though this contact is appreciated it does not keep some non-working women from feeling a little isolated in Ommoord as they are further from their relatives than they were in their old neighbourhoods. So, for these women interethnic contact may have grown somewhat compared to the previous neighbourhood, but their social life in general often got smaller.

What does catch the eye is that the interethnic contact is somewhat stronger in the low-rise areas, than in the high-rise areas. One explanation for this is that in the high-rise the population has a rather high average age compared to the larger family dwellings in the low-rise area as stated in chapter 4. According to a native Dutch community worker – who leads an initiative called 'Colourful Ommoord'³ – and one of her Moroccan group members, Turkish and Moroccan presence in Ommoord is also still relatively new and especially some

³ A group of inhabitants who want to establish more positive contact between old Dutch inhabitants and new minority inhabitants

elderly people have to get used to the fact that there now is a small group of inhabitants from minority backgrounds. They state things are better now than they were three years ago. *“People react differently now, they get used to each other more. We have to get everyone on board, street after street, complex after complex”*. They emphasise this is not only about background, but also partly a generational conflict sometimes. The Turkish respondents from Ommoord do not feel threatened by the large native Dutch presence in the area as you could expect on basis of the competition theory. They chose to live in a ‘white’ area very consciously and do not feel their neighbours feel threatened by their presence either.

As stated before in the mixed neighbourhood Kralingen-West there seems to be less contact in general, so interethnic contact does also not occur on a very large scale. A 45 year old father of three children between the ages of 10 and 21 says: *“Dutch people would not invite you for coffee. That doesn’t happen here really”*. He feels the Dutch people in the area do not wish to get to know him, but he also realises he does not put much effort into making contact. His friends are actually of mixed descent and are mostly from the time, 23 years ago, when he first came to the Netherlands. On the other hand, at a meeting of residents’ platform Jaffa, the mostly Dutch and Surinamese participants feel like it is especially the Turkish and Moroccan people that stay in their own circle. So, part of the problem also seems to be based on misunderstandings and the idea people have about what others think of them. According to Snel and Boonstra (2005), in many multicultural neighbourhoods there is very little contact between different groups and people just live next to each other and live parallel lives. This also seems to be the case in Kralingen West.

One striking outcome, is that for many of the Turkish people – especially men – the neighbourhood from which they moved to Ommoord is still rather important. Most of the Turkish respondents in Ommoord have not lived there very long yet, mostly around 4 or 5 years. Many, especially male, respondents in Ommoord, still spend a lot of time in the neighbourhood where they lived before, which in all cases were more mixed neighbourhoods. A 34 year old that was born in the Netherlands says he goes to Crooswijk, the neighbourhood where he grew up, every weekend to see his friends. Every Friday and Saturday night and Sunday he goes back to Crooswijk to teahouses to talk and play cards with fellow Turks. Another man, of 40 years old, also states that he has most contact with his, predominantly Turkish, friends in the first neighbourhood where he lived after coming to the Netherlands when he was 24. Again the teahouse is an important place for him to meet his friends. Another reason to go back to the old more mixed neighbourhoods for many people are the ethnic facilities there. People miss Islamic butchers or Turkish grocery shops.

Many men also miss the tea houses where they can spend time with their friends. For some the lack of a mosque in Ommoord and surrounding neighbourhoods is also a reason to spend time in the old neighbourhood where such facilities are available. This is in line with the argument of Zelinsky (2001). He argues that because of advances in communication and transport technology, proximity is not crucial for maintaining a close knit ethnic community.

The fact that the old neighbourhood is still an important meeting place does not necessarily mean people go back to see just Turkish friends. One family that moved from 'het Oude Noorden' to Ommoord five years ago, still goes back to the old environment often, but their friends there have different backgrounds. *"Our old neighbourhood is also still important. We lived in het Oude Noorden before. We still have many friends there, with different backgrounds. I still go to the billiard club there; there are only old Dutch people. My wife works in a community centre in het Oude Noorden. Meets many people there. Turkish, but also different people. I would also miss the facilities. I often go to Turkish shops and the teahouse there. I would miss that if it wasn't there"*. Next to the facilities and friends some respondents also have relatives in the old neighbourhood whom they visit often.

A sound which is heard in all three neighbourhoods is that contact with fellow Turkish neighbourhoods is often a bit more intensive than with native Dutch neighbours. In chapter five, we already saw the same counts for contact in general. This is in line the findings of Mollenhorst, Völker and Flap (2008), who found the closer the relationship, the more likely one is to choose contact with people that are (culturally) similar to yourself. Warmenbol (2007) found that in Antwerp cultural differences and a lack of knowledge about each others habits can have a negative effect on neighbour contact. People feel more comfortable inviting people who know about their habits. Such as eating habits, or the Turkish custom to take off your shoes when entering a home. A 45 year old father of three from the Afrikaanderwijk says he has contact with neighbours from all kinds of backgrounds, but contact with Turkish people is a bit more intensive. *"There are many people here with a different nationality. Moroccans, Antilleans, Surinamese. I have good contact with all of them, but there are not enough Dutch people. I only have two Dutch neighbours; with them I also have a lot of contact. I must say I do not visit neighbours from other cultures that much, but I do with Turkish people. But with other cultures, men, I have a lot of contact. Have a nice chat outside"*. People find it easier to go to fellow Turkish people if they need something for instance, often because they do not know how people from other backgrounds would respond to this. As stated in chapter five people do often feel a bit more distance to native Dutch people even as they get along well. People find it hard to explain why this occurs. For

instance a 34 year old woman says she has contact with both Turkish and native Dutch people in her apartment building, but it is a bit different. She drinks coffee with a Turkish neighbour almost every day, but she feels she could not do that with Dutch neighbours. She does have some native Dutch people whom she sometimes visits or invites for coffee. She has a neighbour a couple of floors up, whom her daughter even calls granddad because they have such good contact and it feels like family.

To conclude, in all neighbourhoods most people at least know their direct neighbours and have at least some interethnic contacts, but there are differences between neighbourhoods as well as within neighbourhoods. In the Afrikaanderwijk most people have rather good contact with neighbours and some even see their neighbours as very important for their social network. Some public spaces like the market and the park are being used relatively intensively, also because of many activities which are being organised. In Kralingen, many people only have contact with direct neighbours but there are few places where people really get into contact and meet other people living in the neighbourhood. In Ommoord some people, especially in terraced housing, have very pleasant contact with their neighbours and visit each other for coffee and a chat, but there are also quite some people who have little contact in the neighbourhood. This often has to do with language barriers, especially for some women that migrated to the Netherlands to marry their husbands here, which makes people feel insecure about making contact in a rather Dutch environment. Many people there also continue to spend time in their old neighbourhoods as many people migrated to Ommoord relatively short ago and that is where people build up their social networks, as well because people miss certain facilities.

6.2 Work

As mentioned in the theory chapter, the neighbourhood is not the only meeting place. The workplace can also be an important potential meeting place. For many people the workplace is a place where much of their time is being spent, maybe even more than the neighbourhood (Wellman, 1996). Until now only informal contact has been discussed, but in this part more formal contact will be dealt with. Even if one does not choose to spend free time with native Dutch people, there is still a chance of meeting people from other backgrounds at work. Chapter 5 showed that there are more people who claim to have native Dutch friends or acquaintances than there are people who actually spend time with native Dutch people in their free time. This suggests that there is also a group who only

meets those native Dutch acquaintances in more formal situations, such as the workplace or educational institutions.

First of all, we will look at what the main activity of people between the ages of 15 and 64 – also called the potential work force – is, to determine for what share of the ethnic minority population the workplace is a meeting place at all. Secondly something will be said about whether people actually meet native Dutch at work. The most important expectation is that people that work in higher levelled jobs are more likely to meet native Dutch people, as those are the jobs native Dutch people are concentrated in (Kogan, 2006). Thirdly, we will discuss how important colleagues and people met at work are for people and whether that also counts for interethnic contacts at work. In other words is contact strictly formal, or do social relationships or even friendships develop. The analysis will be based on the interviews conducted in three Rotterdam neighbourhoods.

Potential meeting place

To find out for what share of the people from an ethnic minority background work is a potential meeting place, first of all we need to know what share has a job at all. According to Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch and Combs (1996), people with a job are more likely to come into contact with people than those without jobs. It is expected that a relatively small share of Turkish, as well as Moroccan women, will participate in the labour market. According to Odé and Veenman (2003), the gender roles of Mediterranean minorities and Caribbean minorities are very different. The Caribbean groups are more matriarchal, which results in strong orientation to the labour market for women. Women are even often the breadwinners. On the other hand, the Mediterranean minorities are more patriarchal and staying at home mums are more common. In table 6.1 one can see the main activity of people between 15 and 64, the potential workforce.

Table 6.1 Main activity of people between 15 and 64 in 2002 (N=4583)

		Main activity						Total
		Work	Student	House-wife	Unemployed	Unfit to work	Pension	
Turkish	Men	57	13	2	14	12	1	100
	Women	24	18	44	5	7	2	100
Moroccan	Men	56	14	2	12	14	1	100
	Women	26	17	49	4	4	0	100
Surinamese	Men	70	13	2	8	5	2	100
	Women	58	14	12	7	8	1	100
Antillean	Men	64	19	1	7	6	2	100
	Women	50	16	16	8	6	2	100
Total		49	15	17	8	8	1	100

Source: SPVA, 2002

About 40 percent of the Turkish and Moroccan people of a potential working age actually have a job, while this percentage is considerably higher for Surinamese and Antillean people. This big difference is mainly caused by the differences in participation on the labour market of women. Within all groups women work significantly less, but as expected this counts especially strongly for Moroccan and Turkish women. Close to half of the women of Turkish and Moroccan origin of between 15 and 64 years old are housewives, so are deliberately not working.

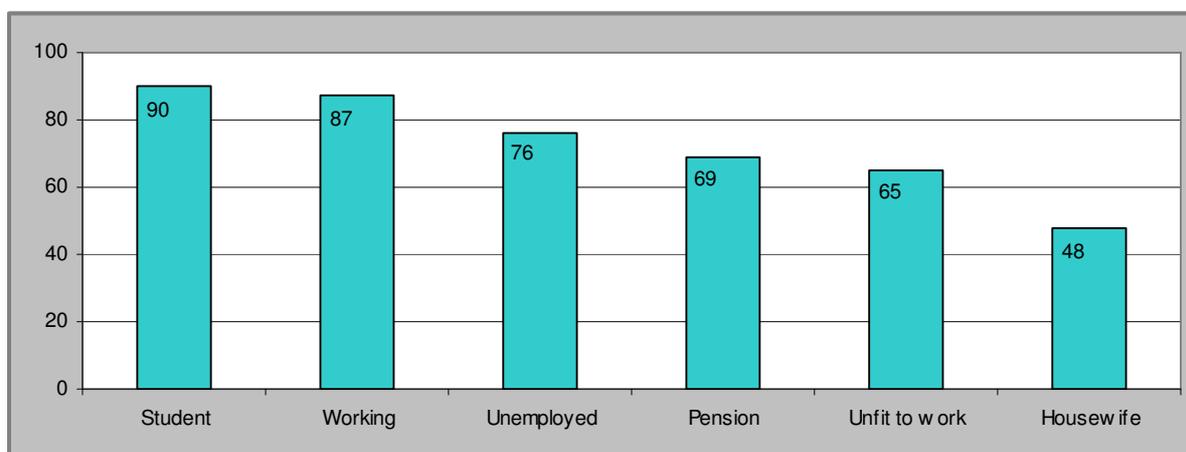
Therefore, as was to be expected, the workplace is a potential meeting place for Turkish men much more often than for Turkish women. The fact that someone does not currently hold a job does however not mean they never held one. Most of the Turkish female respondents from the three Rotterdam neighbourhoods that are currently not working, have worked at some point, often before they had their children. So, for some of these non-working women, work can have been a place where they have made contact and formed friendships in the past.

Interethnic meeting place

The fact that someone has a job still does not automatically mean their workplace is a potential meeting place to meet native Dutch people or people with another background. In other words, workplaces are not necessarily interethnic meeting places.

If one looks at the share of people from each main activity that has native Dutch friends or acquaintances in figure 6.2, it seems that being a housewife limits someone's chances for making native Dutch contacts. Slightly less than half of this group has any native Dutch friends or acquaintances, while almost 90 percent of all working people claim to have at least some native Dutch or acquaintances. This suggests going out to work – or study for that matter, but that will be discussed in the next section – brings people into situations where they can make native Dutch friends or acquaintances. This is in line with the findings of Kogan (2006) who found that unemployed people are less likely to meet native Dutch people, than members of an ethnic minority with jobs.

Figure 6.2 Percentage that has native Dutch friends or acquaintances per main activity in 2002 (N=4559)



Source: SPVA, 2002

According to the year report integration (2008), around 35 percent of the employees from a minority background works in a company with a high – over 25 percent – concentration of minorities. In the four largest cities of the Netherlands this even counts for 44 percent of minority employees and 9 percent of the native Dutch employees. The type of neighbourhood also seems to matter as people in neighbourhoods with larger shares of ethnic minorities also more often work in more concentrated companies or institutions. This counts less for the second generation though. So, this means for many ethnic minorities the workplace is not necessarily a place for interethnic contact.

The work situation of the Turkish respondents from Rotterdam is rather diverse. Some hardly meet any native Dutch people via work, while others are the only Turk in their organisation. Many respondents work with people from different backgrounds and have jobs in security, cleaning and transport and have a relatively low education level, especially the

first generation. In these relatively low level jobs there is great diversity in how many chances there are for meeting native Dutch people. This can have to do with the nature of the job. A 53 year old man from Kralingen-West for instance used to be a gardener and he only worked with about two or three colleagues, so he did not meet many new people through his work and most colleagues were also Turkish. For others it can be a conscious choice to work in a mainly Turkish environment. For instance a 24 year old recently divorced mother says: "*Because of my marriage I just had to work in such a workplace and so you just meet Turkish people*". Her husband preferred her to work in a 'safe' Turkish environment, even though she grew up in Ommoord and was used to have mixed friends before. This limited her chances to meet people from other backgrounds, as she also has a 1,5 year old, which kept her home a lot. She does now plan to start over, go back to school and meet new people.

There seem to be no real differences between people from different neighbourhoods. In all three neighbourhoods there are people that work in places with many native Dutch or with few native Dutch. Most people do not work in their own neighbourhood, but elsewhere. The neighbourhood does not prevent people from working in other, sometime more white, areas. A role is played by the fact that many of the respondents from Ommoord have only been living in the area for a relatively short period, but still have the same jobs as when they were still living in mixed neighbourhoods like Crooswijk. However, there seems to be no evidence for the isolation theory in the case of the work sphere. People that live in the Afrikaanderwijk are not automatically isolated from the host society, as people often do work outside of the neighbourhood, sometimes even in places where they meet mostly people from the majority population.

According to Blumen and Zamir (2001), for many people going to work means a shift in one's social milieu. The Rotterdam experience shows this shift can work two ways. On the one hand there are people living in concentration neighbourhoods who work elsewhere in very Dutch environments. For instance, two ladies from the Afrikaanderwijk who are both not working anymore – one because of an accident and the other because she is a pensioner – used to work with almost only native Dutch colleagues as well as clients. Their work outside the concentration neighbourhood was their most important place for meeting native Dutch people. On the other hand, some respondents that live in the white neighbourhood Ommoord work in very mixed or even predominantly Turkish working places. In one family from Ommoord both spouses – that migrated to the Netherlands in their early twenties separately – meet many Turks at work. The husband works for an Islamic association, and

works in a predominantly Turkish environment. His wife still works in a community centre in 'het Oude Noorden', a concentration area near the city centre. There she meets many Turks, but also people from other backgrounds. They actually like it that they still meet Turkish people regularly, certainly because now they live in a predominantly white neighbourhood with few fellow Turks.

Kogan (2006) both found that higher educated people from a minority background are more likely to meet native Dutch people at work. Is that also the case for Turkish people in Rotterdam? Most of the higher educated Turkish respondents, do indeed meet relatively many native Dutch people at work and they are more often of a more equal status to the people they meet at work, which is one of the conditions Allport (1954) formulated in order for interethnic contact to be effective. A 35 year old woman works as a consultant which means she does projects for many different companies and institutions. Her last project was for the municipality of The Hague for instance. These projects run for about 6 months to two years. In these projects she meets many people and from all kinds of backgrounds. A 34 years old university schooled man works as a consultant for a platform for Islamic organisations in the Rijnmond area. Even though he meets many people from Islamic organisations with all kinds of backgrounds, he also meets native Dutch people from organisations his organisation networks with. So even though his direct colleagues are not native Dutch, his job does bring him into contact with native Dutch people. A similar thing holds for another man who is an entrepreneur. Together with a – Turkish – friend he runs some call centres and organises IT staffing for Dutch companies working from Istanbul in Turkey. His employees are mainly Dutch Turks who wanted to migrate back or to Turkey. Although he is in a rather Turkish environment with respect to the people, he also has to do business with native Dutch people and companies on which his business runs. So, amongst the higher educated people, even those working with specific group still often come into contact with native Dutch because of the networks in which their organisations operate.

Meeting is mating?

As we have seen in chapter two, workmates are often only a small portion of people's active social network. Work is often not a place to form very intimate bonds, but contact does tend to be of a frequent nature (Bridge, 2002). This seems to be true for most Turkish respondents from Rotterdam. Most people say they get along fine with their colleagues, whatever background they are from. But for some it is a more important place for meeting (new) people and making friends than for others. In many cases contact at work is only superficial. For instance for a young woman in Kralingen who sometimes does meet Dutch

people at her work, but for whom the contact does not go further than greeting each other. The contact is very superficial. For her this is very much about preferences, she finds it more pleasant to be in contact with fellow Turks. But it is also about not knowing what her native Dutch colleagues expect from her.

On the other hand, a 42 year old man from the Afrikaanderwijk who moved to the Netherlands at 14 says his work is important for his social network, because he spends a lot of time at work. He works for a second hand clothing concern, as a fork truck driver, in the warehouse and dealing with orders. Most of his colleagues are Turkish or Moroccan and these days there are also a lot of Polish women. He says he has good contact with all of his colleagues, no matter what background they have. *"We have good contact, we talk during the day. At work we talk about work, sport, normal daily things"*. Another father from the Afrikaanderwijk still works for the same, Dutch, boss as he worked for when he first moved to the Netherlands. He has good contact with his co-workers from different backgrounds. *"For me, if you live in the Netherlands, there is no difference. I get along with everyone. I have contact with everyone"*. Another example is a 34 year old woman who grew up in the Afrikaanderwijk and still lives there today. She does not work at the moment, because she had an accident and got rather seriously injured. But before the accident she worked in an elderly home. Both her clients and colleagues were all native Dutch people and she had good contact with both. In her case she only used to see her colleagues at work as colleagues and clients, but she had a nice bond with them, which she really appreciated. These three stories are examples of people that do value the contact they have or used to have at work, but for whom those work relations have not turned into long lasting or more personal relations. However they have gotten to know more about native Dutch people and their culture.

In some cases lasting interethnic contacts are established at work though. A 34 year old woman that lives in Ommoord with her 16 year old son and 9 year old daughter, used to work in a horticultural company until her youngest child was born. She tells there were native Dutch as well as Turkish employees. The Dutch worked directly for the boss and the Turkish people worked there via a Turkish labour agent and both groups were kept separate and worked on different sides of the building. They just saw each other in the breaks. *"I did not like that. I thought that was strange, mixed is better, to meet each other, to talk"*. She did make a good Dutch friend there who she still sees after all those years. It is the only Dutch friend she has. So even if there is only little interethnic contact on the work floor, just meeting each other for a short time, but regularly, can cause valuable interethnic relations.

Even if someone is not working at the moment, people can still have friends from old jobs. In the Afrikaanderwijk, a 59 year old woman, who is now unfit to work, tells she used to work as a cleaner in a hospital and in as sauna in Schiebroek – a relatively white neighbourhood in Rotterdam – where she used to work with mostly Dutch people. She really used to enjoy that and still keeps in touch. Another person for whom work is a place for interethnic contact is a 38 year old inhabitant of Kralingen-West who works in security with mostly native Dutch colleagues. He met many of his friends and acquaintances at his work and as a consequence has a very mixed social network. For him work is the most important place to get into contact with native Dutch people. Also because he spends most of his time either at work or with his family.

The highly educated female consultant mentioned earlier in this paragraph, works for organisations for relatively short periods of time, which means she meets a lot of new people. *“It does mean that I stay in contact with some people, they turn from colleagues into friends so to speak. And that can be very varied people. And I do not really look if it’s a Dutchman or eh...that’s not relevant!”*. The man that works for a platform for Islamic organisations in Rijnmond also says he meets many people for his work, who are from all kinds of backgrounds. He did meet friends – Dutch friends as well – at work. On the other hand he also says that social contact is getting less and less. At work most contact is superficial and businesslike. The same often holds for a highly educated Turkish mother of two, who stopped working when her first was born and is thinking about starting to work again now her second will soon go to preschool. She used to work with mainly Dutch people in all of her previous jobs and still has contact with one of her ex-colleagues. At another job she also had a native Dutch colleague with who she kept in contact for a while, but it did not intensify. *“We were very good colleagues, we got along fine”*. She says people give a clear sign whether they just want to be colleagues or more and that is fine.

To conclude, the workplace is a place where many Turkish people meet native Dutch people. This counts rather a lot stronger for men than for women, because only a quarter of women between 15 and 64 works. Some of these have worked in the past and may have kept in touch with some people, with some colleagues. For some work is one of the few or only places where native Dutch people are met, especially for people in concentration neighbourhood the Afrikaanderwijk. Most people say they get along with their colleagues, no matter what background they are from. The intensity of contact at work does differ quite a lot between people though. Some meet many friends here, but for the majority of people

contact at work stays businesslike. So, most people have weak ties with people they meet at work.

6.3 Educational institutions

Next to the neighbourhood and workplace, educational institutions can be important meeting places which everyone will get involved in at some point of his life. First the role of the school of children's parents will be discussed and secondly people's own contacts from their school time.

Primary schools

Schools can be meeting places in two ways. First of all, children and students can meet each other and secondly, parents – especially of primary school children – can meet each other. According to Snel and Boonstra (2005), schools are good places for interethnic contact because people – both pupils and parents – go there with a good reason, to receive an education or to bring their children, especially in the case of broad school. It is not a place meant for (interethnic) interaction, but it can be a side effect. People also come to school regularly, which might stimulate useful interethnic contact. As was stated in the theory chapter, according to the contact hypothesis, interethnic contact will only decrease prejudice if contact takes place regularly.

As stated before schools are not only potential meeting places for children, but also for their parents. This can be when they bring or pick up their kids at school, at parent evenings or by helping out with school trips. Especially the so-called 'broad schools' try to function as a meeting place for parents in the neighbourhood (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). These are, especially primary, schools which deliver a broad scale of activities, for both children and adults, including day care before and after school, but also activities for parents and sometimes even for the whole neighbourhood. Rotterdam started with a broad school project already in 1996 (Snel & Boonstra, 2005). Many Turkish respondents from Rotterdam that have young children from all neighbourhoods frequently meet people at the schools of their children even if they do not participate in school activities. Many meet and talk to other parents when picking up their children. Some people go a step further and become active in their children's school. A 34 year old, university schooled Turkish father who just moved from the Afrikaanderwijk to a whiter neighbourhood, for instance, says his wife and him are trying to be as involved as possible in their children's school. *"We talk about the development of our children regularly and if there are activities at school we participate. If*

the children have to be accompanied to the library or with school trips we always try to be as involved as possible”.

Of course not all parents are involved in their children's schools. According to Doesborgh, Driessen and Smit (2005), parents from ethnic minorities tend to participate less in their children's schools than native Dutch parents and higher educated parents of most ethnic groups. Especially language problems can be a barrier for parents with an ethnic minority background. This issue is likely to decrease over time, as parents from the second generation are more likely to speak Dutch well, although because of ongoing marriage migration there are still quite a lot of parents – especially mothers – that have difficulties with the Dutch language. Next to language, communication between schools and parents can also be difficult because of cultural differences. These make communication more complex and can also cause differences in opinion about how to raise and educate children. Children that go to school can also offer opportunities to get involved and participate in such an institution.

There are large differences between the three Rotterdam neighbourhoods in whether their children's schools are interethnic meeting places. The children in Ommoord go to schools with few Turkish children or children with another ethnic minority background. One respondent tells his daughter is the only Turkish child in her class. This offers opportunities to meet with native Dutch parents. A Turkish woman tells she used to have nice contact when picking up her children from school. *“This year I am not picking up my daughter anymore, because she is growing older. But if I do go, I always chat with the other parents”.* She has good contact with the parents of her children's school friends, which are mostly native Dutch people. She even visits them at home sometimes. Another woman has a 5 year old child and helps out the school of her daughter sometimes. She even did an internship, helping out at her children's school, for her Dutch classes. Another Turkish single-mother of two in the Rotterdam neighbourhood Ommoord for example says she sometimes helps out at the school of her nine year-old daughter, like offering support on a school trip to the children's farm. This offers her the chance to be involved in her daughter's life, but also to improve her own Dutch and meet other parents.

The children of the respondents in Kralingen-West and the Afrikaanderwijk go to different types of schools. Most go to so-called black schools, schools with a large share of ethnic minorities, although some parents send their children consciously to more mixed or even white schools in other areas. The existence of 'black' and 'white' school has been a

discussion point, just like residential segregation. Even in mixed neighbourhoods, schools are not always as mixed. Native Dutch parents tend to send their children to more 'white' schools, even if outside the neighbourhood, because they have better reputations (Snel & Boonstra, 2005). Two highly educated fathers in their thirties, one from Kralingen, the other from the Afrikaanderwijk, purposely sent their children to schools outside the neighbourhood to ensure there are more native Dutch children in the neighbourhood. One family even moved to another area mainly for this reason.

Most parents do not think about what school to pick for their children that consciously, but send their child to a local school, where there is very little chance for interethnic contact in both Kralingen and the Afrikaanderwijk. A father in Kralingen-West tells he meets people from all kinds of backgrounds at the school of his children, but not a lot of native Dutch people. *"It's a really 'black' school. In the class of my youngest there is one Dutch child. I don't meet many Dutch people there, but I do talk to the ones there are"*. Two other respondents from Kralingen say they mostly have contact with other Turkish parents. She says: *"I don't really know why. It's just how it goes"*. For one it is just about a chat at the schoolyard, but for 37 year old mum of 3, it is a rather important part of her social life.

Own school time

In chapter five we have seen that highly educated people spend more time with native Dutch in their spare time, than lower educated people. So, does this mean school and especially higher education institutions are important interethnic meeting places? For many of the second generation Turkish respondents from Rotterdam, the schools and higher education they went to, are important sources for social contacts and friends even after they left school. Many adults that have followed (parts of) their education in the Netherlands have established the basics of their social network – outside the family- at school and during their higher education. Again the ethnic composition of the school plays a role, if the school people went to was mixed, people are more likely to have mixed friends as well. Schools as meeting places often have a longer impact than just the years spent in school and because it is often a strong basis it also influences making friends in later stages of life. At some point many people feel they have enough friends and get less interested in forming strong ties with new people, so people are more likely to form weak ties with the people at work or in the neighbourhood they move to later in life.

In the previous chapter we saw that higher educated people have more contact with native Dutch people than lower educated people. Furthermore the higher education system is

relatively white and thus does theoretically offer opportunities for meeting native Dutch people (Jenissen & Hartgers, 2006). So, do or did highly educated Turkish people in Rotterdam meet many native Dutch people during their education? And did they form ties with them? Most highly educated Turkish respondents did meet many native Dutch people during their higher education. Most did not make many native Dutch friends though. Indeed many of the highly educated respondents had a relatively Turkish network at university or even were members of Turkish student organizations.

The very Dutch environment at universities can also be quite overwhelming; certainly when you have always went to black schools and lived in a concentration neighbourhood. The story of a 35 year old Turkish woman who now has a very mixed network, about when she started studying business administration at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam illustrates the challenges very well. Although she really saw going to university as a new beginning and an opportunity to meet new people from different backgrounds, it turned out differently. She argues getting into contact with native Dutch people was a growing process to her. She did not feel like she fitted into an environment of people from very white areas that went to piano lessons. *“When I went to university, I graduated, and in my mind university was the Valhalla of freedom and equality and intellectual people, but that did not turn out to be how I experienced it, you know. I thought the Eureka week (introduction period in Rotterdam, ed.) was very white. We went to pubs where they played ‘de Amazing Stroopwafels’ (folk band well known in Rotterdam, ed.) and they expected me to like it and if you did not drink beer you did not count”*. On the other hand she also disassociated from other Turkish and Moroccan girls because she wanted her life to change.

Another 34 year old Turkish woman who studied at hbo level explained that she just felt more comfortable and safe to go sit next to a Turkish girl, or a girl wearing a headscarf – something she does not do herself. *“I think during your education, you feel drawn to each other. It is quite remarkable really, I have wondered before why I always end up taking the chair next to a Turkish girl when I enter a classroom. It is familiar, safe I guess. And it is not even about whether you get along or not. You do not know that upfront and sometimes it does not turn out to be the case, but then you just leave it at that. But still if you enter a classroom or a group in general, a meeting or a situation which includes stranger, you nonetheless seat yourself next to a Turk or someone with a headscarf. That feels more safe. Strange isn't it? But still...you speak the same language, exchange experiences. That is the same for everybody”*. For both these highly educated women, their more intensive contact with native Dutch came later during their working days, when they were more obliged to

spend time with their colleagues and could not pick who to work with as they could more easily during their school days. They have experienced a growing process in which they grew more comfortable associating with native Dutch people. These findings are in line with those of Volet and Ang (1998), who argued that interethnic contact in Australian university demands quite some mental effort from both majority and minority students.

As said before, some also joined Turkish student associations, like a 38 year old, highly educated Turkish respondent from the Afrikaanderwijk. During his time in university he joined a Turkish student organisation and he believes that when there is more contact between Turks, they will also have more contact with Native Dutch people. *“That’s why I do not mind Turks having contact between themselves. That’s only good, they can learn from it. For instance, experiences they have in Turkish organisations can also be used outside that organisation. I think it is absurd that people say self-organisations cultivate segregation. That is exactly the place where Turks come together, make contact and learn from each other how to make contacts and than they can take the step to other groups. It is only enriching”*. To him his time in the Turkish organisation taught many skills which he can now use in his job, which is in a very Dutch environment.

So, schools can be very important meeting places. First of all primary schools are places where children make their first friends and secondly for many parents the schools of their children are important places to meet other people, especially in neighbourhoods where there are few other public spaces which are used intensively. Because of the division between black and white schools the function as interethnic meeting place does not get a real chance for many parents in mixed and concentration areas, which is a missed opportunity. Furthermore, secondary schools and higher education institutions are places, for the people that spend their youth in the Netherlands, where many people lay the fundamentals of their social networks and especially of their groups of friends. Again the composition of the schools people went to play a role in determining the ethnic backgrounds of these friends, but in many cases the real friends, as also mentioned in the previous chapter, are fellow Turks. For those schools can be interethnic meeting places, but contact only remains for the time spent in a school or university.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown there are various meeting places which can be important in different people’s life. Interethnic contact also could occur in different contexts. According to the isolation thesis living in a mixed neighbourhood will hinder the occurrence of interethnic contact. Although it is indeed easier to get to know many native Dutch people if you live in

a more white neighbourhood, in all three neighbourhoods there are few people that have no contact with native Dutch people at all. Even if there is little interethnic contact in the neighbourhood, many people do meet native Dutch people at work. This counts much stronger for men than for women though, as they are more likely to go out to work. Having work can be a very important factor for increasing interethnic contact. This chapter has shown people with work often have more native Dutch contacts. Even though the workplace does not seem to be a place where people form very strong bonds it is a way to get to know each other and to get to know a bit more about each others customs and values.

Especially for women who do not work the neighbourhood can be rather important for their social life and thus living in a concentration neighbourhood often does hamper their chances for interethnic contact. For many female respondents being close to relatives is rather important. Life in a white neighbourhood such as Ommoord can in that case also have down sides as relatives are often further away. This can make life rather lonely for these women – especially if they do not speak Dutch very well yet.

Primary schools are important meeting places in neighbourhoods. For children, but also for their parents. For this meeting place segregation of both the neighbourhood and school are a factor which impedes interethnic contact. For parents in Ommoord bringing children to school is a good way to get into contact with native Dutch people, especially when their children become friends. In more mixed neighbourhoods this contact is much less, as there is often a rather strong segregation in schools. In Kralingen-West for instance the school segregation is stronger than the neighbourhood segregation. This school segregation will also hamper the social integration of minority children.

Most respondents would prefer a situation in which they can meet native Dutch people, but at the same time have relatives and some fellow Turks around. In the Afrikaanderwijk many people feel there is a lack of native Dutch people, while quite some respondents from Ommoord have to get used to having so few fellow Turks around. The main reason for many respondents to want to live in an ethnically mixed situation is for their children to have an easier time to integrate and have contact with native Dutch.

Schools and higher education institutions in general are places where people found the basics of many friendships. Although we have seen that higher educated people are more likely to spend time with native Dutch people in their spare time, this does not mean higher education institutions are very fruitful interethnic meeting places. For Turkish respondents –

especially when they grew up in a rather concentrated neighbourhood – these predominantly white surroundings can be very overwhelming. Which often leads to finding friends of other backgrounds, like yourself, to create a more ‘safe’ environment.

Effects of interethnic contact

After looking at the amount of interethnic contact and the potential meeting places, this chapter will elaborate on some of the possible effects of this interethnic contact in terms of social integration. The question that will be attempted to answer in this chapter is as follows: *which kind of effects result from these contacts in terms of social integration?* First, in section 7.1, we will look at how comfortable people from ethnic minority backgrounds are around members of the majority population. A special focus will be on in how far contact with members of that majority population in the spare time does influence this feeling of comfort. Subsequently, section 7.2, will deal with the effects of interethnic contact on whether people from minority backgrounds identify themselves (partly) as being Dutch or solely on their ethnic minority group.

7.1 Comfort around native Dutch

First of all, we will look at to what extent ethnic minorities feel comfortable around native Dutch people and whether having contact with native Dutch in one's spare time can stimulate this comfort. Feeling comfortable around people from the majority population can be seen as a sign of becoming part of the Dutch society. According to the contact hypothesis people will feel more positive about each other if they have contact with people from other backgrounds. By getting to know each other and each others culture and habits, people will understand each other better and prejudices will diminish (Pettigrew, 2007). According to the competition theory people that compete or feel like they have to compete with people from another group will feel more negative about that group. As stated in chapter two, people from the host society with a lower economic status are expected to feel more threatened by ethnic minorities because a majority of minorities is also from a lower socio-economic status and thus feel less positive about other groups (Olzak, 1992; Quillian, 1995). Less is known about whether the same counts for minorities.

In this section the effect of interethnic contact on feeling comfortable around native Dutch will be studied. Table 7.1 shows how comfortable people from different ethnic minority backgrounds in the four largest cities of the Netherlands feel around native Dutch people.

Table 7.1 The extent to which ethnic minorities in the four large cities of the Netherlands feel comfortable around native Dutch people in percentages (N=2701)

		Feels comfortable around native Dutch people				Total
		Yes, very	Yes, kind of	No, not really	No, not at all	
Contact with native Dutch in spare time (Cramer's V 0.30**)	Often	72	25	2	0	100
	Sometimes	42	49	8	2	100
	Never	24	48	24	4	100
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.15)	Turkish	35	43	19	4	100
	Moroccan	39	47	13	2	100
	Surinamese	57	39	4	1	100
	Antillean	58	35	7	1	100
Total		46	41	11	2	100

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

The majority of people from a minority background feel at least somewhat comfortable around native Dutch people. However there is indeed a rather strong correlation between how comfortable one feels around native Dutch people and the amount of contact people have with native Dutch people in their spare time. People that spend more time with native Dutch in their spare time, are also more comfortable being around native Dutch people. Of the four ethnic minority groups, Turks least often feel comfortable around native Dutch people. This was to be expected as Turkish people also spend least time with native Dutch people in their spare time as we have seen in chapter 5. It must be noted that it is difficult to determine the direction of this correlation, as it could also be that people who feel more comfortable will choose to spend time with native Dutch people more easily.

To get a better understanding of the relation between feeling comfortable around native Dutch and having contact with native Dutch people in one's free time, a regression analysis has been conducted. This way other factors are also taken into account, which means the relative importance of interethnic contact will become more clear. Table 7.2 shows this binary logistic regression analysis, comparing those who do feel (kind of) comfortable and those who do not feel comfortable (at all) around native Dutch people. The question is, does

the amount of contact in the spare time still play a role after other factors are being put into the equation?

Again, the concentration of non-western minorities has been included in the model to find out whether the neighbourhood one lives in plays an independent role in determining someone's comfort around native Dutch. Based on the isolation thesis, one would expect a negative influence of concentration as it is expected to isolate minorities from the main society (Semyonov and Glikman, 2009). Furthermore personal characteristics such as age, generation, income and level of education have been added. Based on assimilation theory it is to be expected that people with a higher socio-economic status and the second generation will feel more comfortable around native Dutch people. According to Hello, Scheepers and Slegers (2006), education develops cognitive competence and increases open mindedness, which can lead to a more tolerant and open stance towards out-groups. This is then believed to make people more comfortable about dealing with people from other backgrounds. Religion and ethnicity have been added in order to see whether cultural distance plays a role in determining why people feel or do not feel comfortable around native Dutch. Based on social identity theory people that are culturally closer to the host society will feel more comfortable to have contact and form relationships with each other (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). If your norms, values and identity are closer to those of the majority population, it is to be expected that people feel more comfortable around each other. Lastly the variable experienced discrimination has been added. The competition thesis suggests (real or imagined) competition between groups can cause tension and discomfort. According to social identity theory some people's ideas about a group as a whole can suffer from negative personal experiences with individual members of the out-group (Tajfel, 1982).

Table 7.2 Logistic regression analysis feeling comfortable around Dutch people
(N = 1967)

Variables	Categories	B	Wald
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood		-0.00	0.90
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the city		-0.00	0.00
Contact with native Dutch in spare time (Never ref. cat.)			32.79 **
	Sometimes	0.78	17.82 **
	Often	1.72	25.38 **
Ethnic group (Turkish ref. cat.)			12.07 *
	Moroccan	0.45	4.67 *
	Surinamese	0.52	1.11
	Antillean	-0.59	1.33
Age		0,01	2.35
Generation (First generation ref. cat.)	Second generation	-0.19	0.34
Income		0.00	0.53
Level of education (Max. primary school ref. cat.)			3.42
	VMBO	0.13	0,28
	MBO, HAVO, VWO	0.48	3.22
	HBO, scientific	0.03	0.01
Dutch speaking skills (Bad ref. cat.)			25.33 **
	Mediocre	0.76	10.50 **
	Good	1.47	25.28 **
Gender (Male ref. cat.)	Female	0.27	1.95
Religion (No religion ref. cat.)			3.10
	Hinduism	-0.44	0.61
	Islam	-0.42	0.89
	Christianity	0.26	0.42
	Other religion	-0.34	0.31
Experienced discrimination (No ref. cat.)	Yes	-0.70	17,78 **

** p < 0.05, ** p < 0.001

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

It turns out that having contact with native Dutch still has a significant effect on whether minorities feel comfortable around native Dutch people, even when controlled for a series of other factors. In fact, it is the most important factor explaining why people feel or do not feel comfortable around native Dutch people. People that spend most time with native Dutch also feel most comfortable around them. So, the claim of the contact hypothesis that interethnic contact will help in getting more comfortable around each other seems to be valid for ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands. According to the contact hypothesis interethnic contact can be beneficial for groups to feel more comfortable around each other. This contact has to be positive though, as Allport (1954) argued when formulating conditions for interethnic contact to reduce prejudices. If people have experienced discrimination this could reduce the chance of feeling comfortable around native Dutch people considerably. So, is this also true for ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands?

Having experienced discrimination does indeed diminish the chance of feeling comfortable around native Dutch people. As Tajfel (1982) stated people handle individual negative encounters with someone from 'the out-group' in differently ways. People have different personalities and communicative skills which will make them deal with negative situations such as discrimination differently, but in general experiencing discrimination reduces comfort around the majority population. Most of the Turkish respondents from Rotterdam that have been interviewed did not experience discrimination and did say their contact with native Dutch is predominately positive. There is of course a danger that respondents give socially desirable answers, certainly as the interviewer is Dutch. A single mother from Ommoord says she sometimes feels like Dutch people look at her differently, but most treat her normally. She says she is very quiet and will not easily have problems with people. One time there were some discriminating remarks in the elevator of her building, but this negative experience did not mean she has prejudices against all Dutch people, but it did make her a bit uncomfortable and even a little scared for a while.

The concentration of non-western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood as well as the city one lives in do not play a significant, independent role in explaining who feels comfortable around native Dutch people. In other words there seems to be no evidence for true neighbourhood effects, so no evidence has been found in line with the isolation thesis. Furthermore, based on the assimilation thesis one would expect that the second generation, higher educated people, those with a higher income and those with good language skills feel more comfortable around native Dutch people. Social identity would predict the same for the second generation. Surprisingly enough generation and level of education do not play an

independent role in feeling comfortable. When controlled for other factors the second generation or those with a higher level of education do not feel more comfortable around native Dutch people, than those from the first generation or those with a lower level of education. A factor that is very important though, is someone's language skills. In chapter five some examples of Turkish respondents from Rotterdam were already given of this aspect. They showed that people who do not speak Dutch very well often feel uncomfortable speaking with native Dutch people, because they feel a little ashamed their Dutch is not better, or because it makes contact difficult.

Most Turkish interview respondents from the three Rotterdam neighbourhoods agree with the ideas of the contact thesis and think interethnic contact will be beneficial for the relations between different groups in the Netherlands. Many people say things like, we all live in the Netherlands, so we all have to get along with one another. The main thing people mention why contact is important, is to learn from each other and get to know each others customs so people will understand each other and each other behaviours better. This is in line with the argument of Pettigrew (1998) explaining why interethnic contact will reduce prejudice, he sees getting to know about each other's culture is an important first step towards more close contact and the reduction of stereotypes. A young father who just moved away from the Afrikaanderwijk, partly to let his children grow up in a more Dutch environment, says: "*It is always important to get into contact with your environment and to learn about each other*". He mentions that in Rotterdam some organisations, not only Muslim ones but also schools or social organisations, organise Iftar meals⁴. He thinks that leads to more mutual understanding. "*To stay in dialogue remains a very important point*". On a more personal level a 43 year old man who moved to Ommoord a couple of years ago says he thinks more positively about Dutch people now he lives in Ommoord. "*People in 'het Oude Noorden' advised me against moving to Ommoord, because there supposedly is discrimination. But that is not the case at all, everyone is very nice.*" Van der Zwaard (2005), found the same prejudices in Rotterdam. She observed many stories about discrimination which stopped people from moving to the elder suburbs like Ommoord and Zevenkamp. In this case however, by getting into contact and living around native Dutch people, this Turkish man notices the rumours where not true and most of his neighbours where just nice people with no problems about him and his family sharing 'their' street.

Some respondents also indicate that they find it important that native Dutch people get to know them. They want to show their culture and think getting to know them may reduce

⁴ Iftar meal: the meal after sunset when Muslims break their fast during the Islamic month of Ramadan

prejudices towards Turkish people. One university graduated man, who was born in the Netherlands and just moved from concentration neighbourhood the Afrikaanderwijk to a more white area, tries to let his new neighbours get to know a bit about his culture and show he knows about native Dutch culture. For instance by sending his native Dutch Christmas cards, because he knows that means a lot to his neighbours. On the other hand he brings them Turkish dishes like Lahmacun⁵ on Islamic holidays in an attempt to learn about each other and to show he means well and wants to be accepted as part of the community.

Learning about each other is not only important to get to know each other and help reduce prejudice, it can also be beneficial on a more personal level. As some respondents indicate, it can be fun to learn about other cultures and that it enriches their lives and increase their knowledge of the world. A 24 year old woman that grew up in Ommoord and lives with her mother and son since her divorce, says: *“Everyone has a different culture and all cultures have nice aspects. It’s nice to learn that, really nice”*. She only finds it difficult to determine what Dutch culture is, she feels there are very few traditions and superstitions compared to other cultures she knows. A young, highly educated woman from Kralingen who grew up in the Afrikaanderwijk has a very mixed circle of friends, but does not always realize how special that is. When she thinks about it she thinks it is very special she has so many friends from very diverse backgrounds. *“Sometimes I think I am rather blessed. Because then I have invited friends, two are Antillean, a Moroccan girlfriend and they brought Cuban music and we drink Italian wine or something and no one even gives it a moment’s thought what someone’s background is. The most important thing is that you know each other and enjoy the evening you know. But if you think about it afterwards, it is quite special!”*.

One of the claims of the contact hypothesis is that by getting into contact with people from other backgrounds people will think less stereotypically about the group as a whole. In other words people will get a more nuanced image of a group (Brewer & Brown, 1998). This does not just mean more positive, but just more differential. As one of the respondents – a 34 year old man from Ommoord who spends most of his free time in his old neighbourhood Crooswijk - said, *“There are bad people in every group”*. A 35 year old highly educated stay at home mum from Kralingen said *“I think that if you work in an environment with different groups of people, by meeting them and just paying some attention and listen, ask question, you will know more and your thoughts about it will change. Not necessarily in positivity, but in the sense of understanding. You broaden your worldview and I think that is almost always positive”*. She says by communicating and asking question you will understand better why

⁵ Turkish pizza

people do things they way they do. Many behaviours are cultural and are just what you learned from others. You don't have to accepts things you learn about others or do things the same, but least you will understand and than be less judgmental about their behaviour. These examples show again that interethnic contact can make people feel less prejudiced about each other, as expected by the contact hypothesis. Both positive and negative prejudices can decline and people will start seeing people from all ethnicities are very varied, so you will have to judge people based on their personality and actions, rather than on their ethnic background.

The conditions Allport (1954) described to be important for interethnic contact to have positive effects do not seem to play a large role. Most interviewed Turks from Rotterdam have some contact with native Dutch acquaintances and appreciate that, even if it is just greeting the neighbours or brief contact with colleagues. Even the respondents who hardly have any contact with native Dutch people do not necessarily think badly about them, although some do feel a bit uncomfortably or shy. So, getting into contact mainly makes people more confident about further contact and meeting other people from a different background than their own. Again, as the interviewer was Dutch, people might have given more positive answers that they actually meant. One young woman from the Afrikaanderwijk who finds it difficult, even a bit scary to make initial contact with native Dutch people told me her new house is in a neighbourhood with many black people and finds that a bit frightening, immediately added that of course she did trust native Dutch people a lot more. So, there are definitely prejudices around, also about people from other minorities.

This section has showed that interethnic contact does indeed make people from a minority background feel more comfortable around members of the majority population. Getting used to each, even by greeting your neighbours for instance can make people feel more comfortable around native Dutch people. So, there is definitely proof for the contact hypothesis. On the other hand, some proof has also been found for the competition hypothesis, as experiencing discrimination has a negative impact on feeling comfortable around native Dutch people. Feeling unwanted can be seen as a form of experiencing competition.

7.2 Identification with native Dutch

Next to feeling comfortable around members of the majority population another effect of contact with native Dutch people could be that people from a minority background will feel

(partly) Dutch. One of the major issues with respect to socio-cultural integration and social distance from the host society is the self-identification of ethnic minorities. In other words do ethnic minorities only identify with their ethnic group, or do they also base part of their identity on the fact they live in the Netherlands? According to Entzinger and Dourleijn (2008) identification is one the most advanced forms of integration into a host society. It is one thing to feel comfortable around native Dutch, but it is something else to actually feel (partly) Dutch. Based on the contact hypothesis one would expect people from a minority background that have more contact with native Dutch to feel more Dutch than those who have get into contact with native Dutch less. So, is this true for ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands?

When asked to classify oneself as Dutch or as part of one's ethnic group, the vast majority of people from an ethnic minority background in the four largest cities of the Netherlands classify themselves as part of their ethnic group as can be seen in table 7.3. Especially those with a Turkish or Moroccan background classify themselves as Turks or Moroccans, with percentages close to a hundred. This is in line with the findings of Entzinger and Dourleijn (2008) who studied young Turkish and Moroccan people in Rotterdam and found that a majority still identify mostly with their ethnic background. Based on the cultural distance it is also not surprising that Antillean an Surinamese people more often feel they are Dutch than Turkish and Moroccan people do. Because of the colonial history Surinamese and Antilleans have been acquainted with Dutch culture, whilst for Turkish and Moroccans migration was often the first contact with the Netherlands (Uunk, 2002).

Table 7.3 Percentage of ethnic group that has counts oneself to ethnic minority group (N=3155)

		Contact (Cramer's V 0.34)			Total
		Often	Sometimes	Never	
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.26)	Turkish (0.13*)	92	97	99	97
	Moroccan (0.23**)	87	97	99	96
	Surinamese (0.22**)	76	92	91	84
	Antillean (0.33**)	62	90	91	75
Total		74	95	97	89

Source: SPVA 2002

The influence of having contact with native Dutch people in one's spare time on identifying mostly on one's 'own ethnic group' differs per ethnic group. While for Moroccan's, Surinamese and especially Antilleans there is a moderate correlation, the relationship is rather small for those with a Turkish background. This has probably got something to do with the strong family ties, which make people feel connected to their family background (Yerden, 2000), but it also has got something to do with the strong ethnic pride which many Turkish people experience (Phalet & Andriessen, 2003).

According to Berry et al. (2006), identification with the ethnic group and identification with the country one lives in can be two different aspects of one's identity. These two aspects do not have to exclude each other, but can be seen as separate dimensions to one's identity. One can feel Turkish and a inhabitant of Holland at the same time. Verkuyten (1999) also found that both can be part of one's (transnational) identity. Parts which can be individually emphasised in different circumstances. Some immigrants will clearly choose one; while others will base their self identification on both.

Table 7.4 shows with what group ethnic minorities identify themselves more on a scale from completely Dutch to completely part of the ethnic group. This nuances the picture somewhat compared to the outcomes in the previous table. The influence of having contact with native Dutch is again considerably high. People that (often) spend time with native Dutch people in their spare time considerably feel more Dutch than those who do not or in a smaller amount. Those who have contact with native Dutch in their spare time often, are much most likely to base their identity on both their ethnic group and the country they live in. In this case the contact hypothesis seems to be supported; having interethnic contact makes people feel more linked to each other. In fact only 15 percent does in that case not feel Dutch at all, while 64 percent of people that never have contact with native Dutch people do not feel Dutch at all.

In fact, contact with native Dutch is a more important factor than ethnicity. About half of the Turks and Moroccans still identify themselves completely as Turks or Moroccans, but the other half bases their identity both on their ethnic background as well as on the country they live in, the Netherlands. Amongst Surinamese and Antilleans a large majority at least both Surinamese or Antillean as well as Dutch. Even though people feel the need to be part of a group and to base one's identity on group memberships as social identity suggests (Turner, 1999), this does not mean feeling part one's own group excludes feeling Dutch as well. For

two thirds of people from an ethnic minority group in the four largest cities of the Netherlands their identity is based on both their ethnic group and the country they live in.

Table 7.4 Ethnic identification of ethnic minorities in the four largest cities in the Netherlands in 2002 (N=2703)

		Ethnic identification in percentages						Total
		Totally ethnic group	More ethnic group than Dutch	Both equally	More Dutch than ethnic group	More Dutch	Does not know	
Contact with native Dutch in spare time (Cramer's V 0.30**) N 2703	Often	15	20	32	17	12	4	100
	Sometimes	35	27	27	5	2	4	100
	Never	64	20	11	3	1	2	100
	Turkish	53	21	20	3	1	3	100
Ethnicity (Cramer's V 0.15) N 2729	Moroccan	52	23	19	4	0	2	100
	Surinamese	14	26	35	15	6	4	100
	Antillean	22	22	23	14	14	5	100
Total		36	23	24	8	5	3	100

Source: SPVA 2002

Having contact in the free time seems to be playing a positive role in identification with the Dutch, but will this relation remain once controlled for other factors, like the level of education? To find out, a binary regression analysis has been conducted. This analysis compares the people who feel totally Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean to those who identify themselves as both Dutch and member of their ethnic group. A regression theory has been carried out in order to find the relative importance of interethnic contact on the identification of people from a minority background.

As in previous regression models, characteristics such as income, generation, the level of education and Dutch speaking skills have been added. According to (spatial) assimilation theory (Gordon, 1964) immigrants will lose their own identity and become more like the native people of the host society. Based on social identity theory people will, by becoming more like people from the host society, also in terms of for instance level of education, will identify with the host society more and more. Thus, people from the second generation are expected to feel more Dutch than those of the first generation. Furthermore, the same is expected for those with a higher income and level of education. Religion and ethnicity have been added to measure cultural distance.

The variable experienced discrimination has been added because based on the competition hypothesis it would be expected that negative contact with people from the host society will have a negative impact on feeling Dutch. The same could be expected on basis of social identity theory as group membership is not only based on one's own ideas, but also on whether 'others' see you as part of a group (Tajfel, 1998). Last, but not least the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and the city has been included. Based on the isolation theory it is to be expected that people in areas with a small share of native Dutch will feel less Dutch than people that are surrounded by more native Dutch people. Table 7.5 shows the regression model which has been created.

There is considerable evidence for the contact hypothesis, based on the outcomes of the regression model. Having contact with native Dutch people in one's spare time has the strongest positive effect on feeling (at least partly) Dutch of all included variables. Negative contact in the form of experienced discrimination on the other hand, as expected has a negative effect on feeling Dutch, which is in line with social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982). If people feel like native Dutch do not include them in 'their' group they are less likely to feel Dutch.

So, what about the neighbourhood? Does, as the isolation thesis suggests, a concentration of minorities impede people from a minority background to identify with the Netherlands? It stems from the regression model that the share of ethnic minorities does not have a independent effect on whether someone bases part of their identity on feeling Dutch. This does however not mean there is no role at all for the neighbourhood. In chapter five we saw that people in concentration have less contact with native Dutch people than in other neighbourhoods. Because this interethnic contact is very important in determining whether someone feels partly Dutch, through the effect of having less contact the neighbourhood can still influence people's identification.

There is also some evidence for assimilation theory, as the second generation and people who have better Dutch language skills are more likely to identify with the Netherlands. Entzinger and Dourleijn (2008) found that higher educated young Turks and Moroccans in Rotterdam identify themselves with the Netherlands stronger than those with a lower education. But strikingly, education does not seem to have an independent effect on identification once controlled for other factors. Even if contact with native Dutch in one's spare time is taken out of the equation one's education level does not play a significant role.

Table 7.5 Binary logistic regression analysis ethnic minorities that identify with both ethnic group and Holland or only with Holland (N = 1872)

Variables	Categories	B	Wald
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood		-0.00	0.40
Share of non-western ethnic minorities in the city		-0.01	1.43
Contact with native Dutch in spare time (Never ref. cat.)			45.83 **
	Sometimes	0.54	17.35 **
	Often	1.13	45.51 **
Ethnic group (Turkish ref. cat.)			29.62 **
	Moroccan	-0.24	2.65
	Surinamese	1.37	30.62 **
	Antillean	0.99	9.85 *
Age		0.01	1.62
Generation (First generation ref. cat.)	Second generation	0.76	15.13 **
Income		0.00	0.05
Level of education (Max. primary school ref. cat.)			2.81
	VMBO	-0.18	1.42
	MBO, HAVO, VWO	-0.17	1.14
	HBO, scientific	0.07	0.11
Dutch speaking skills (Bad ref. cat.)			34.86 **
	Mediocre	0.89	16.13 **
	Good	1.38	33.94 **
Gender (Male ref. cat.)	Female	-0.09	0.55
Religion (No religion ref. cat.)			22.42 **
	Hinduism	-0.33	0.93
	Islam	-0.46	2.65
	Christianity	-1.05	18.55 **
	Other religion	-0.39	0.72
Experienced discrimination (No ref. cat.)	Yes	-0.38	12.03 *

** p < 0.05, ** p < 0.001

Source: SPVA 2002 & GBA 2002

An aspect that came up during the interviews with Turkish people in Rotterdam was that many respondents feel they will never be considered Dutch by the majority population. In line with assimilation theory, the second generation of ethnic minorities do identify with the Netherlands more than those of the first generation as can be seen in table 7.5. Some respondents do however not feel they are more easily accepted as Dutch as their parents. Some respondents feel frustrated because they are doing well in the Dutch society, have good jobs and speak the language very well, but still they do not feel totally accepted. As social identity suggest, this makes it harder to feel Dutch and make it more important to base your identity on group membership of your ethnic group, because group membership is based on both your own ideas as those of others.

Many respondents feel they will always be classified as Turks, as a different group, despite growing a socio-economic status. Even if one feels (somewhat) Dutch themselves, it is hard to be seen as Dutch by native Dutch people. Some Turkish respondents feel native Dutch people prefer to keep seeing 'us' and 'them'. A highly educated father of two young children that was born in the Netherlands, but spend parts of his childhood in Turkey says: "*we are just being labelled as this and that. I was talking with a friend and he said: first we were foreigners, than we were Turks and now we are Muslims*". He also tells the story of an uncle who migrated to America and came back years later like an American. He was really surprised and wonders why that does not happen in the Netherlands. He thinks it is partly because going back to Turkey is more difficult, but he also sees an important cause in the way people treat each other. "*There you will just be treated as an American. So you are not a Turk, a Mexican, or whatever, you are just an American. Period. And you will be treated that way and that is different in the Netherlands. Here you are always native or minority. People that also want to feel Dutch do not get the chance to do so. So, they think, right, I am a minority. Ok than I am a minority, if you treat me like one all the time. That's why there are still so much differences*".

Another man from the Afrikaanderwijk and moved to Rotterdam to marry his wife has similar frustrations. "*I don't think it is good to label people. You are a Turk, you are Dutch. We are all from the Netherlands*". On the other hand, the same man is also irritated when people do not consider him a real Turk. "*We often get reactions here in the Netherlands when we say we are Turks; 'but you are different'. We are not different we are just Turks*". This example shows that one can value both identities and that the way you see yourself is not necessarily the way others classify you. His wife moved to the Netherlands when she was 13. She understands that people react the way they do and why native Dutch people do not see

them as real Turks. *“I think we are different compared to 70 percent and to their image. We both work, I don't wear a headscarf, we both have a car, we speak Dutch, of course we are different. But that image does increase. Of course we are different compared to our parents, totally different. We don't fit into the standard image people have in their heads. But that image gets stronger and stronger. And she (points at her three year old daughter) will probably not stand out at all I think”*. In the Afrikaanderwijk parents are less sure than this lady that for their children's generation things will be different, as quite a lot observe that their children feel Turkish, or foreign, rather than Dutch, especially when they go to schools in the same area with few native Dutch children. As mentioned before some Turkish respondents even based their decision on moving out of concentration areas on the wish to give their children a better chance to properly become part of the Dutch society and for native Dutch people to see them as fellow Dutch people, despite cultural difference, or difference in appearance.

Some respondents indicate that they feel less involved with the Netherlands than they used to, because of the strong debates on integration, the multicultural society and the Islam. According to Joppke (2004) Dutch society – which was for a long time known as tolerant – has become more negative toward the multicultural society and assimilation has been increasingly proposed and accepted by members of the host society. Especially Islam has increasingly been described as a 'negative other' (Ter Wal, 2004). Some of the Turkish interview respondents are rather worried about these developments and feel less wanted in the Netherlands than they did before. One man from Kralingen tells that in the time after 9-11 some of the neighbours that used to greet him, did not anymore and looked at him differently to how they did before, which was quite a painful experience. He adds that he did not do anything with these negative feelings – except talking to his wife about the situation – but he could understand young Muslims reacted to this negatively, even though it is not the right way to solve problems. Another man who just moved from the Afrikaanderwijk says he had a different stand in the integration debate, because he was born in the Netherlands and never felt the we and them feeling and never experienced discrimination before. *“Until September eleventh happened, that's when I started to feel it a bit more. I honestly became a bit gloomy and a bit miserable because of all those developments. I felt like damn it, will this get right again? That's how I felt with the appearance of the 'leefbaren', the tough statements, the toughening of our society. But gradually I have the hope that things will get better again. I mean, politicians have of course also the very important task to send of that message to the public. And I have noticed that's starting to happen a bit more again, fortunately”*.

For some, these feelings of being unwanted and of not being able to become full member of Dutch society went so far, they play with the thought of migrating 'back' to Turkey. All highly educated Turks that were interviewed in Rotterdam spontaneously talked about Turkish educated friends that moved to Turkey. One young family even had plans to move to Turkey themselves. These were almost all second generation Turks that lived most of their lives in the Netherlands and now think about moving to large cities in Western Turkey, often in places far away from the regions their parents came from. A man in his thirties who just migrated from the Afrikaanderwijk adds that it would be a real shame for the Netherlands and for the multicultural society if too many highly educated Turks leave, because you would lose good examples and people that can be valuable for the Dutch economy.

One interviewed family sold their house in Barendrecht and moved to a smaller rental flat in Kralingen to use the money to start a business. The husband now runs a company in IT staffing and call centre work for Dutch companies. They employ Dutch Turks who went back to Turkey and this way live in Istanbul and still are in contact with the Netherlands. *"There we have Dutch Turks who went back to Turkey to look for a job. They just go back because they are fed up and then end up in our company. You increasingly hear we just don't want to live in the Netherlands anymore. We are just being labelled as this and that. I used to feel more involved with the Netherlands than I do now. Unfortunately, these are the developments that are going on, people thinking we'll just leave then"*. In the longer run he wants to migrate to Turkey, probably Izmir. His wife, who migrated to the Netherlands when she was 13, is not sure about going to Turkey *"I feel more at home in the Netherlands than in Turkey now. Of course I was only 13, I have been in the Netherlands longer than I've been in Turkey now. It is quite hard to get used to some things there. Here I know what to expect, I know the rules – whether they are my rules or not – and there I would really have to adjust. It's very different now than the country I left. But it is still beautiful country"*. So while for some migrating to Turkey seems a good solution for escaping the political climate in the Netherlands, for others the thought of moving to Turkey makes them realise they did become more Dutch than they thought.

Most respondents do also add that migrating back is not as easy as some people expect, that some of their friends came back to the Netherlands because they could not get used in Turkey either. They adjusted to the Dutch society more than they thought they had. *"That is the problem with people that grew up here. They think I'm a Turk, so I will go there and manage. But with that mentality it can work out badly. You see many people who come back directly, after a couple of months, they just don't make it"*. Another issue that has been

mentioned is that in Turkey European Turks will also be considered foreign. People can hear a different accent, especially for those who never really lived in Turkey. There is even a word in Turkey for European Turks, *Almançı*. This word has a rather negative connotation. It stems from the days when European Turks – who (or who's parents) often left Turkey as uneducated workers – would come and show off their new wealth in Turkey. They are seen as 'Germanized' Turks (Kaya & Kentel, 2005). Again, there is the issue that even though people might identify themselves as Turks, the other, in this case Turks in Turkey may not see them as such.

Conclusions

To conclude, interethnic contact seems to be very important for mutual understanding as well as identification with the Netherlands. This was to be expected on basis of the contact hypothesis. People that have more contact with native Dutch people in their spare time feel more comfortable around them. By getting to know about each others habits and values and by getting to know individuals from an other background than you own, people will start looking at the 'out-group' in a more nuanced way. Or in other words people will put less value on the other's ethnicity.

This also stems from the fact that people with an ethnic minority background that have more contact with native Dutch in the spare time are more likely to feel (partly) Dutch. While the majority of people from a minority background does still feel more related to their ethnic background, those who have more contact are more likely to base their identity on both their ethnic background and the fact that they live in the Netherlands. An important conclusion from the interviews with Turks in Rotterdam is that some Turkish people claim to feel less involved with the Netherlands than they did before. The changed climate and the toughening of the integration debate have caused some people to feel less at home in the Netherlands. In some cases this even leads to migrating 'back' to Turkey, especially amongst higher educated Turks. Turkish respondents also feel it is very hard to be considered Dutch by native Dutch people, which hampers the feeling of being (partly) Dutch. In concentration areas the fact that many native Dutch families have left the neighbourhood adds to the feeling of not being wanted by the majority population for some people. As suggested by the social identity theory, group membership seems to be dependent on both how oneself feels and whether other people perceive you to be part of a group, in this case Dutch.

Conclusions

Finally it is time to present the conclusions we can draw from the research. This will be done in the following steps. In the first section of this chapter, 8.1, it will be attempted to answer the three research questions. Subsequently 8.2 will come up with some more general conclusions on interethnic contact. Thirdly, section 8.3 will take a look at a possible future for a multiethnic Netherlands and lastly in 8.4 some suggestions will be given for further research.

8.1 Concluding summary of the main findings

Occurrence of interethnic contact

The first question which will be answered is: *to what extent do ethnic minorities have contact with native Dutch, what kind of contact is this and what factors determine this contact?* The first main outcome is that the vast majority of people from an ethnic minority background do have some native Dutch friends or acquaintances. However there are many differences between people and the amount of contact they have with native Dutch people. Based on the isolation theory we expected ethnic concentration in neighbourhoods to have a hampering effect on the amount of interethnic contact. Living in a concentration neighbourhood does indeed hinder interethnic contacts occurring. As people in more concentrated areas spend less time with native Dutch people in their spare time they are more likely to have a social network consisting of mostly people from the same background. The role of ethnic concentration should however not be overestimated. The Dutch situation is nowhere near that of ghettos in the United States. The neighbourhood does hamper interethnic contact, but it does not isolate people from the host society.

The (spatial) assimilation theory assumes time is a crucial factor and ethnic minorities will integrate into the host society and get into closer contact with the majority population more and more over time. Especially when their socio-economic status increases. There are signs this is also happening in the four larger cities of the Netherlands as the second generation

has more contact with native Dutch as the first generation. Furthermore personal characteristics such as one's language proficiency and education level play a much larger role in determining the amount of interethnic contact one has than the level of ethnic concentration in one's neighbourhood. The cultural distance does seem to slow down these effects though, as for instance Antillean and Surinamese have more contact with native Dutch people than Turkish and Moroccan people.

According to the social identity theory people have a positive bias towards people from their own (ethnic) group and prefer to associate with people from a similar background, especially for more close relationships such as friendships. Turkish people in Rotterdam also indicate that their real close friends are mainly fellow Turks indeed. However this is almost never based on a real preference. People feel things just turn out that way unconsciously. Mainly because it is more easy or convenient to communicate with people from a similar background. People feel like they do not have to explain why they behave or think certain ways, which they would have to do more in a friendship with someone from the majority population.

Places for interethnic contact

Now we know more about the occurrence of interethnic contact, the places where interethnic contact might take place, answering the following question: *what places, in and outside the neighbourhood, are important for interethnic contact and what determines this?* Different potential meeting places seem to have different functions and people also have different expectations about those meeting places. The neighbourhood and workplace seem to be places where people form mostly weak ties. While schools seem to be places where more intensive friendship are also rather likely to start.

The neighbourhood is a place where most people form casual relations with people. In most cases this is about the people that live in close proximity, direct neighbours, or people from one's own street. So, in order for interethnic contact to occur it is important to avoid segregation on this small scale. If the neighbourhood as a whole is mixed, but streets are segregated, this still is likely to hamper interethnic contact. The neighbourhood is most important for people that have few other meeting places, like the unemployed, or the disabled. Having attractive public places can also help establishing contact, as well as interethnic contact, because people can very casually meet people, next to their neighbours here and people can use them with their neighbours in order to strengthen those bonds.

Also when looking at where people have contact, minor evidence for the isolation thesis is found. Living in a concentration neighbourhood does not automatically keep people from having contact with members of the majority population. Especially work is an alternative to meet native Dutch people. This counts more strongly for men than for women though, as they are more likely to go out to work. Not many people work within the own neighbourhood, so there are other opportunities to meet native Dutch people. On the other hand, living near many fellow Turks can give people more confidence to have contact with their Dutch neighbours. Although living in a concentration neighbourhood does not stop people from meeting native Dutch people, many do feel somewhat isolated by the lack of native Dutch people. This is especially seen as a problem for their children who grow up in this neighbourhood. Quite a lot of parents have thought about this problem and some have moved out of concentration neighbourhoods especially for this reason.

As concentration does not automatically stop people from meeting the majority population, living in a white area does not mean people automatically get a really mixed social network. However, it does help to increase the amount of casual contacts with native Dutch people. Again this also takes time. In Ommoord many people, especially men, still spend a lot of time in their former, concentrated neighbourhood. Friends, relatives as well as ethnic facilities, such as an Islamic butcher keep attracting Turks to their old neighbourhood. As distance and the neighbourhood have grown less important, people do not necessarily have to live in concentration areas in order to have access to ethnic facilities anymore. This is very different from in 1920's when the (spatial) assimilation theory was founded.

It has been argued that people who spend more time outside the neighbourhood, will spend less time in the neighbourhood. This is also true for Turks in Rotterdam. People who work long hours often do not have much time to spend meeting their neighbours, while for many people that are unfit to work or unemployed neighbours are more a more important part of their social network. For higher educated Turks with good jobs, the neighbourhood seems to be relatively unimportant. For this group, school, college or university and work have been much more important places to meet both friends and acquaintances. These higher educated Turks do have more contact with native Dutch than lower educated Turks do. This does not mean, however, that many interethnic relations were formed in higher education institutions as could also be expected because these are rather white environments. For many these contacts started when their careers started. As said, interethnic contact is something people need to learn and feel confident about. For many, the population of the university was rather overwhelming, certainly for those who grew up in concentration areas.

Effects on social integration

The last question to be answered is: *which kind of effects result from these contacts in terms of social integration?* Based on the contact hypothesis one would expect interethnic contact to help reduce prejudice. Indeed evidence for the contact hypothesis has been found for ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands. Contact with the members of the majority population has found to make ethnic minorities feel more comfortable around them. By getting into contact with each other people also will think about each other in a more nuanced, so less prejudiced way, which makes ethnicity a less important factor in determining one's opinion about others. In other words: there are good and bad people in every group. People realise getting to know each other is very important and find it important native Dutch people will learn a bit about their culture and habits, so people will understand each other better and thus feel more comfortable around each other.

Those people with an ethnic minority background that have contact with native Dutch in the spare time more are also more likely to feel (partly) Dutch and thus base their identity partly on living in the Netherlands. An important conclusion from the interviews with Turks in Rotterdam is that some Turkish people claim to feel less involved with the Netherlands than they did before. The changed climate and the toughening of the integration debate have caused some people to feel less at home in the Netherlands. This is in line with the competition theory, which argues interethnic contact will lead to competition between groups and people and will thus cause frictions. In order to start feeling Dutch, native Dutch people will also have to accept minorities as being Dutch and full-fledged citizens of the Netherlands. In the Afrikaanderwijk the fact that many native Dutch families have left the neighbourhood adds to the feeling of not being wanted for some people. This reduced involvement with the Netherlands sometimes results in people moving 'back' to Turkey. Many higher educated Turks in Rotterdam know people or friends that went to work in Turkey, because they felt like they had more opportunities there of because they felt unwanted in the Netherlands.

8.2 General conclusions

In this section we will look at what this study of ethnic minorities in the four largest cities of the Netherlands, and especially Turks in Rotterdam, teaches us about interethnic contact in general.

The first important conclusion is that an in-group bias is often not based on an active preference, but rather on a feeling of comfort, safety, knowing what to expect. For ethnic minorities, as well as the host society, interethnic contact is a skill one needs to learn. Communication is hard enough with people that are similar to you and that have been brought up with similar values and norms. Communicating with people from different backgrounds is something quite different, and adds challenges to communication. This learning process takes time for people as individuals as well as minority groups.

Furthermore, although highly educated people have more contact with members of the majority population, this does not automatically mean they have met their native Dutch contacts during their school or university years. Again, interethnic contact comes with a learning process. Indeed, as higher education institutions are a very 'white' environment this can be quite overwhelming. In order to feel safe in such an environment a protection mechanism can be to find friends from your own background. However, this does not necessarily mean self-isolation from the host society. Many actually learn valuable skills in ethnic student associations, which they can use later in their careers. This argument is in line with the emancipation theory which assumes that the comfort of being around people of your own background, can help you to develop and to move upwards in the host society.

8.3 Future

After discussing the main findings, we will now think about the implications this may have for the future of multiethnic Holland. Ethnic concentration turns out to play only a minor role in determining the amount of contact one has with members of the majority population. However, as segregation has been increasing over the past years, there is a danger of this effect getting stronger. Children growing up in a concentrated neighbourhood often go to a so-called black school in which the concentration is sometimes even higher than that of the neighbourhood. This generation of children is growing up in an environment in which they meet very few native Dutch people and peers, which denies them the chance of getting to know the majority population to its full extent. In the Afrikaanderwijk many of the children of the interview respondents hardly have any contact with native Dutch people, mainly because they do not meet many in either the neighbourhood or in school. Here some of the parents felt more comfortable and capable of communicating with native Dutch people. Assimilation factors, such as education level and generation, which now are strongly positively related to the amount of contact minorities have with the majority population could lose their strength if concentration keeps getting deeper.

Another factor which can be very important to increase interethnic contact in the big cities of the Netherlands is to encourage women, especially Turkish and Moroccan, to seek employment. For men this is an important place to meet people from other backgrounds and for women there is a lot to gain there. Having a job will give women and their families a better socio-economic position, create more situations in which women will have to speak Dutch and it will hopefully generate more interethnic contact and thus comfort and understanding.

In order for the multiethnic society to stay liveable it will be important to give everyone the feeling they are part of Dutch society. The danger of the hardening of the integration debate is that people will feel marginalised and unwanted and thus will isolate themselves more from the host society rather than increase interethnic contact. This could make thinking in terms of us versus them even stronger and even the fear for the unknown. It is very important to stay in dialogue to find a way Dutch society could work for all ethnic groups.

8.4 Further research

Many interesting results did arise from this study. It has also drawn the attention to issues which deserve further research. This has resulted in some suggestions for further research having been added.

First of all, it is important to do more research on growing up in highly concentrated neighbourhoods. Much research has been carried out on the neighbourhood one lives in now, but less has been done on the neighbourhood young people grow up in. Many respondents say they had to go through some kind of learning process to get into contact with native Dutch people and in order to feel comfortable around the majority population. So, does growing up in a mixed environment make it easier later in life to integrate and become a full-fledged citizen of the Netherlands?

Second, there should be more research on the different types of white neighbourhoods in which members of minority groups could live. Does it make a difference whether people go and live in old white suburbs, or in newly built neighbourhoods where everyone is new. Respondents have stated that there are rumours in inner-city neighbourhoods about discrimination in old white neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. It would be interesting to see whether it is easier to establish interethnic contact in newer areas, than in older

neighbourhoods where an influx of minorities means a change to the situation a neighbourhood has already known for years.

Thirdly, in my opinion more research is necessary on the interethnic contact in the workplace in the Netherlands. Research has focused very much on interethnic contact in neighbourhoods, without paying much attention to other possible interethnic meeting places. It is important to see different meeting places in comparison to each other. There are some statistics on how likely native Dutch people are to work with ethnic minorities, but the other way round there is much less knowledge.

A last issue that came up in this study which was unplanned was the re-migration wish of many highly educated Turks who often came to the Netherlands as young children, or were even born here and are now in their thirties and have a nice career. Many feel less wanted and less bonded to the Netherlands since 9-11 and since the hardening of the Dutch political debate. It is important to do more research on what the motives of these people are, and what could be done to keep them in the Netherlands. Because of the aging of the Dutch population it would be a shame to lose these young people from our workforce. Furthermore, it would be a pity to lose these good examples of young Turks which are doing well in Dutch society.

Now we are at the end of this thesis. It has become clear that most people from a minority background have some form of interethnic contact, although there are many differences between people in where and how frequent this takes place. Although segregation does hamper interethnic contact somewhat, the effect is not huge, while an increasing level of education and the coming of new generations seems to play a larger role. I am confident interethnic contact will increase over the years. Only time will tell what the future will bring.



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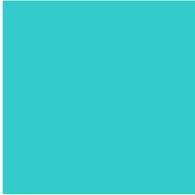
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Appendix I

Respondents

Afrikaanderwijk

Mehmet Çınar
Fatma Düzgün
Muaalla Basayigit
Turan Yazır
Mrs. Kurtoğlu
Ünal Fırat
Veysel Liman

Kralingen-West

Dhr. Topuz
Dhr. Özçelik
Mesut Disli
Dhr. Yılmaz
Şerife Cankurtaran
A. Gürsu
Özgül Tarımcı
Reyhan Çakır-Sakallı

Marcel Tiel

Ommoord

Hakan Koçak
Dhr. Jarmohamed
Ali Bulutbeyaz
Serap Tüzüner
Hussein Başoğlu
Arzu Muratoğlu
Zorlu family
Fermanı Muratoğlu
Arman Özyılmaz

Miranda Mulder