Maurice Crul & Frans Lelie

The New Minority

People Without a Migration Background
in the Superdiverse City

VU University Press

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This book is available on paper and as an open access publication in both English and Dutch.

English

Dutch

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Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider and Frans Lelie previously wrote *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration.*

Interviewer:

Why do you think Reinout Oerlemans and you work so well together, while you are so different?

LL Cool J:

I tell you something. Probably the recipe for disaster is to do the homogeneous thing. You need to have people to think differently to solve it. For real. You know what I mean? That is why it is an advantage.

Foreword

Almost everyone has an opinion on migration, diversity and racism. Both the public debate and academic research usually focus on people with a migration background, while relatively little is known about how people without a migration background – the subject of this book – feel about living in today's superdiverse cities. The tone of the public debate is often negative, which seems to be in direct contradiction of the fact that an increasing number of people without a migration background want to live in superdiverse cities and neighbourhoods and are willing to pay increasingly large sums of money in order to do so. The aim of this book, which is full of personal reflections, analyses, interview fragments and infographics, is to make a substantiated contribution to explaining these apparent contradictions. Thanks to the Becoming a Minority (BaM) study on which this book is based, we are now able to answer these questions and provide insight into how people actually experience living together in a superdiverse city.

We would like to say a big thank you to the more than three thousand people without a migration background who participated in the BaM survey and in-depth interviews. Their answers and deliberations gave us insight into how they experience everyday life in their superdiverse neighbourhood. On the one hand, the results paint an optimistic picture showing that most people see the practice of living together as something that enriches their lives. But at the same time, we must emphasize that living together harmoniously does not just happen spontaneously: it requires a degree of effort. Thousands of books have been written about what people with a migration background should do in order to fit in. This book shows how people *without* a migration background can learn the art of living together.

Before we start, we would like to thank in alphabetical order, a number of people who commented on earlier versions of this book: Sinan Çankaya, Jan Hoogeveen, Elif Keskiner, Laure Michon, Lore van Praag, Annelies Vlasblom and Ismintha Waldring. Our thanks go to Ilke Jacobs from the VU University Press for suggesting that we make this book accessible for a wide audience. We would also like to thank Annelies Vlasblom and Sander Oenema from Creatief Bureau Zeppa for their creative translation of the BaM data into infographics and Liz Cross for doing such a great

This book is dedicated to our children, who both grew up in Amsterdam. They are adults now, and were able to learn the art of living in a superdiverse city from an early age.

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How do you integrate into the superdiverse city?

Introduction

In 2013, together with Jens Schneider, we published a short book entitled *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration*. Our aim was to reach a broad audience of policymakers, teachers, students and other interested parties. Since then, our little book has been translated into several languages (it is available in English, German, French and Dutch) and has been downloaded more than one hundred thousand times. It is used by many people working in education and quoted by policymakers. This book is its sequel.

What exactly do we mean when we use the concept of superdiversity in this book? We use this word to indicate the presence of extremely high levels of diversity. Not only do people living in a superdiverse city come from more different places in the world than ever before, but they also differ from each other in a great many other ways. For example, people from the same geographical area may differ from each other with regard to their education level, gender, sexual orientation, income, migration history, family composition, how their body and brain functions or whether they grew up in a village or in a city – the list is endless. Perhaps what is even more important than the fact that people may differ from each other with regard to all these aspects is that they can also feel a connection with each other on the basis of one or more of them.

With *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration* we wanted to formulate an alternative use of the concept of integration. Whereas integration focuses on individual

migrants or groups of migrants, the concept of superdiversity focuses on the context. You may have a superdiverse city, neighbourhood or school, but the superdiverse context in itself says nothing about the outcome. The concept of superdiversity describes a factual situation of diversity. The word 'super' does not mean 'fantastic'. A superdiverse city is not necessarily a place where diversity has only positive outcomes.

Why does one superdiverse city develop into a pleasant place to live in, while another superdiverse city is characterized by high levels of polarization and conflict? Although much has been written about the concept of superdiversity, this question has not yet been explored. The aim of this book was to fill this gap by building a step-by-step framework to predict why and how a superdiverse city or neighbourhood will develop into a pleasant or unpleasant context in which to live. To do this, we listened to what the people living in superdiverse majority-minority neighbourhoods (MM neighbourhoods) had to say on this topic by setting up our Becoming a Minority (BaM) project, which focuses on people without a migration background. The outcomes of this survey have revealed a number of mechanisms and characteristics that facilitate a pleasant social climate in superdiverse cities and neighbourhoods. These are not only the characteristics of the people living in these places and the political climate, but also the ethnic composition of schools, the efforts made by various organizations and the activities that people can engage in. A neighbourhood's architectural features and the way in which housing blocks have been structured also seem to have an impact.

In our book, *Superdiversity*, we concentrated on people with a migration background, specifically the children of migrants (the second generation) in fifteen European cities. The book you are reading now is the result of our efforts to develop our perspective on the superdiverse city in more detail by including people *without* a migration background (see appendix 1 for an explanation of this concept). These people, who often constitute a 'forgotten group' in the integration debate, are also part of the superdiverse city.

But before we shift our focus towards this new target group, we would like to go back to 2013, when we defined a number of possible scenarios for superdiverse cities based on the results of our large-scale international *TIES survey*[*]. Following Dominique Moïsi (2009), on the one hand we saw a possible 'scenario of hope and empower-

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[*]   *The Integration of The European Second Generation* (TIES), was a study conducted in fifteen European cities in which more than ten thousand respondents participated.

ment', and on the other hand, a potential 'scenario of fear and humiliation'. The TIES study showed that in some cities, the way in which the school system and access to the employment market were organized gave migrants and their children few – sometimes extremely few – opportunities for social mobility. Racism and exclusion were commonplace. These cities were running the risk of developing a scenario of fear and polarization in which people with a migration background feel humiliated. There were, however, cities where the integration context gave the second generation opportunities for social mobility. In these cities, there was emancipation, hope, and identification with the country and city where people were living. We mainly observed the negative scenario in German and Austrian cities, and the positive scenario in Sweden and in the French education system, although there are many obstacles in the way of young people with a migration background seeking access to the French employment market. The outcomes of the TIES survey in Dutch and Belgian cities hovered somewhere between these two scenarios.

For our new project, we returned to many of the cities we had studied earlier to discover which scenario had triumphed: the scenario of hope or the scenario of fear. The title, The New Minority, refers to the tipping point after which people without a migration background no longer constitute the numerical majority in a city. In 2013, we wrote that the point at which the composition of a city changes so that the majority of its inhabitants are part of a minority (for a detailed explanation of the term majority-minority context, see appendix 1) is a crucial transition phase during which tensions in society may increase. Slowly, however, a new equilibrium will develop, as we can see in cities like New York or Toronto. Now, in 2023, this period of change is well underway, as many large West-European cities either have become majority-minority cities or are on the verge of this tipping point.

Ten years ago, we wrote that engaging in friendships that transcend ethnic boundaries is crucial to bringing about a scenario of hope in our superdiverse cities. Interethnic friendships are a good indicator of a scenario of hope and make an important contribution to social cohesion in superdiverse neighbourhoods. In 2013, we quoted Martha Nussbaum (2012), who emphasizes the important role of interethnic friendships in preventing conflict and discrimination. We wrote:

> 'The dense network of contacts outside one's own group that is woven by interethnic friendships in everyday life at school, work and during free time is essential to social cohesion in a city. Thanks to this network, ideas and opinions can be exchanged between groups and superficial perceptions that groups often have of each other can be replaced by a more nuanced picture. It's all about what Ash Amin, the Indian social geographer, calls

elective affinities; self-chosen friendships (Amin 2012). These friendships make it possible to see the other without experiencing their "otherness" as a threat.'

But friendships between people with and people without a migration background do not just spring up spontaneously. For such friendships to form, people must be able to encounter each other, not just at the grocer's shop, but also in places and during activities where they can engage in meaningful interethnic contact. It appears that the spatial organization of a neighbourhood or housing block is an important factor. In this book, we show which interventions help to make superdiverse neighbourhoods a pleasant place to live in together. The basic premise of this book is that living together in a pleasant way in a superdiverse city requires everyone – migrants, their children, and people without a migration background – to make an effort. The BaM project shows that it is now the turn of the people without a migration background to make a move.

The century of the practice of living together

In the 21st century, in all of the world's major cities, more people from different backgrounds are living together than ever before. Whether you are living in Singapore, Toronto, Cape Town, Dubai, New York or Brussels, you will encounter people who are very different from you with regard to ethnic origin, religious conviction and skin colour practically everywhere. The main challenge facing this century is how we are all going to live together in a pleasant way. We do not think that the concept of integration as we know it from the last century is fit to meet this challenge. It may have made sense when describing a process whereby smaller groups of migrants were absorbed into a large majority group, but it cannot help us to discover the conditions that will allow us to enjoy living together in today's superdiverse societies. Whereas the goal in the 20th century was to achieve the successful integration of migrants into society, the goal in this century is to achieve a successful practice of living together. In contrast to the traditional idea of integration, the aim is not adaptation to a norm group, but adaptation to a life of diversity. To create a successful practice of living together in the superdiverse city, it is not necessary for people to resemble each other or to all share the same opinions. What is important is the ability to live together in a pleasant manner with people who are different from you.

The famous English sociologist Paul Gilroy (2004) introduced the term *conviviality* to describe *the ability to be 'at ease' in contexts of diversity*. This concept has been further developed by other authors. Although this is a very useful term, it does not express exactly what we mean. A central idea that we would like to elaborate on in this book is what we call 'the practice of living together'. We opted for this simpler idea because it comes closer to our objective, which is to study what is required in order to create a pleasant social climate in a superdiverse neighbourhood. Other than Gilroy in his book, we do not think that living together will automatically lead to the emergence of a new hybrid culture that transcends ethnic and racial divides. In contrast to other authors who have written about conviviality, we do not think that it is enough for people to just leave each other in peace, to live and let live, but otherwise live separately alongside each other. We would like there to be more space to allow for ambivalent feelings towards living together and for the possibility that people do not agree with each other. People think very differently about all kinds of things and not only is this not a bad thing, it actually makes life more interesting. However, we do think that for a neighbourhood to be a pleasant place to live in, it is important that the people living there do not merely co-exist in the same space. There should at least be a minimum of contact across ethnic group boundaries. This is why this book gives more weight to the actual practice of living together than to people's opinions. One reason for this is that, in our survey, we encountered a significant group of people without a migration background who, on the one hand, said they saw migration-related diversity as a threat, but, on the other, reported having a positive relationship with their neighbours with a migration background. This group, which seems so paradoxical at first sight, attracted our interest. Despite their negative opinions on diversity, these people were contributing to a successful practice of living together in their neighbourhood.

The practice of living together can be studied among both people with and without a migration background. Let's take, for example, a first-generation Moroccan-Dutch woman who is traditional and religious. Although she speaks poor Dutch, she has a cordial relationship with her neighbour, who is of Dutch origin. She also knows all of the neighbourhood children in the street by name and confronts them when they get up to mischief. Now, let's look at her neighbour, a highly-educated man without a migration background who has little or no contact with his neighbours. According to traditional ideas about integration, the woman is poorly integrated into Dutch society, but if we look at her from the perspective of the practice of living together, we see that she is making an important contribution. According to traditional ideas about integration, the well-educated man without a migration background is the norm to which other people should adapt. This man, however, makes no significant contribution to the practice of living together.

Contributing to a successful practice of living together does not automatically mean that people are always more tolerant or understanding of each other. There will always be differences of opinion and intolerance to some extent, even in neighbourhoods where there is, for the most part, a successful practice of living together. Greater understanding for each other can, however, be a by-product of the practice of living together. The more we are able to engage with people who are very different from us, the more pleasant it will be to live in a diverse society. All of these individual actions contribute to a pleasant social climate in the neighbourhood, which is, one could say, the higher goal. In this book, we will examine the art of a successful practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

In order to measure a successful practice of living together, we need new criteria. It seems that in order to enjoy living together in a superdiverse city, it is important, but not necessary, for people to be open to other cultures. What is indispensable, however, is that enough people are able to engage in meaningful relationships across ethnic group boundaries. People with a migration background learn from an early age to engage with people who are different from them in many ways. Many people without a migration background, however, have grown up in a considerably less diverse environment and have not usually learnt how to function in a diverse context from an early age. In other words, they have some catching up to do when it comes to the practice of living together. This is why we have chosen in this book to study people without a migration background who are living in a superdiverse city. If we are all to achieve a successful practice of living together, this group will also have to participate.

The Schilderswijk district and the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood

In this paragraph, we will describe how we took our first steps towards the practice of living together. As people without a migration background, we discovered this practice in the 1980s through a process of trial and error, accompanied by the inevitable conflicts and uneasy confrontations. Back then, we were both living on the outskirts of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood in The Hague, and were active in the Dutch anti-apartheid movement. This experience taught us important practical lessons about the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

In the 1980s, the Schilderswijk neighbourhood was characterized by high levels of unemployment and poverty. We made ends meet by participating in the neighbourhood's grey economy and like many of our generation we were strongly politically

engaged. One of the most important issues in our time was the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Hague had a broad coalition of anti-apartheid activists consisting of both black and white South African political exiles who were studying there or living as refugees; neighbourhood and migrant anti-racism groups; trade union members; church anti-apartheid activists and activists from the squatters' movement.

Our political activism and life in the multicultural Schilderswijk neighbourhood gave us our first real education and consciousness-raising on the role of skin colour, power, racism and oppression. It was an important experience that taught us a great deal. The long struggle against the apartheid regime that was waged in South Africa and many other countries was eventually successful. Nelson Mandela was released from prison, and shortly afterwards, he visited Amsterdam and The Hague. In The Hague, he met South African political refugees, who invited us to attend this event. The meeting was chaotic because the emotions felt by all of the South Africans created a heady cocktail of comradeship, warmth and the glow of victory. A large pitcher of orange juice was knocked over and almost landed on Winnie Mandela's lap. People hugged each other and sang anthems. Although we had been campaigning together for years, we suddenly felt very white and rather ill at ease. But then we were embraced by our South African friends and drawn into the festivities. This was a decisive gesture that exemplified what we could call the practice of living together.

The small, yet diverse anti-apartheid movement in The Hague was one of the contexts in which we learnt that although the differences between us could not be denied, they could be bridged. Another political context in which we learnt this lesson was the Arab film evening in our alternative cinema. These film evenings, which we organized together with a Palestinian doctor, attracted a mix of Arabic-speaking youngsters from all over South Holland, as well as many Dutch-Moroccan youngsters from the Schilderswijk and surrounding neighbourhoods. As white Dutch people, we clearly formed a numerical minority in the evenings when films in Arabic were shown, and topics like the situation in Palestine were discussed. In this book, we will show that many people have learnt to deal with diversity and the practice of living together during all kinds of activities attended by all kinds of people.

At the same time, we were also learning the practice of living together by trial and error through living in the Schilderswijk neighbourhood. During this period, the neighbourhood was undergoing its transformation from a white, working-class, Dutch neighbourhood to the multicultural neighbourhood it has been for decades. It was also the period of large-scale building projects, when entire streets were demolished and houses were sometimes boarded up for years on end. The neighbourhood tensions created by these rigorous measures could be felt everywhere. The ultra-

nationalistic Centrum Party, led by Hans Janmaat, was on the rise and his followers were becoming increasingly vocal. The Schilderswijk neighbourhood was one of the first real majority-minority neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. We would now like to give a brief sketch of the atmosphere in the neighbourhood in the 1980s, to try to capture its essence. Many of the aspects described below will recur throughout this book.

One of us lived at the edge of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood in a flat that was due for demolition, while the second author lived in Vaillantlaan, the broad thoroughfare that cuts this neighbourhood in two. We were both working on a market for second-hand goods and in the kitchen of a cheap restaurant. The following sketch is from the first author, Maurice Crul.

'One of my first interactions in my new neighbourhood was with a group of young boys who used the entrance gate to the small courtyard beside my front door as a goal post when playing football, the thuds of their football resounding noisily in my living room. One day, I had had enough of the racket, so I went downstairs and called from the doorway: "Hey, can you go do that somewhere else?" My request had zero effect, so after a while, I went back downstairs and grabbed the ball in one swift movement. I told the boys that they could only have their ball back if they left. The father of one of the boys happened to see what was going on: he walked straight up to me and punched me right in the face, making me drop the ball. A few weeks later, I was playing football with friends on the field in front of my house. The same young boys walked up, holding a ball. I asked if they wanted to join in. They nodded, a bit shyly, delighted at being allowed to play with the big boys. From that time on, I was greeted enthusiastically on the street by these boys - and also by their father.

The little row of buildings marked for demolition in my block formed a small, close-knit world with a scrap iron shop, a garage, a rag and bone man* who had two small horses stalled behind in the alleyway and 'cat woman' Annie. If you walked further down the alleyway, you came to a street for sex workers. The landlords no longer carried out any maintenance work on the houses in our block, so the residents had to do everything themselves. The only time the government made their presence felt among the people living in our block

was when demands for gas and electricity bills, fines and other judicial documents came through their letterbox. If someone's gas or electricity was disconnected - a regular occurrence in the neighbourhood - there was always someone who could reconnect them illegally. In the winter, the gas metres were tilted, so that they would run more slowly. This is what the literature calls a grey, or informal economy, but actually it would be more accurate to call it a survival economy. The 'cat woman', an aging woman and a former sex worker had taken in around twenty cats. She was regularly given tins of cat food if one of the residents had "had a good day" or if someone had shoplifted one for her in the supermarket. Both forms of neighbourly help were discussed in the street corner café and approved of by everyone.'

Some of our neighbours, the white, born-and-bred denizens of Schilderswijk, saw their neighbourhood change at lightning speed. They called the new residents with a migration background 'the foreigners'. But often, these 'foreigners' were also their friends. They drank coffee together, sitting outside their houses on camping stools while their children played together. This was a good example of the famous statement: 'There are too many foreigners, but our Surinamese neighbours are lovely people.' When they went on holiday, neighbours without a migration background gave their keys to the Moroccan woman living upstairs, so that she could keep an eye on things. On Sunday, they bought Turkish bread from 'the foreigners' because it was so nice and fresh. But at the same time, they would loudly complain that all the Dutch butchers and bakers were disappearing. Some of the people living in the neighbourhood were downright racist. If anyone pulled them up on this, they would often say, 'But I didn't mean it like that.' At the same time, we saw that in practice, their everyday contact with the newcomers to the neighbourhood was often warm and helpful. This taught us that there is a large grey area in which a pleasant practice of living together may coexist alongside racist comments.

The Schilderswijk neighbourhood was a barrel full of contradictory statements and behaviour, human warmth and violent conflicts between neighbours: an everyday practice of living together. It all coexisted back then; just as it does today, and as we shall see in this book.

We swapped the Schilderswijk neighbourhood for a working-class Amsterdam neighbourhood with a similar population over thirty years ago. What was going on in the Schilderswijk in the 1980s was also happening in many working-class neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg. Later, many other neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Sweden and Belgium were to follow this trend, and gradually change in terms of population composition.

Researching the forgotten group: people without a migration background

In 2006, we started conducting research into the importance of the integration context for young people with a migration background from the second generation. This study shifted attention away from the integration of ethnic groups to focus on the way in which the integration context influences school trajectories and employment careers (Crul & Schneider 2010; Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012). The TIES study formed the basis for our book *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration*. During this research, we compared the outcomes for young people of the second generation in a number of areas with those of young adults without a migration background living in the same neighbourhoods. We used the same definition of the group without a migration background as we do now, applying it to people who were born in the country being researched, both of whose parents were also born in that country. This group served as our control group. We asked the young people without a migration background the same questions as the young people with a migration background, with the exception of the questions about migration. In some areas, we found marked similarities between the two groups, but in others there were major differences. In particular, there were large differences with regard to their circle of friends. Both groups were growing up in what we now call superdiverse neighbourhoods, but whereas the young adults of the second generation had a very mixed group of friends from different backgrounds, the young adults without a migration background had a much less mixed circle of friends. This was an unexpected outcome for us, which prompted us to ask how people without a migration background actually live with their neighbours in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

'Over the past few years, whenever anyone asked us what our next research project would be, we would say 'We are going to research the new minority in the city', then ask 'What do you think is the new minority in this city?' Naturally, this was a trick question. People usually realized that we were up to something and took their time to consider their answer. All kinds of unexpected population groups were suggested. It was striking that people with a migration background came up with the right answer much more often than people without a migration background. In the debate on the multicultural society, people without a migration background often have a blind spot when it comes to their own part in this story. For over forty years, the debate has been all about the integration of migrants, their children, and nowadays, even their grandchildren. Indicators have been developed, monitor systems set up and numerous theories published, all to study the integration of this group. The people without a migration background, however, are nearly always absent from all this research into

integration, even though their world has undergone sweeping changes due to the enormous demographic shifts that have taken place, especially in large cities. Never before have so many people from such distant places and with such large differences regarding culture and background lived in European cities.

For some time now, there has been a great deal of research and focus both on people who vote for populist right-wing parties and their motives for doing so (Brown et al. 2021; Dahlström & Esaiasson 2013; Rooduijn et al. 2017; Sipma & Berning 2021; Stockemer 2016). But these people only account for a small minority of the population in large cities. We wanted to obtain a general picture of how people without a migration background experience living in the superdiverse city. Do they feel part of the diverse society? Do they perceive cultural differences as threatening, or as something that enriches their lives? What contribution do they make to living together in such a diverse city? The little research that has been conducted on this topic shows that people without a migration background participate less in the superdiverse city and feel isolated there more often than people with a migration background (Gest 2016; Haga 2000; Jiménez 2017; Wessendorf 2014).

Even though people without a migration background are by now a minority in many large cities, they are still the largest minority group. This means that their contribution to the practice of living together in today's superdiverse cities is of crucial importance. We therefore need to examine which factors determine whether or not this group becomes part of the superdiverse city and neighbourhood they are living in, the extent to which they actively contribute to living together in the superdiverse city and how their contribution can be increased.

The Becoming a Minority project

We felt that after more than twenty-five years of researching migrants, it was now time for us to focus on people without a migration background. This idea formed the basis for the *Becoming a Minority* research project. BaM is an international study of the experiences and perceptions of people without a migration background living in superdiverse cities. We selected people living in majority-minority neighbourhoods in six major West-European cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Malmö, Hamburg and Vienna (https://bamproject.eu). For more information about these cities and the research design of the BaM project, please see appendix 1.

When presenting this project to the media, we asked: 'How integrated are the people without a migration background in the superdiverse cities they are living in?' We soon noticed that this approach to the topic of integration seemed to be putting some

noses out of joint. Apparently, using the word integration in relation to the group without a migration background (or white Dutch people, as some Dutch media refer to this group) is a strong taboo. Some publicists described the idea that people without a migration background should also adapt to the new reality of a diverse society as a form of capitulation to the assumed norms and values of migrant groups. The most extreme form of any such capitulation, they asserted, would see women of Dutch descent being forced to wear a headscarf in the future. This powerful, widely-known image has been evoked by right-wing populists in other European countries when talking about the changing demographic reality in major cities. In response to these reactions, we tried to come up with different words and concepts that might provoke less resistance. Instead of using the word integration, for example, we now often speak of 'participation' or 'being part of the diverse society'. These terms seem to be a lot less controversial.

We still think that considering integration as a two-way concept is relevant when thinking about this topic. According to the Collin's dictionary, integration means 'the act of combining or adding parts to make a unified whole'. The Ensie encyclopaedia adds: 'An important characteristic of integration is that the inclusion of people or groups of people comes from both sides. Both the arriving party and the receiving party adapt to each other, leading to a merger between those two people or population groups'.

In this book, we have put the practice of living together at the heart of integration in the superdiverse city. If people with very different background characteristics are to enjoy living together, both people with and people without a migration background will have to make an effort. Our answer to the powerful image propagated by right-wing populists is that the practice of living together does not depend on whether you accept or reject another person's cultural customs. You may profoundly disagree with them. What's more important for the practice of living together is that you are still able to work or live with your colleague or neighbour in a pleasant manner. This is what we call a successful practice of living together.

Some people say that categorizing and labelling groups as people with and without a migration background is exactly what is at the heart of the problematic discussions about diversity and migration. This point of view, which is being raised increasingly often, both inside and outside academic circles, argues that if only we were to stop categorizing people into groups, the emphasis would be on the similarities between people rather than the differences. There is much to be said for this approach. People often share more similarities than differences, and from the perspective of biology there is only one human race. At the same time, there is a strong social movement that argues that it is important to acknowledge the existence of differences in ethnicity

and skin colour because of the enormous impact they have on a person's position in society. In this book, we agree with Pat Parker, an American poet and activist who wrote these words in 1978: 'The first thing you do is to forget that I'm Black. Second, you must never forget that I'm Black'. Our skin colour and ethnic background may be characteristics that we have not chosen, but they still define us to an important extent, depending on the context. This is why, according to Pat Parker, we must see another person's skin colour. But she also says that we must never reduce a person to the colour of their skin. Other characteristics are just as important and may also serve to connect people and transcend differences in ethnicity and skin colour. Parker thus summed up the two main conditions required in order for people of different ethnicities or skin colours to live together. This requires both awareness of the difference and a willingness to bridge this difference in practice.

Why, you may ask, are we focusing on the difference between people with or without a migration background and not on differences regarding ethnicity or skin colour when examining the practice of living together? This is a valid question. On the one hand, our reason for this is rooted in practicality. Administrative data systems in Europe do not make distinctions based on skin colour. This means that it is difficult to conduct quantitative research based on differences in skin colour. But what is even more important is that skin colour is a continuum. This is illustrated by Humanae, a project by Brazilian artist Angelica Dass, who has so far taken more than four thousand portraits in thirty-six cities, in twenty countries, using Pantone colour codes to categorize all the different skin tones[*]. Furthermore, the importance of someone's skin colour is strongly related to the context. Therefore, researchers often choose to make distinctions based on ethnicity rather than skin colour. These data are usually available in administrative records. But here also, the dividing line is not razor sharp. The problem of the concept of ethnic origin is that people of a specific origin continue to be labelled as such, even when they have been living in a different country for generations. Mixed relationships are making the variety of ethnic origins even greater.

A new categorization in administrative data has been created, which we consider less problematic because it is based on life course. This more sociological categorization distinguishes between people with or without a migration background. It groups people based on a factual part of their life history. In this book, it is non-migration – not moving to another country – that is the most important characteristic of the respondents' life history. This book looks at the group of people whose family did not emigrate just two generations ago. This group has a longer tradition of living in the country being studied and may therefore have stronger opinions on how certain

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[*]   https://angelicadass.com/photography/humanae/

things should be done (norms and values) on the basis of what are also known as traditions. It is also a group that may have less experience with living in a diverse context. How is this group dealing with a society that has undergone sweeping changes as a result of migration? We explicitly wanted to study relevant differences that may be found within this group, such as gender, education, or the context in which they grew up. Who is contributing to the successful practice of living together and who is hindering it? These different positions and their impact together form the components of our theoretical framework for the practice of living together in the superdiverse city.

A new theory on the practice of living together in the superdiverse city

When relatively small groups of migrants arrived in Western Europe's major cities in the 1960s and 1970s, the concept of integration was a logical way to describe how small numerical minorities had to adapt to the large majority group. Describing this process was also the core of assimilation theories in the United States (Alba & Nee 2003; Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). In the US, the concept of assimilation is a key word in theories on migration-related diversity. Assimilation literally means becoming more similar to the dominant group in both economic and social terms. During this process, people without a migration background are mainly seen as the passive norm group to which newcomers have to adapt. This was expressed by all kinds of indicators that were developed by migration researchers to measure whether assimilation was succeeding or failing. The greater the extent to which you had adopted habits from the culture of those without a migrant background or had friends or a partner from the majority group, the more assimilated you had become and the closer you were to becoming part of society (Alba & Nee 2003).

The question is whether in the new millennium this mechanism still works in the same way. There are two important reasons for doubting this assumption. First, newcomers arriving in major cities in Europe or North America today, especially those with lower levels of education, often start out in very diverse neighbourhoods where people without a migration background form an increasingly small numerical minority. When the children of migrant workers first entered the education system in the 1960s and 1970s, they were generally assigned to a class in which the overwhelming majority of children did not have a migration background. Today, most new migrant children arrive in classrooms where the overwhelming majority of children also have a migration background. It is inevitable that their process of integrating into their class and, consequently, everyday life, will be entirely different. There has been relatively little research into how different this process is.

The second reason for reconsidering the concept of integration is that the situation of the people without a migration background has changed greatly. In the 1960s and 1970s, their role with respect to the newcomers was mainly that of a host. They received the newcomers and explained how things worked in, say, Dutch, Belgian or German society. Although many people without a migration background were already adopting minor new customs and habits during those years and were enthusiastically embracing the exciting new additions to their national cuisine, no one asked them to adapt to the changing urban reality. Once again, this was only natural in view of the relatively small groups that had to fit in with the large majority group.

After more than fifty years of migration, the demographic reality in the large cities has greatly changed the context in which integration must take place. Today, three out of the four largest cities in the Netherlands are what is known as majority-minority cities (MM cities)[*] . We see a similar trend in Belgian cities such as Antwerp and Brussels. More than 50 percent of the inhabitants of these cities has a migration background, so everyone living there – including the group without a migration background – belongs to a numerical minority. Only one in three of the inhabitants of these cities under the age of fifteen does not have a migration background, and in Antwerp this number is even one in four. This means that children without a migration background will more often encounter situations at school, on the football field and in the street in which they are a numerical minority. This raises the question of whether the image of the passive norm group presented by traditional thinking on integration still corresponds to the situation in which these children are growing up. This is not a normative question, but what researchers would call an empirical question. Answers to this question must be sought in a practical setting by examining the experiences and opinions of this group. What does living in a diverse city such as Amsterdam, Malmö or Vienna mean for people without a migration background? To what extent are they either becoming part of the diverse city or retreating into their own 'white bubble'? Robert Putnam, the famous American demographer, described this process as 'hunkering down' (Putnam 2007). In our opinion, other concepts are required to analyse what is happening in cities in the new millennium than the concept of integration used in the second half of the last century. We need new concepts that are better equipped to describe the process of living together in a superdiverse city for both people with and people without a migration background.

In this book, we have developed a theoretical framework for the superdiverse city that is roughly characterized by two aspects. In the first, and most fundamental change to the traditional idea of integration, 'being integrated' within the context of

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the superdiverse city or neighbourhood entails a shift away from the vague idea (which is different for everyone anyway) of adapting to Dutch (or German, Belgian, Austrian or Swedish) society towards adapting to living in a superdiverse context. To achieve the latter, we need a new practice of living together. In the old way of thinking about integration, adapting to the 'Dutch norm' was the pathway to a successful future for people with a migration background. But the question we need to ask nowadays is: What conditions are required for a pleasant life and success in a diverse city like Amsterdam, Antwerp or Vienna? Isn't the new path to success in today's metropolitan context having the ability to deal with the huge differences that diversity in the city brings, both for those with and those without a migration background? We are not only thinking of differences in skin colour and origin, but also of differences regarding belief systems and gender. For example, shouldn't a manager in a diverse city like Rotterdam who is in charge of a superdiverse team take the diversity in her team as a basic premise and act accordingly in order to be successful? Once again, this is an empirical question, not a normative one.

Second, if we take this step together, we can no longer assume that integration is a one-sided process that should primarily be seen as something that only concerns people with a migration background. We must look at this process in the light of its original meaning: as a bilateral or actually multilateral process in which several parts converge to form a new whole. All groups together have to make the practice of living together possible. It is only logical that the success of this process depends not only on the adaptability of people with a migration background, but also on the adaptability of those without a migration background. If a person without a migration background does not or no longer feels at home in their multicultural neighbourhood and experiences the interactions in their neighbourhood as unpleasant, this will often be attributed to a failure on the part of people with a migration background to integrate. In our opinion, this vision is much too one-sided. There are also people without a migration background who feel perfectly at home in their superdiverse neighbourhood. We think that people without a migration background also have an important role to play in how they deal with migration-related diversity. They are co-owner of and jointly responsible for the outcome of living together in a diverse neighbourhood. In our theoretical framework, this means that it is necessary to let go of the idea that people without a migration background are a passive norm group. In order to function pleasantly in the superdiverse society, they must participate in and move with the changing context, which is, after all, an ever-changing reality for them too. We recognize that this may be a tougher psychological task for people without a migration background, as they have always been able to see themselves as the norm group that is under no obligation to change. In this book, we will show that it is not easy for everyone to adapt to our changing society. Some people without a migration back-

ground are still clinging to the idea of a city that no longer exists. It is not always easy to actively shape a practice of living together; it is a process of trial and error. But there is no alternative. We will have to find out together what we need in order to live together in a pleasant manner.

With these new principles, we also want to break the deadlocked debate on integration. Up until now, the demand for adaptation that characterizes thinking on integration has led to an increasing number of people with a migration background feeling unseen and unwanted. The requirements for being 'integrated' are also becoming increasingly stringent. This is leading to divisions in society, while we could instead be concentrating on how to organize a successful practice of living together.

An important inspiration for our view on the practice of living together in the superdiverse city was provided by Luhmann's (1984) systems theory. Luhmann's work is pretty tough reading, but he makes an important point. He states that integration into society is a much too large and abstract idea. It would be better, he claims, to connect to people's different spheres of living. People do not live in 'society' but in what Luhmann calls the system of their neighbourhood, their work place or their school. For people to have a sense of wellbeing and belonging, it is important for them to be connected within these systems to the other people functioning within them and to experience interactions with them as being pleasant and meaningful. Every child who starts a new school, regardless of their origin, has to integrate into the system of the classroom. A successful integration at school depends on making new friends and being able to deal with different pupils and teachers. In this process, something is required of everyone.

Bearing this mutuality in mind, we examined in this book how residents without a migration background become part of and participate in majority-minority neighbourhoods. We did this in three stages. Our first step was to look at the actual contact with people from other ethnic groups on the one hand and the degree of openness to differences associated with migration-related diversity on the other. Do these residents perceive cultural differences as enriching or as threatening? Our hypothesis is that in order to achieve a successful practice of living together it is important to be able to interact with people from different ethnic groups living in a neighbourhood and to have an open attitude towards cultural differences. Some people could object to this, asking why this is necessary. Surely it is just as possible to live in a neighbourhood without interacting with people with a migration background or being open to cultural differences? Indeed, this is possible. We wanted to find out what the consequences are when people adopt this position: both for themselves and for their neighbourhood. This was the second step in our analysis. We looked at whether those who report having little or no contact with people from migrant backgrounds and who

perceive cultural differences as threatening feel at home in the neighbourhood and how they describe their own well-being there.

For example, we looked at how they assessed their contact with their close neighbours with a migration background and their interactions in public spaces in the neighbourhood with other people with a migration background. How do they experience living together?

In the third step, we zoomed out from the individual level to examine the practice of living together at the neighbourhood level. We looked at the sum of interethnic interactions with neighbours and on the street to reach an assessment of the diversity climate in the neighbourhoods studied. Did we find a mainly pleasant practice of living together or an unpleasant one? The social climate in a neighbourhood is an important context for determining whether or not you feel at home there, regardless of whether or not you have a migration background. Obviously, a neighbourhood where there are many unpleasant interactions and conflicts constitutes a negative context. In contrast to this, a neighbourhood where there are many positive interactions provides a more pleasant context.

We used these three analytical steps to develop a theoretical framework for researching the practice of living together in the superdiverse city.

In summary, our criticism of the traditional integration discourse is that it no longer corresponds to the superdiverse context in which people are living and that it is disconnected from the actual experiences of the people living within this context. Someone living in a highly diverse neighbourhood where they have friends from different ethnic groups will feel more strongly rooted in their neighbourhood and will also feel safe and at home there. In our experience, these people make an important contribution to a successful practice of living together. In contrast, people who confine themselves to their own ethnic group and are often involved in unpleasant interactions and conflicts do not. As far as we are concerned, this applies to both people with and people without a migration background.

We invite the readers of this book to join us in our thought experiment and to abandon the traditional idea of integration in favour of thinking about the practice of living together. In this book, we have shown that people without a migration background play an important role in the diverse society due to the sum of all their smaller and larger actions. Becoming aware of this role and the impact it has was an important reason for writing this book. We hope that it will inspire its readers to become more aware of their role as active citizens, parents, neighbourhood residents, leaders and policymakers.

The Becoming a Minority research team

This book is the result of five years of research conducted on the basis of the largest individual research grant in Europe, the European Research Council's Advanced Grant, which was awarded to the first author. The ERC grant is intended to give researchers the opportunity to radically change thinking in their field of research. We hope that this book meets these high expectations.

Becoming a Minority is an international comparative study that we conducted together with our comprehensive team of researchers. The fieldwork, such as supervising the BaM survey in the different countries and conducting the in-depth interviews, was carried out by our PhD students Kim Knipprath, Josje Schut, Marina Läzeri, Lisa-Marie Kraus and, later, Zakia Essanhaji. Student assistants Josefin Åström in Malmö, Merel Zuurbier in Rotterdam and Rosa Klerkx in Antwerp aided the PhD students with the interviews in the different cities. Laure Michon, who works as a senior researcher at the Research, Information and Statistics Department of the City of Amsterdam, temporarily strengthened our team with her knowledge and expertise. Frans Lelie and Maurice Crul coordinated the project, together with senior researcher Elif Keskiner and our postgraduate researcher, Ismintha Waldring.

Our team included people from different disciplines: sociology, anthropology, social psychology, organizational and communication sciences and political science. This diversity was an enormous help in approaching the different aspects of living together in diversity from different points of view. We feel that other forms of diversity in our team, such as differences in skin colour, ethnicity, gender, migration background, socio-economic background, family situation and the experiences that this entails have also enriched the data collection.

From the very beginning, we have explicitly sought to engage in the public debate by talking with policymakers and giving public lectures for a broad group of interested parties. This interaction has been crucial to the development of our ideas. We would like to thank everyone who has entered into a discussion with us and who has helped us with our research. We would like to thank Jens Schneider in Hamburg, Wiebke Sievers and Philipp Schnell in Vienna, Lore van Praag in Antwerp and Pieter Beverlander in Malmö for their help and for hosting our PhD students at their research institutes and in their cities. Our thanks also go to Marcel Coenders and Stijn Daenekindt, who as external co-supervisors guided our PhD students Marina Läzeri and Lisa-Marie Kraus. We would also like to thank the policymakers from the
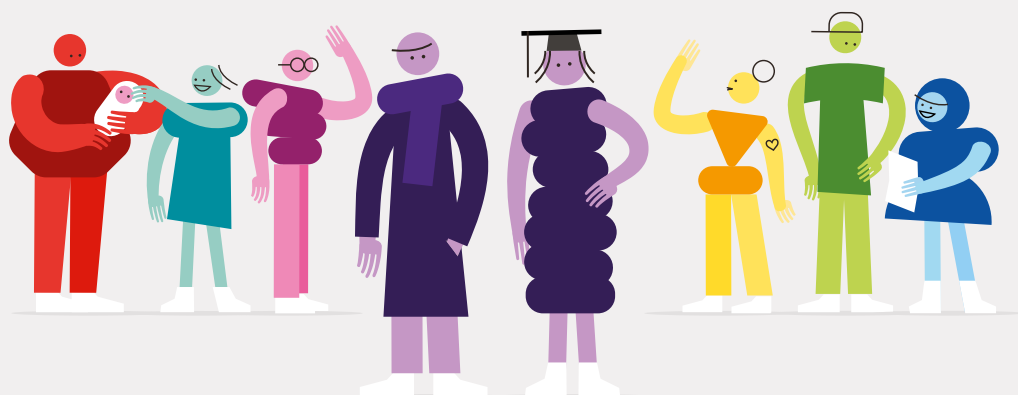
the people without a migration background

THE INFOGRAPHICS:
The people without a migration background

The Becoming a Minority (BaM) research project focuses on people without a migration background who are living in neighbourhoods where the majority of residents have a migration background. The definition that we use for people without a migration background is that they were born in the country where the BaM survey was conducted, and both of their parents were also born in that country. In the infographics, they are represented by purple characters who are always the central figures in each infographic. These purple characters, the people without a migration background, show the findings of the BaM survey. For instance, we depict their attitudes through thought bubbles, and the diversity of their social circle through a circle with balls in different colours.

In the infographics, we use different colours to depict individuals with a migration background. The colours of the characters do not indicate their skin colour or any specific geographical origin. The aim of the infographics is to illustrate what people without a migration background think about the superdiverse city they are living in and how they experience it in practice.

Chapter 2

What are the major trends that characterize living in the superdiverse city?

We wanted to zoom in on the group without a migration background, shifting our focus to how these people participate in the superdiverse city. But how to go about this? Many of the questions that have been asked of migrants and their children over the past forty years, can with a few minor adjustments, also be asked of people without a migration background. Instead of asking how many friends a person with a migration background has from the majority group, you could instead ask people without a migration background how many of their friends have a migration background. To measure integration, people with a migration background are often asked how much contact they have with their neighbours of the country's origin, but we could also ask people how much contact they have with neighbours with a migration background. Instead of asking what someone has adopted from the country's culture, we could ask people without a migration background whether or not they had adopted anything from other cultures. Although this is surprisingly simple, these questions are never or hardly ever asked.

We wanted to put these kinds of questions to people who are actually living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. Therefore we selected majority-minority neighbourhoods (MM neighbourhoods) where more than half of the residents have a migration background and where people without a migration background are therefore in a numerical minority. Such superdiverse MM neighbourhoods are no longer the exception in the large cities. People living in these neighbourhoods have neighbours with

a migration background, they come across people with a migration background in the street, and they do their groceries in shops that are run by people with a migration background. In general, it is reasonably easy to identify MM neighbourhoods using statistical data from municipal records. They are often old neighbourhoods on the edge of the city centre or outskirts with lots of social housing, but due to the demographic changes that are underway in our cities, they are increasingly likely to also be middleclass neighbourhoods nowadays. Residents without a migration background in these neighbourhoods are usually a mix of people on a low income who are living in social housing or relatively inexpensive rental properties and people with middle or higher incomes who either own their homes or rent in the private sector. In recent years, there has been a pronounced increase in the latter group due to the process of gentrification that is underway in many larger cities. Older houses and apartments, some of which used to be social housing, are being sold, renovated or replaced by new developments, and new residents with much higher incomes are moving into these neighbourhoods.

From the very beginning, we wanted Becoming a Minority (BaM) to be an international comparative study. We had already conducted such a study when comparing the children of migrants (the second generation) in fifteen European cities. We found major differences between cities and countries with regard to how our target groups fared in education and the labour market. It became clear that the national context has an enormous impact. What might this new study reveal about the impact of the national and urban contexts? To find out, we conducted research in three port cities (Antwerp, Rotterdam and Malmö) and three cities where the economy is mainly based on the service sector and the financial sector (Amsterdam, Hamburg and Vienna). Our aim was to give a varied picture of the experiences of residents without a migration background in superdiverse cities in Western Europe. We were particularly curious about the group of 25-45 year-olds, because this is the age at which people often make choices about where they are going to live: choices that will have an important impact on where their children will attend school, who they will play sports with and who will be sitting next to them in their neighbourhood cafes. Choosing to live in a superdiverse neighbourhood therefore entails several important choices for this group. For example, will they choose to send their children to a mixed neighbourhood school or to a less diverse school outside the neighbourhood? We also wanted to know more about the social lives of people living in superdiverse MM neighbourhoods. Do they have a partner from their own ethnic group, or are they in a relationship with a person with a migration background? How does this influence their ideas and choices? What kind of leisure activities do they enjoy in their free time? What does their circle of friends look like?

We were curious as to whether people without a migration background would be willing to participate in a study about diversity in which they would be the object of research. In all six cities, we approached potential respondents (for more information on sampling, please see appendix 1) by sending them a letter asking if they would be willing to fill in an online survey which they could access via a unique code. Answers to the online survey soon flooded in from all of the cities. In the comments section at the end of the survey, many people wrote that they were glad that they, too, had been asked about how it was for them to live in a superdiverse neighbourhood. We were able to see which neighbourhoods returned a lot of surveys, and whether the respondents in the various neighbourhoods were mainly people with a higher education diploma (college or university) or people who had not finished higher education (no Bachelor or Master diploma). If potential respondents did not reply to our first letter, we sent them a second letter, this time containing a printed questionnaire that they could return free of charge. In the third round, we approached potential respondents from neighbourhoods where there had been a lower response rate by visiting them personally to ask whether they would like to participate in the survey. Eventually, a total of more than three thousand inhabitants of majority-minority neighbourhoods in six European cities took part in the study: approximately five hundred people in each city, distributed across all of the MM neighbourhoods in their city. This is the first time that a study of this kind has been conducted on such a large scale in Europe.

Based on the analysis of the survey data, our PhD students, together with research assistants, each selected a neighbourhood in one of the cities in which to conduct in-depth interviews. This produced approximately 150 interviews. We tried to let as many different voices as possible express their opinion until a saturation level had been reached with regard to the variety of answers we received. When writing this book, we used both the survey and the interviews, which often complement each other nicely. Whereas the survey reveals larger trends, the interviews are better at describing the mechanisms underlying these tendencies. The answers to the open question at the end of the survey also contributed to the latter.

How the respondents of Becoming a Minority assessed diversity in their neighbourhood

All of the neighbourhoods where we conducted interviews can be labelled as MM neighbourhoods on the basis of objective administrative criteria because at least half of the people living there have a migration background. We were curious about how

these people view their neighbourhood. Do they experience their neighbourhood as being extremely diverse? And do the people with a higher education diploma perhaps live in a less diverse part of the neighbourhood than people without a higher education diploma? The BaM survey shows that 83 percent of respondents without a higher education diploma and 81 percent of respondents with a higher education diploma saw their neighbourhood as an MM neighbourhood (see table 1 in appendix 2). This means that only one in five respondents did not view their neighbourhood as a majority-minority neighbourhood.

We know that the respondents were living in an MM neighbourhood, but of course they may have been living in a housing complex where most of the residents do not have a migration background. This does not seem to be the case for the vast majority. Only one in ten respondents reported having no, or hardly any neighbours with a migration background. There were no large differences between people with and people without a higher education diploma in this respect (see table 2 in appendix 2). These outcomes show that the vast majority of respondents who participated in the research were living in a neighbourhood context characterized by a high level of migration-related diversity.

How to conduct research in the polarized climate surrounding diversity?

A major challenge for the BaM study was the intense polarization surrounding the topic of migration-related diversity. We were often asked whether our research focused exclusively on people with a negative attitude towards this topic, to which we replied that we also wanted to hear from people without a migration background who embrace diversity. We think that we have been successful in this respect. The comments made by respondents at the end of the survey are proof of this. The question 'Is there anything else that you would like to say about this survey?' is pretty standard, but the survey agencies reported that never before had they seen so many respondents giving such extensive commentary at the end of a survey. One in four respondents left a comment, many of which were lengthy. These comments fell into roughly two categories. Respondents who were positive about migration-related diversity often wrote that they had felt irritated because the survey contained too many questions about the potentially negative aspects of diversity. Respondents who were negative about migration-related diversity wrote that they had felt irritated because the survey contained too many questions about the potentially positive aspects of diversity. We were happy with these comments, as this was exactly the balance that we had wanted to strike with the survey. It also shows that our question-

naire had managed to keep both groups of respondents on board. At the same time, however, it once more became clear how polarized the debate on diversity has become. Many people feel such a strong personal involvement with this debate that they took the trouble to write a detailed commentary.

Before we look at the outcomes in more detail, it might be a good idea to consider the possible influence of self-selection. It is possible that people living in a superdiverse neighbourhood moved there in the first place because they were attracted by its diverse nature. And conversely, there are people who do not live in a diverse neighbourhood, either because they have made a deliberate choice not to live in such a neighbourhood or because they have moved out of one. We cannot compare our respondents from MM neighbourhoods with people from other neighbourhoods because we did not conduct any research into the latter group. However, we were able to compare the inhabitants of a less diverse part of an MM neighbourhood with those living in a more diverse part. This allowed us to test whether there is self-selection at work to some extent. Are people who live in a less diverse part of a neighbourhood more negative about diversity? This does not seem to be the case. In fact, people living in more diverse parts of a neighbourhood were negative about diversity slightly more often. This was not affected by whether or not they had a higher education diploma (see tables 3a and 3b in appendix 2). This does not seem to indicate self-selection.

What are the major trends that characterize living in the superdiverse city?

In practically all of the countries where this research was conducted, annual measurements are taken to evaluate the integration of people with a migration background. Research agencies look at the outcomes for this group in education and the labour market and the degree to which people with a migration background have adapted their opinions and habits over the generations. Questions are also asked about their social circle and whether or not their partner is from a different ethnic group. We know practically nothing, however, about the people without a migration background who are living in superdiverse neighbourhoods in our major cities. There are no annual statistics to show how they experience living in a diverse neighbourhood, whether or not they have contact with their neighbours with a migration background or how their social circle is made up. Willem Schinkel (2018) cynically wrote that people without a migration background seem to be exempt from the process that we call integration.

INFOGRAPHIC 1

The response of respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods to the statement 'migration-related diversity is threatening or enriching'

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

enriching

in-between

threatening

72%

12%

16%

44%

19%

37%

higher
education diploma

no higher
education diploma
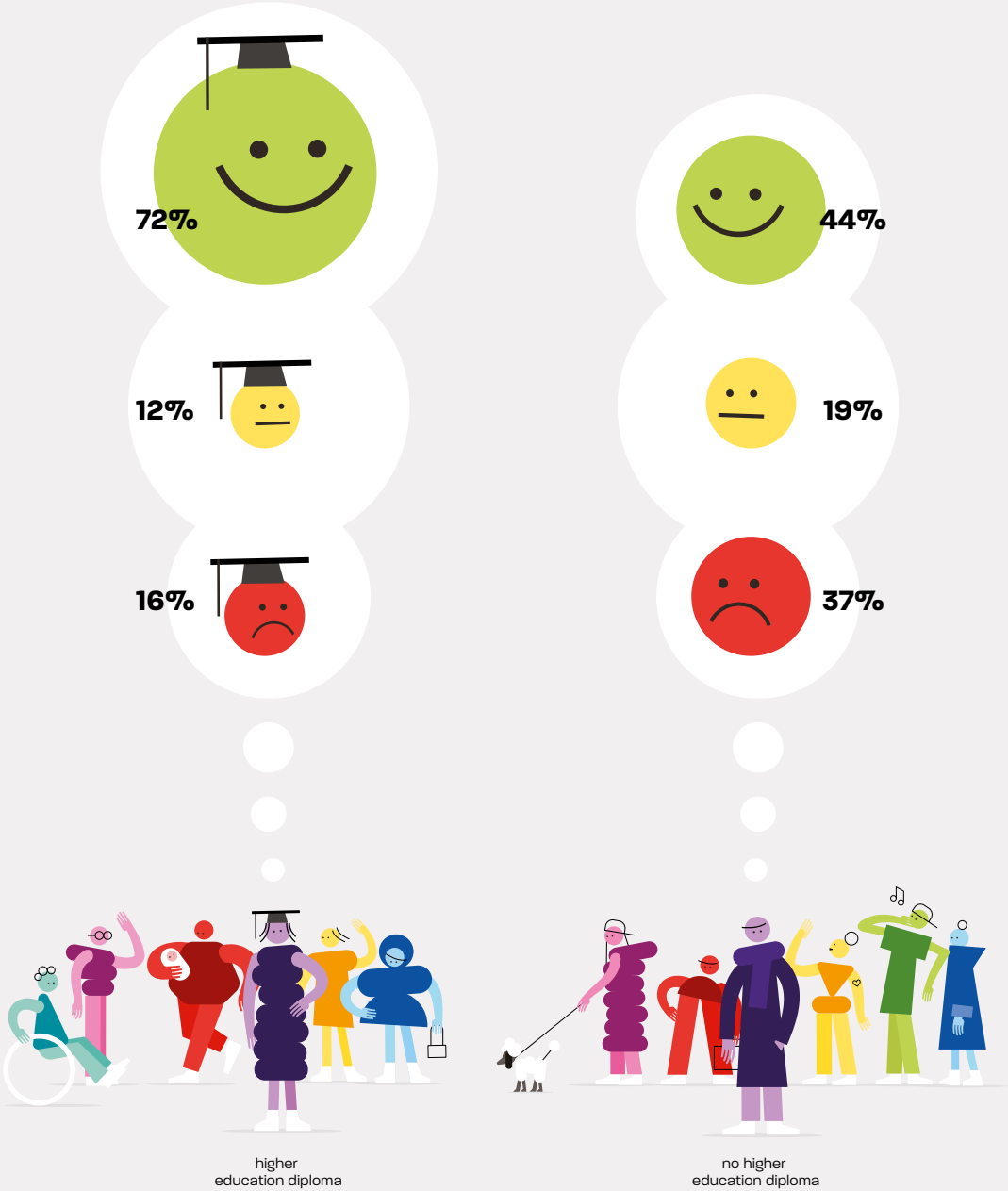
The results of the BaM study paint an extremely varied and occasionally paradoxical picture. On the one hand, people without a migration background seem to be generally positive about migration-related diversity, while at the same time, they have no, or very few friends and acquaintances with a migration background. This was by far the most important trend that we observed among people with a higher education diploma. This paradoxical outcome became an important starting point for us when considering how to interpret the research results. It's easy to imagine that people who are negative about migration-related diversity will avoid having personal contact with people with a migration background. However, the survey shows that many of those who are very positive about diversity do not have anyone with a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances. This is an important observation with regard to the central question asked in our book: what contribution do people without a migration background make to the practice of living together in superdiverse neighbourhoods?

The BaM survey allowed us to examine the extent to which our respondents think that their national (Dutch/Belgian/German/Austrian/Swedish) culture is threatened or enriched by people with a migration background. The outcomes show that most respondents see migration-related diversity as enriching (see infographic 1). We found major differences between the answers given by people with and people without a higher education diploma. This is why we have shown the outcomes for these two groups separately. Respondents without a higher education diploma see migration-related diversity as a threat twice as often as respondents with a higher education diploma.

Three-quarters of the respondents with a higher education diploma and almost half of the respondents without a higher education diploma see migration-related diversity as enriching. In general, therefore, the balance tips towards seeing migration-related diversity as enriching. If we also take residents with a migration background (more than half of the population in MM neighbourhoods) into account, the balance tips even further towards a positive climate with regard to migration-related diver-sity in MM neighbourhoods.

If we look at international research on living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods and cities, we see that these studies generally tend to focus on people with a low social-economic position who are living in working-class neighbourhoods (Gest 2016; Hochschild 2016; Lamont 2002; Mepschen 2016). They are often singled out as a group that is more negative about diversity, and which constitutes the voter base of anti-immigrant parties. Considering the number of people in this group who see

migration-related diversity as a threat, this view is also backed up by our figures (37 percent of people without a higher education diploma versus 16 percent of people with a higher education diploma). There is also a group of respondents with a higher education diploma which cannot be considered as negligible that is also negative about diversity: this group, however, is seldom studied. As we shall see in the next chapter, people with a higher education diploma who are negative about diversity seem to put forward many of the same arguments as people without a higher education diploma who are negative about diversity. They are, however, more likely to deck their arguments with the disclaimer that they are not racist, even though they often go on to use exactly the same wording as people without a higher education diploma when describing how they see migration-related diversity as a threat. This point is illustrated by the following quotation from a university-educated man from Antwerp:

> 'Criticism of multiculti is not necessarily racism, I'm pro diversity, you can see this by my circle of friends. I speak from experience. The multicultural ideal has been taken to the extreme, so that people with backward traditions and ideas, machismo, heterosexism and sexism etc. can continue to propagate their ideas here. How many women can still walk around in large cities without being harassed? Newcomers are also over-represented in the welfare system. Some newcomers put getting benefits first, while work takes second priority. If someone does not manage to learn the language and get a job, they should not be allowed to acquire Belgian nationality, even if they have been making children here.'

In the next chapter, we will take a more detailed look at what motivates both people who see diversity as a threat and people who think it is enriching.

The majority of respondents had positive opinions about migration-related diversity, but is this reflected in their social practice? Most respondents' social circle consists primarily of people who, like them, do not have a migration background (see infographic 2). Only one out of six respondents with a higher education diploma has a circle of acquaintances which, like their MM neighbourhood, consists for more than the half of people with a migration background.

Respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods and the composition of their circle of acquaintances

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

20%
hardly anyone

54%
some

20%
half

6%
the majority

19%
hardly anyone

65%
some

13%
half

3%
the majority

no higher
education diploma

higher
education diploma
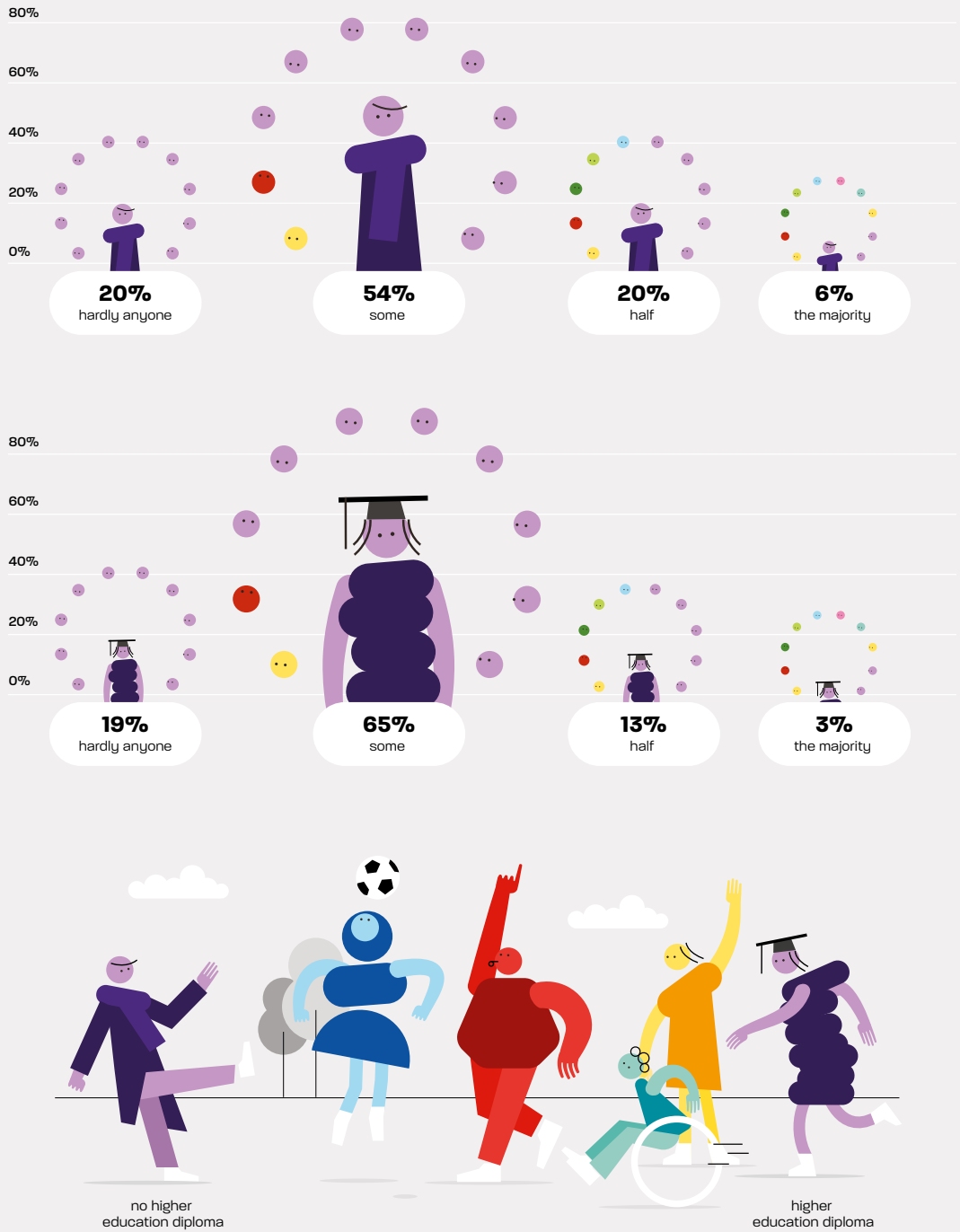
INFOGRAPHIC 3

Respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods and the composition of their circle of friends.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

80%
60%
40%
20%
0%

46%
hardly anyone

38%
some

11%
half

5%
the majority

80%
60%
40%
20%
0%

51%
hardly anyone

38%
some

8%
half

3%
the majority

higher
education diploma

no higher
education diploma
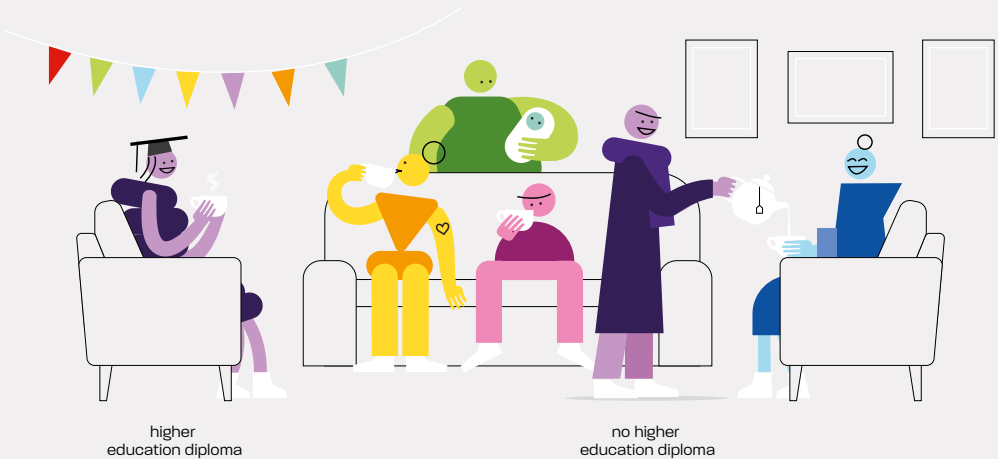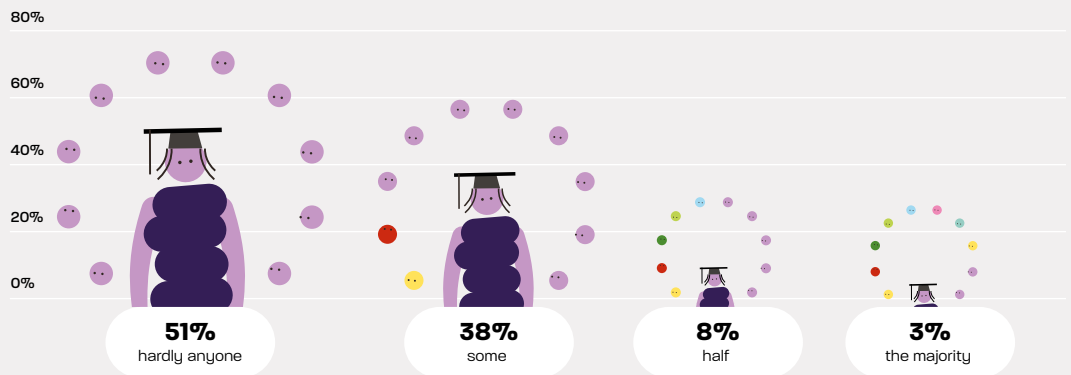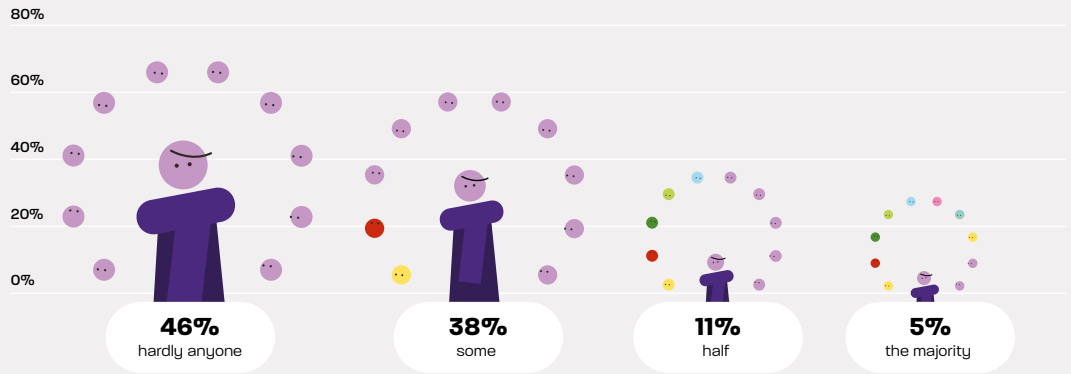
The picture became even more homogenous when we asked about their circle of friends, which is even narrower than their circle of acquaintances. Half of the respondents with a higher education diploma reported having no or hardly any friends with a migration background. A third reported having some friends with a migration background (see infographic 3).

The people with a higher education diploma therefore seem to have a circle of friends and acquaintances that is very different in terms of background composition compared to the people living in their neighbourhood. Although this picture becomes slightly more nuanced when we look at people without a higher education diploma, the vast majority of this group also does not have a connection with people with a migration background on a more personal level.

'I'm better off learning about things than being afraid of them'

Migration-related diversity is one of the most highly polarizing topics in Western Europe. What characterizes the members of the group that sees migration-related diversity as a threat? And what characterizes those who see this phenomenon as something that enriches their life? We studied this, using the BaM survey, the interviews and the comments that people were invited to leave at the end of the survey. This material enabled us to present a rich and varied picture and to show why some people adopt one position in this debate, while others choose a different direction.

What does the literature say about diversity as a threat or an enrichment?

When you turn to the literature in search of explanations for why people see diversity either as threatening or as enriching, you soon arrive at social-psychological research. One prominent theory is the 'contact hypothesis' developed by Gordon Allport (1954). Put simply, this hypothesis states that under specific circumstances, formulated by Allport and others, contact between people from different origins or with a different skin colour will lead to tolerance and mutual understanding. The most important condition is that people not only have similar roles, but also similar goals. According to this theory, mutual contact will then usually lead to a positive scenario for living together. The contact hypothesis was developed in response to desegregation in the American army during and after the Second World War. Both the black and white soldiers fulfilled a similar role, wore the same uniform and had a shared

military goal. This meant that all of the criteria necessary for a positive outcome according to the contact hypothesis were present. The answers to the BaM survey show that people living in a superdiverse MM neighbourhood are generally positive about migration-related diversity, exactly as predicted by the contact hypothesis. There is, however, a minority group of people living in exactly the same circumstances who perceive diversity as a threat. How can we explain their opinions?

Another important theory is the 'racial threat theory' put forward by Blalock (1967), which predicts the opposite scenario, one of interethnic conflict. This theory, which was also developed in the 1950s, emphasizes the dominant ethnic group, which is scared to lose its position of power as the result of the increasing presence of minority groups in their direct environment. According to this theory, contact leads to conflict. Horowitz (1985) developed this theory further as ethnic group conflict theory, adding that there is an important underlying process whereby people have a psychological need to identify with their own ethnic group and/or people with the same skin colour and that such identification is often accompanied by a rejection of the *out group* with a different background and/or physical characteristics.

These two main directions in thinking about interethnic contact and resulting attitudes have influenced hundreds of empirical studies (Amir 1976; Paolini et al. 2014; Pettigrew1998; for an overview, see Pettigrew & Tropp 2006), which have often produced opposite results (Árnadóttir et al. 2018; Barlow et al. 2012; Kros & Hewstone 2020; Mepschen 2016; Smet & Kreuk 2008).

In the following paragraphs, we will take a closer look at why some people without a migration background living in a superdiverse neighbourhood experience diversity as a threat and examine what characterizes this group. As predicted by the ethnic group conflict theory, the members of this group feel threatened by the presence of large minority groups in their direct environment. When we read the quotes from the interviews and comments, it is as if they have become trapped in a negative downwards spiral which is characterized by anger and frustration. The group of respondents who see diversity as an enrichment respond positively to interaction with people with a migration background, in line with the contact hypothesis. The members of this group feel comfortable and at home in their superdiverse neighbourhood and often talked about the richness that this has brought to their lives.

What characterizes the people who see migration-related diversity as threatening?

The literature often describes the group that sees diversity as a threat as being polit-ically dissatisfied and socio-economically marginalized. These people feel like strangers in their own neighbourhood, have lost all faith in politics and politicians and are strongly opposed to migrants and refugees (see, among others, Gest 2016; Haga 2000; Hochschild 2016; Lamont 2002; Mepschen 2016). The results of the BaM survey show that many people who see diversity as a threat reject politics and feel that politicians are far removed from their lives. More than half of the respondents who consider migration-related diversity as a threat said that politicians are not interested in their problems. In their interviews and their comments at the end of the survey, a not-insignificant number of BaM respondents who had referred to diversity as a threat made a connection between their discontent in a number of areas (Islam, housing, jobs) and their feeling of having been abandoned by politicians.

The quotes in this paragraph express the discontent that some respondents feel towards migrants and people with a different skin colour to their own. First, are two quotes from a respondent from Malmö and one from Vienna, who both explicitly link their dissatisfaction regarding some migrants to their criticism of politics.

> 'You get a bit discouraged by the fact that politicians are so scared to burn their fingers and they turn a blind eye to all those radical sharia Muslims who don't seem to like either Sweden, the Swedish or our values. They can just do what they want, and are even allowed to harass other Muslims who come to live here and who want to integrate and become part of our society and to live like modern Muslims... My girlfriend has a Muslim colleague who does not wear a headscarf when she and her family go back home for a visit, but here in Sweden, she does not dare to do that; here, she does wear one.'

The following quote from a respondent living in Vienna connects his lack of trust in politics to the traditional theme of migrants as freeloaders.

> 'The real Austrians are dying out. The politicians have to finally open their eyes and see us Austrians, it's our country! In Turkey, people can't behave the way they do here with us. They don't work, [they are] living at my expense. I work hard, more than 250 hours in the month, and can't make ends meet on that money. I'm not getting any help! They would say that I earn too much. Well done, you Austrian! Congratulations!'

More than half of the respondents in the BaM survey who saw migration-related diversity as a threat thought that migrants receive better treatment from the government. In their interviews, many respondents from this group mentioned the unequal treatment that they perceive in a number of areas, such as housing and welfare benefits. Another respondent from Vienna mentioned the unfair competition for affordable housing in her comments at the end of the survey.

> 'As an Austrian, I should be able to raise a family, but it's impossible to find affordable family housing in Vienna. Please do more for the Austrian population, and not for the migrants.'

Large numbers of the BaM respondents who saw diversity as a threat said that the government favours migrants and that they feel that they are victims of reverse discrimination. When asked about this topic in the survey, more than two-thirds of this group of BaM respondents said that people who did not have a migration background were being discriminated against. For example, a man living in Antwerp wrote:

> 'What you have not asked is whether I am not discriminated against for my right-wing opinions and ideas every day. Is that not strange? Because this is something that happens every day. People like me can't watch any mainstream news any more: either it's been twisted, half of it has been left out, or the terrorist is a "Belgian". It should be urgent to conduct a survey about that.'

A respondent from Vienna summed up their feeling of being discriminated against as follows:

> 'Austrians should be at an advantage in their own country again, instead of being discriminated against.'

The group that saw diversity as a threat is generally proud of the national culture. It was not entirely unexpected when most members of this group said in the BaM survey that they thought that their own culture was superior to other cultures. For example, they said that people without a migration background should stick to their national culture and that people with a migration background should adapt to it. The theme of adapting was often mentioned in the interviews. A woman from Antwerp said the following:

> 'I don't have any problem whatsoever with people from a different back-
> ground. The problem is that many of these people are freeloading off our
> system, which is full of loopholes. They are imposing their culture here and
> refusing to adapt. And we just let them do it. When we go to their countries,
> even if it's just on holiday, we adapt to them.'

A respondent from Hamburg said that he felt as if he is the one that has to adapt instead of the migrants:

> 'I definitely don't have any racist inclinations. But I do think that people who
> come to Germany to live and work here, should relate to German culture and
> its specific features. But the politicians give people the feeling that it is we
> Germans who must adapt, whether in the education system or elsewhere,
> and this should not be the case. It's no wonder then that those stupid
> Germans are mocked and misused [by people with a migration background].'

One can imagine that this feeling of injustice and way of looking at people with a migration background must have important consequences for the wellbeing of this group of respondents and their ability to feel at home in their superdiverse neighbourhood. This also has a strong influence on the social climate in the neighbourhood, as it seems not uncommon for the frustrations of this group to be expressed in the form of all kinds of unpleasant interactions in the neighbourhood. For a part of this group, as we will see later in this book, this may also lead to physical conflicts and insults being hurled back and forth.

The people who embrace diversity are also aware of the enormous changes their neighbourhood is undergoing, as illustrated by the following quote from an inhabitant of Rotterdam, who sees migration-related diversity as an enrichment:

> 'Before the 1960s, there were only Rotterdammers living here. Their roots
> were here. Because these were somewhat poorer neighbourhoods, the
> guest workers also came to live here. The way this happened was pretty
> intense for them [the original inhabitants of Rotterdam]. All of a sudden,
> there was a whole load of them, the entire composition of your neighbour-
> hood changed very quickly. These people had less money, a different
> culture. It was forced on people a bit, that's how it felt for them, it was their
> neighbourhood. The people had something imposed on them and many
> of them moved away, there was a lot of complaining about it. People were
> used to being able to leave their front door open, everyone knew each

other and you could just walk into each other's houses. All that changed. My neighbour, in my first house, used to complain a lot about this. I have to say that it was pretty weird for him: at first there were only people of Dutch origin, and then there were only people with a migrant background.'

One important conclusion that we drew from the results of the Becoming a Minority survey and the interviews is that for people from so many different parts of the world with different languages, habits and opinions to all live together in harmony, efforts will have to be made. This is not something that will just come about all by itself. We do not think that it makes sense to ignore discontent. This process is not always smooth and easy: everyone involved will have to work on making the practice of living together successful in the superdiverse city.

It is important not to lump together everyone who sees diversity as a threat. Not everyone experiences migration-related diversity as a threat to the same extent, and people also have different ways of dealing with this in practice (also see Chapter 6). If you only give people a choice between saying that they see diversity either as a threat or an enrichment (as we did), some are more likely to say that they perceive diversity as a threat. A considerable subgroup (32 percent), however, gave a positive response to the statement that 'it is enriching to learn from people from other cultures in the neighbourhood.' This is a surprising outcome, which opens up an important gateway towards improving the practice of living together.

Many members of the group that sees diversity as a threat said that they do not think that their problems and complaints are taken seriously. This will often be the case, as many people will be unwilling to listen to these problems and complaints due to the discriminatory manner in which they are expressed and the fact that they single out people with a migration background as scapegoats. This sense of not being taken seriously, however, gives the members of this group the feeling that they are on their own, having been abandoned by the 'elite' consisting of media, politicians and policy-makers. Due to this stalemate, society is missing an important opportunity to see whether it is not possible for these people to work together with other residents to find solutions to a number of their complaints, such as street litter or annoying behaviour. Residents with a migration background will also be annoyed by such problems. An important perspective of the practice of living together is that both people with and people without a migration background are owners of the practice of living together. As such, they must join forces to seek solutions for the problems in their entrance hall or street.

What characterizes the people who see migration-related diversity as enriching?

The group that sees migration-related diversity as something that enriches their lives has attracted much less research than the group described in the previous paragraph. (Blokland & Van Eijk 2010; Jiménez 2017; Martinovic 2013; Wessendorf 2014). There is a rather coherent image of this group in the public debate. Apparently, they see themselves as 'citizens of the world', have left-wing opinions, and are inspired by a strong sense of justice to stand up for migrants. They are supporters of the multicultural society and think that space should be made for people with a migration background.

As with those who see migration-related diversity as a threat, the picture emerging from the public debate and the (in this case more limited) picture from the professional literature largely match the findings of the BaM data. It is true that the respondents who saw migration-related diversity as enriching positioned themselves to the left or the far left of the political spectrum, and had a much stronger sense of themselves as citizens of the world than their counterparts. However, this does not mean that they are not proud of their national identity. An overwhelming majority of 82 percent agreed with the statement 'I am proud of my national identity'. The answers to other questions, however, show that this group sees the national identity as an open identity that also has a place for newcomers. A woman from Antwerp talked about a pot of stew, where everything is mixed together:

> 'Goodness [sighs]. You see, I think that it is a wonderful idea for Belgium to still be Belgium, but then from a certain perspective, of course. So, the Belgian identity.... we already have three communities. I think that it is actually a strength, to seek out the things we have in common and [look for] bridges that will allow us to work together. I don't think that there is any such thing as a single Belgian identity. I would like this to be regarded as a multiple identity, like 'a stew'. Because Belgium doesn't actually exist, it's also an artificial thing, [founded in] 1830, or whenever it was. A mix of French, Spanish, Dutch, Burgundians, Germans... and then there are all the people who come here... I would actually see it as a strength. Take the discussion about the Walloons not learning Dutch and why do we have to learn French? When I hear that, I think: be happy! That you have French and Dutch, that you see plurality and the added value of diversity.'

Many of the respondents who saw migration-related diversity as enriching said that they 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the statement in the BaM survey 'schools should

have to adapt to the culturally diverse backgrounds of their pupils with a migration background'. In the survey, they were also more likely to say that they had adopted habits from other cultures or were willing to learn a few words in another language in order to be able to communicate with neighbours with a migration background.

The literature does not have much to say about the attraction, potential added value or benefits of living in a superdiverse neighbourhood for people who see diversity as enriching. We explicitly asked about this in the interviews because it is interesting to find out what people perceive as having added value or benefit. This was also spontaneously expressed in the comments at the end of the survey. For example, a woman from Antwerp said that it is important to expose children to the cultural richness of living in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

> 'Because you hear other languages, and also have to speak them. I really like this. I also like passing this on to my children. That your own reference framework is not "the truth" or "the only one". That there are, in fact, numerous reference frameworks. This is only possible if you open your door, and then it is all out there. You can't learn this from books or TV. But it is what is going on just outside your front door.'

In the next quote, a man living in Amsterdam explained that, for him, cultural diversity is a requisite for enjoying where he lives:

> 'It really is the basis for a healthy life. Most biologists, I think, acknowledge that biodiversity is extremely important, like, even for chickens. A lot of studies have been conducted [showing] that diversity is crucial to creative development, and that people therefore... oh, I just have to wave [someone he knows passes by] ...but that it is of vital importance, diversity is of crucial importance. I understand that people use polarization as an instrument of power, that is why it is so important, when I look at this neighbourhood, what it means for me, because that was your question, that I come home to a place where there are several elementary points of "being". I'm not saying that I will never leave this neighbourhood, that's not the point. However, I have found things in this neighbourhood that I felt were lacking in many other places: diversity of thinking, culture, history, knowledge.'

A man from Rotterdam talked about his pleasant contact with his neighbours with a migration background:

> 'I have had many Turkish and Moroccan neighbours. You know your direct neighbours well and they are all really nice. They bring you food, smoke a ciggie with you on the stairs. I have never had any real problems. If their heater broke, they would always ask me if I could come to take a look at it. If they didn't understand something, it was immediately: "Neighbour, neighbour". It was just very sweet. It is all so exaggerated, you know, the problems.'

A woman in Antwerp described the informal contact in shops run by people with a migration background as being a benefit of living in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

> 'What I also like is the way of shopping. I really enjoy going to Handelsstraat. [I go to] the shops, partly because of the prices, but also because of the way people interact with each other. For example, I go to Kadēr a lot. If I don't have any money on me, I can just come back later to pay. That's all so normal.'

A young man from Rotterdam mentioned the diversity and contact in his shopping street when asked whether he likes living in a majority-minority neighbourhood:

> 'I don't really know, actually, I've never really thought about it. I like seeing everything all together; that makes me feel more like I'm in Rotterdam. And that feels more like home, so I think so, actually. Yes, it does. There are times when it makes me feel a bit happier, like if at the last minute I drop into the Turkish bakery for some extra bread and have a nice conversation there.'

But even for the respondents who see diversity as enriching, life in the neighbourhood is not always a bed of roses. They also complained about litter on the street, tough boys who ride their scooters too fast, or young men hanging around on the street, catcalling at girls. Often, they described the same type of incidents as the respondents who saw diversity as a threat. But they attributed this type of event to a limited group and did not lump everyone with a migration background or a different skin colour together. It's not that they ignore these incidents, but they do not experience them as a threat or feel the frustration experienced by some of the people who see diversity as a threat. Some people who appreciate migration-related diversity, also said that they had made a deliberate choice to do so.

Interviewer: 'Do you have any idea how your parents regarded ethnic diversity?'

Respondent: 'Borderline racist. I think so. It's not deliberate, they would never describe themselves as racist, they would not vote for Thierry Baudet or anything, but I do think that they have a lot of prejudices. I mean, my parents are not used to anything, the only gay people they know are on TV, the only dark-skinned people in our village were two adopted children, so they have no idea. When it comes down to it, I could have been afraid of everything. I made a very active decision because I do not want to be afraid of my fellow human beings, whatever kind of people they are. It's better for me to learn more about things than to be afraid of them'.

Many people who are positive about migration-related diversity emphasize the everyday nature of this diversity for them. Diversity has become normal, a fact that they no longer think about very much.

Interviewer: 'Do you think that you adapt sometimes because you live in a neighbourhood with so many people with a migration background?'

Respondent: 'Yes, that will certainly be the case. But at the same time, I'm still not wearing a headscarf [laughs loudly]. I can't say whether I have become more or less tolerant as a result of living here. It's difficult to decide. Maybe it is already inherent in the fact that I live here. If it had been a problem, I would have looked for a house in a different neighbourhood.'

Why do some people see migration-related diversity as threatening while other people see it as enriching?

In infographic 1, we have already seen that education level is an important factor. People who do not have a higher education diploma seem to find it more difficult to deal with the sometimes large differences between the people living in their neighbourhood, and see the enriching aspect of this less often. But we observed that the arguments presented by people with a higher education diploma who are negative about diversity do not differ much from those of people without a higher education diploma who are negative about diversity. At most, they are more aware of the fact that they could be labelled as xenophobic and were therefore more likely to begin their sentences by saying 'I'm not racist, but....' Education level is not the only factor that accounts for differences. We also found large differences within the groups of people with and the groups of people without a higher education diploma. Why does

one person without a higher education diploma embrace diversity, while another sees diversity as a threat? Are there other social and/or economic factors at work? Do people without a higher education diploma who see diversity as a threat belong to an extra-marginalized group, as the literature suggests? The BaM survey did not find anything to back up this theory. These respondents were not unemployed or dependent on welfare benefits any more often than the people without a higher education diploma who saw diversity as enriching. Neither were they, as is often claimed, typical victims of globalization and flexibilization (Gest 2016; Crul et al. 2019; Hochschild 2016; Lamont 2002; Mepschen 2016). For example, they were no more likely to have temporary contracts or say that they were finding it difficult to make ends meet from their income any more often than the people without a higher education diploma who considered diversity as enriching.

What did seem to be important was their family background. Almost one in five of the people who saw diversity as a threat came from a family in which people spoke negatively about diversity. That is twice as often as the people who saw migration-related diversity as enriching. Some of the respondents seem to have been brought up with an anti-immigration attitude and adopted this attitude themselves. It also seems to matter how attached a person is to tradition. Four out of ten of the people who regarded migration-related diversity as a threat, said that they had grown up in a family that attached a great deal of importance to tradition. Once more, that is twice as often as the people who saw migration-related diversity as enriching. A young woman from Antwerp explained the influence of family as follows:

> **Interviewer**: 'To what extent do you agree with your parents opinions?'
> **Respondent**: 'Actually, I think so, the prejudices... I accept them until I have seen them disproven.'
> **Interviewer**: 'Can you give me an example of one?'
> **Respondent**: 'For example you have... My dad is a salesman and sometimes he says that a certain group can't be trusted. "Never trust an Arab", for example. And then I think: yes, he has proof of this. But then, I also think: I can't really generalize about this. But it is in the back of my mind.'

A woman from Rotterdam explained how her parents had had a positive influence on her views on diversity by sending her to a mixed school:

> 'I think that they thought that it would be good for my education and for those people; and for the Netherlands actually. It's just how it should be. Then that's how you as a child also think. It was normal for me. Part of my group of friends also comes from there, but the main thing is that it made me think this way. Maybe I would move in very different circles if I had only gone to white schools.'

We have already seen that respondents in the same situation may have completely different reactions to the superdiverse context in which they live. When conducting the BaM survey, we found evidence for both the contact theory and the ethnic group threat theory as well as the underlying mechanisms described by both theories. A generally negative attitude towards migration-related diversity may lead to inter-ethnic conflict, which, in turn, may lead to a more negative attitude towards people with a migration background, which, in turn, may lead to more conflict. Thus, a downward spiral of conflict is created. In contrast, a positive attitude towards people from different backgrounds may actually lead to an open attitude and pleasant interethnic contact, which generates more positive attitudes, which lead to an upward spiral of pleasant contact and a sense of enrichment.

What explains having a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances?

In Chapter 2 we saw how for many people, their attitude towards migration-related diversity does not actually correspond with their practice. Why do so many people without a migration background who see diversity as enriching, have no (or hardly any) people with a migration background in their circle of friends? Conversely, why do some people who see diversity as a threat report having a mixed circle of friends? It seems necessary to look elsewhere for explanations for why some people have a mixed circle of friends. This is why we examined the possible influence of events in our respondents' youths and their current living situation. Both provided a number of important explanations. According to the BaM survey, people with a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances were much more likely to have attended a mixed primary school (see infographic 4).

Respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods broken down according to the composition of their circle of friends and acquaintances and the ethnic composition of their primary school.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

WHAT WAS IT LIKE AT
SCHOOL

100%

How many of the pupils had a migrant background:

- Almost all
- Most
- Half
- Some
- Hardly any

hardly anyone

1%
2%
6%
37%
54%

some

1%
3%
8%
43%
45%

half or more

3%
8%
13%
37%
39%

How many friends and acquaintances have a migration background?

hardly anyone

some

half or more
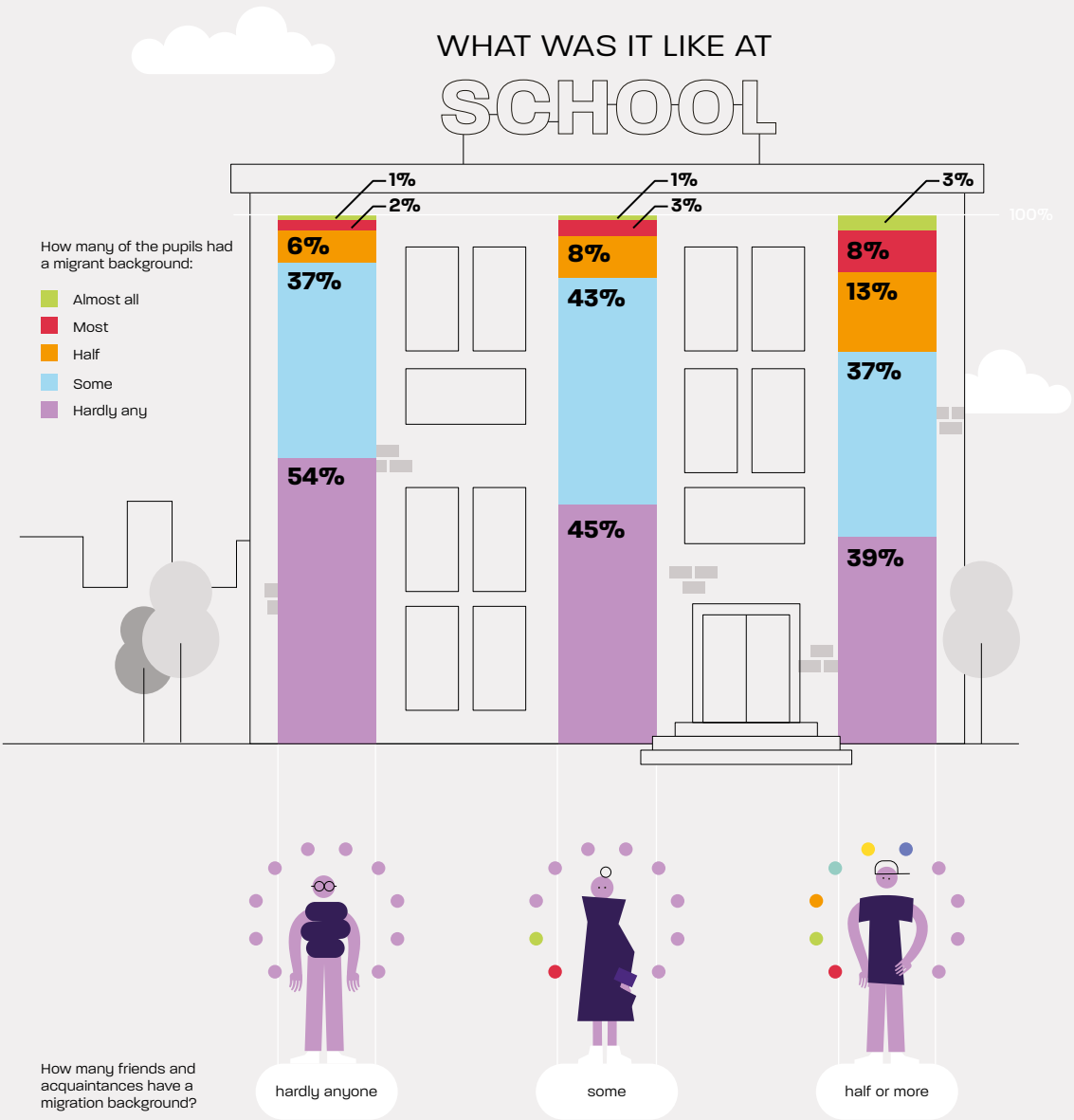
Many of the people who now have a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances grew up in a more culturally diverse environment, where they learnt the practice of living together from an early age. On the basis of our qualitative interviews, we can state that the diversity of one's current circle of friends and acquaintances can, to a large extent, be traced back to growing up in a culturally diverse environment. A man from Rotterdam talked about growing up in a multicultural neighbourhood:

> 'My father worked for Shell, he was a welder there, and so were all the others, so flats were built very quickly to house all these people. So, you ended up in a housing complex with all these people: Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, the whole world was in that flat, and that was really fun. Everything went well, everyone had something positive about them, everyone had work, a new life; they were going to build something. It was great for us kids, but then, colour doesn't matter to children. But back then, there was a certain tolerance, which no longer exists nowadays. That's because everyone was poor and wanted each other to do well.'

A man from Hamburg talked in similar terms about growing up in a housing block with many migrant families:

> 'Yes, my father worked in the construction sector with people from the Portuguese and Spanish community. I lived with my father in housing for the workers. This meant that I had contact with the Portuguese and Spanish people who also lived there every day and we often ate together. My parents got divorced when I was pretty young. That's why I was soon taken in by those communities. My mother worked in a hotel and when I came home from school in the afternoon, I just ate with the migrant families.'

A man from Malmö told how he had had two friends with a migration background when growing up in a small village in the countryside. He is now living in Malmö, where he has a mixed circle of friends.

> 'Yes, it is really different from where I grew up, on a farm in the countryside. My mother and father are farmers, and my grandmother and grandfather on both sides are also farmers, for as far as you can go back. It's a small village with only about five hundred people, most of whom are Swedish.
> I had two friends. With so few [inhabitants] having two friends [with a migration background] was actually quite a lot, now that I think of it.

> Anyway, they were Kurds, the parents of one were refugees from Turkey, and the other one, his father came from Iran.'

A Dutch woman told about how her secondary school was where she first came into contact with a diverse population of pupils:

> 'Secondary school, the mavo [lower general secondary education], was full of other nationalities. There were all sorts there. There were also amas [unaccompanied minor asylum seekers] at my school. So I got to know a lot of people in one go, and that also made me interested. This is where my interest in Africa and the world grew. So, for me, this is enriching. To just know what more there is in the world, and how people think. This was very positive for me.'

A woman from Malmö also said that her school years were an important first learning experience that taught her how to cope with cultural diversity:

> 'The first time I encountered diversity was at school, but also through friends who I used to hang out with in the neighbourhood. I already knew these people, so I felt comfortable around them. It was also interesting to have friends from Albania. And I had a few friends from Somalia. Their parents were not here in Sweden. I discovered different worlds, and I did not understand everything. For example, I visited my friend's apartment. There was just nothing in it. I had another friend, my best friend, she was adopted. I also felt how it was for her when people asked her where she came from and what she knew about that country. I mean, she knew nothing about that country.'

A man from Amsterdam whose ex-wife and current partner both have a migration background, illustrates how cultural diversity became part of his everyday life from an early age.

> 'Yeah, it was funny when you asked me about the migration thing. I'm not used to anything else. I can't judge. It's very normal for me, people from another culture. I didn't grow up in a village where my neighbours were Dutch. I don't know what that's like, that would be newer for me than this. This feels normal to me. I don't see it any differently. All my children are half Surinamese or half Moroccan. So, for me it's…

At football, there were maybe four Dutch guys. I could get on fine with them, but I was much better with the others.'

A woman from Antwerp gave her mother's activities as an important explanation for her mixed circle of friends:

'I had a friend from Afghanistan and a friend whose dad had an African background. My mum had an organization which put her into contact with people from different backgrounds, so there were a lot of people through that. Lots of African people. But especially when we were young, she focused for a long time on people in asylum centres who were trying to find their way here in Belgium, mostly young people.'

Half of the respondents with a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances, however, did not attend a mixed primary school or come into contact with cultural diversity in any other way at an early age. Often, they had grown up in a smaller, much less diverse municipality and only moved to the city later on, perhaps to study or to work. So why do they then have a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances and also strikingly often (half of this group) a partner with a migration background? These respondents were probably young adults the first time they had personal contact with someone with a migration background. They also appear to have lived abroad for a longer or shorter period significantly more often. They probably encountered different standards and values during this period, which taught them to deal with difference. Coming into direct contact with diversity at an early age, either at school, or as a young adult through studying or dating, seems to have a major impact on the composition of a person's social circle.

A small subgroup of respondents with a mixed group of friends had people with a migration background in their family, for instance through marriage or adoption. Having people with a migration background in your family has a major impact on your own circle of friends. Nine percent of the respondents who said that there were no or hardly any people with a migration background in their family said that at least half of their circle of friends and acquaintances were people with a migration background. This figure was almost twice as high (17 percent) for respondents who said that they had a few family members with a migration background, including people who had married into their family. Therefore, diversity in a familiar environment, such as the family, has an important impact on one's own social circle.

Why do some people not have a mixed circle of friends?

In a way, the group of respondents without a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances are the mirror image of the group we have just described. Less than one out of ten of this group attended a primary school where at least half of the pupils had a migration background. More than 90 percent of the people in this group, therefore, probably had little contact with diversity when they were very young. The respondents also mentioned this regularly in the interviews. When one respondent from Antwerp was asked why there was such a lack of diversity in his circle of friends even though he lived in a superdiverse neighbourhood, he answered:

> 'Oh, I will have to think about that... Well, because my close friends just happen not to have a migration background. Because my interactions in the neighbourhood are relatively limited: during the day, I'm at work, here I stay indoors [during the COVID-19 lockdown] and otherwise, I'm in Brussels. And when I spend time on activities and such, I often go walking somewhere else. But I am completely avoiding your question [laughs]. But of foreign origin, no, actually not [pauses and considers]. I think that it's probably also just because I come from quite a traditional municipality and I moved to Antwerp together with my immediate circle of friends. So, I don't really have the need... Though, I am a very open-minded and social person. I could be friends with anyone. But I don't think that you really go looking for that yourself then, no.'

The following quote from another man from Antwerp once more illustrates how a person's choice of friends is not necessarily deliberate and that meaningful interactions between people with and people without a migration background do not happen automatically:

> 'Because, for example, there are cafés where only white people go... And if we are playing a sport, we just want to play together. Then we won't ask people to "come, join us". Then we mostly stay in our own little group, of course. That's not something deliberate because of migration issues, it's just.... This means that there is not a single activity where we mix, actually. Well, at least, I don't.'

A woman from Amsterdam described a phenomenon that we often encountered in the interviews. Many people have superficial contact with people with a migration

background in the street or in neighbourhood shops, but it doesn't go any further and no meaningful contact takes place. Few personal relationships develop:

> 'Uhm... few. For example, the owner of the small shop here, we sometimes go there for smaller purchases such as an apple or onion. He is a really friendly man, and I say hello there. I also come into contact with people with a migration background at work. But the people you meet up with more or have deeper contact with, tend to be white, middle-class people, you might say.'

A woman from Antwerp sketched a similar picture: Actually, we came across this in all of the interviews in the different cities:

> 'Gosh, yes, contact is pretty limited, actually. So I see them everywhere, when I look out the window or walk down the street. And near us, there's this garage with thirty or forty cars. So those are the people in the neighbourhood I say hello to. But that's all, actually. And I buy my French fries from a Moroccan, that's the chip shop I go to. Yes, uhm, in the neighbourhood without other reasons, no.'

A woman from Antwerp with young children described how contact does not come about naturally in the playgrounds in public spaces, when the interviewer asked her where she meets people with a migration background in the neighbourhood:

> **Respondent**: 'Also in the playgrounds, there's Moroccan mums with their children there. But it's all separate from each other. You really see that the white mums are standing chatting with each other and that the Moroccan mums are sitting in a different place.'
> **Interviewer**: 'And what do you think of that?'
> **Respondent**: 'Uhm... hmmm... I always think that it is a pity, because on the one hand, I would like to know more people and to get more involved. But it does not seem to be a natural given.'

More respondents said that they would like to have more contact with their neighbours with a migration background:

> 'I would like that... If there were more encounters. It doesn't mean that we have to become best friends, but I would like to know and to meet more people on the street who also live here in the street.'

It seems to be difficult for people to take the first step in public and semi-public places in order to make contact with people with a migration background. Maybe this is connected to a subconscious idea that it is up to the migrants to integrate and responsibility for making contact lies with them. Various respondents said that they had the feeling that people with a migration background did not want contact with them and maybe preferred to mix with people from their own group. They said that they felt uncomfortable about approaching people with a migration background spontaneously because they were afraid of saying or doing something wrong.

> **Respondent**: 'Yes, I'm not at all schooled in that. I also find it very difficult to choose my words, like, what should I call something, you know.'
> **Interviewer**: 'What do you mean?'
> **Respondent**: 'Yes, with people with a migration background. I feel that I have to walk on eggshells, so that I don't use a word that may not be nice. Yes, I find this pretty uncomfortable. But that is also because I'm not used to it. Yes, because you don't want to be unjust to anyone with your choice of words or to hurt anyone's feelings because of the words you choose.'

The following quote from a respondent from Vienna also illustrates that it's not that people are unwilling to make contact; it's rather that they have a feeling of uncertainty about 'the other':

> **Respondent**: 'If I walk past people and they look up, I may smile at them or even say hello, but I will not often stop to talk to them.'
> **Interviewer**: 'Why not?'
> **Respondent**: 'Hmmm... I think that I am more... careful with what I say, because I am not always sure how they will react, because we maybe... Because we have different backgrounds. Different... now I forget the word I was looking for. As if we have different values.'

A woman from Antwerp gave a good description of the process of feeling your way within a culturally diverse context:

> **Interviewer**: 'And what exactly is this interaction like?'
> **Respondent**: 'It depends a bit, but maybe you put your feelers out more in case there are any sensitivities.'
> **Interviewer**: 'How exactly do you do that, put your feelers out?'
> **Respondent**: 'That is something that you do subconsciously, I think. If you see someone who clearly has the same style as you, you assume things

quicker. And then you don't hesitate as much to say something ironic, or crack a joke. Otherwise, I would not be as inclined to do that immediately. For example, we are two mums (referring to her ex-partner), so when we are with parents of a different origin, we try to sense whether or not this is acceptable. It's not the first thing I would mention. But then again, it's also not the first thing I would say to other people (laughs and thinks about it). But that can also pass very quickly. For example, the headmistress of the school is a Moroccan woman. I get on very well with her, she also knows that we are two mums and I know all sorts of things about her. And then there is humour and irony and what not. But there has to be a bit of a similar type of mind-set. Then it doesn't really matter if there is religious or cultural diversity. Then it no longer matters at all whether or not she wears a headscarf, no.'

The insecurity that people without a migration background experience when they have to function in an ethnically diverse context has been given the term 'belonging uncertainty' by one of our BaM PhD students, Lisa-Marie Kraus (Kraus 2022; Kraus & Crul 2022). This concept was originally used to indicate the uncertainty that people with a migration background feel in an environment dominated by people without a migration background. But here, we use this concept the other way around.

During lectures on this theme, when we presented the concept of belonging uncertainty to people without a migration background, many people said that they recognized this feeling. In some ways, people without a migration background who have had little experience with the superdiverse society have some catching up to do. They are missing the experiences that people both with and without a migration background who were born and bred in culturally diverse neighbourhoods in the city and who attended mixed schools, were able to accrue. Fortunately, we have the ability to learn new things throughout our entire life and therefore, these people also have the potential to learn to deal with cultural diversity (see Chapter 6).

Chapter 4

How does people's attitude towards diversity affect their experience of living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

In Chapters 2 and 3, we described the main reactions of our respondents to living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. How do their attitudes affect their ability to enjoy living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood? How do the people with negative opinions about migration-related diversity experience living in their superdiverse neighbourhood? Another interesting question is whether or not people who are positive about diversity really feel more satisfied about living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. Because we did not only ask about their attitudes and opinions, but also about their social practice, it became clear that having a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances influences how people experience living in a highly diverse neighbourhood.

In addition to looking at how people's attitudes and social practice influence them personally and impact the neighbourhood's living environment, this chapter will also examine the relationship between inherent, non-chosen characteristics and living together in a pleasant way in a superdiverse neighbourhood. As we said at the start of this book, the participants in this study – who all fall under the category 'people without a migration background' – are a heterogeneous group. They differ from each other with regard to education, skin colour, gender and whether or not they identify as LGBTQ+. We have already shown the different outcomes with regard to education. In this chapter, we are going to explore the last three characteristics.

How do people who are negative about migration-related diversity experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

What does living in a superdiverse neighbourhood mean for the minority of people who see diversity as a threat? This looks like a problematic combination to begin with. In Chapter 2, we showed that a third of respondents without a higher education diploma and 16 percent of respondents with a higher education diploma said that migration-related diversity is threatening. What is it like for these people to live alongside neighbours who have a migration background? How do they experience interactions with people with a migration background on the street and in shops in their neighbourhood? The concise answer is that most people in this group do not enjoy living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. The outcomes of the survey paint a rather disconcerting picture of their satisfaction with their living situation. Only 37 percent of the people without a higher education diploma from this group evaluated their relationships with neighbours with a migration background as being positive; more than half (53 percent) reported having had unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street and almost a third (31 percent) had had unpleasant interethnic interactions in shops. More than half (52 percent) of the people with a higher education diploma reported having had unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street and 23 percent had had unpleasant interethnic interactions in shops.

To enjoy living in a neighbourhood, it is important to feel that you can trust your neighbours: this group, however, reported a great deal of mistrust towards the other residents. Forty-one percent of the people without a migration background and no higher education diploma said that they did not trust the people in their neighbourhood, while this figure was 38 percent among people who had had an academic education. This group therefore often agreed with the statement 'I feel like a stranger in my neighbourhood' and reported a disproportionate number of conflicts (including physical conflicts) on the street. Forty-four percent of the people without a higher education diploma in this group said that they had been harassed on the street (bullying behaviour and insults), as did a similar number of the respondents from the group with a higher education diploma (39 percent). Threats and/or physical violence in the previous year were reported by 20 percent and 16 percent respectively of respondents who were negative about diversity.

It is striking that many respondents who see diversity as a threat often had a long string of complaints about living together in their neighbourhood, many of which were about litter, vandalism and harassing women on the street. The following comment was written by a woman from Vienna:

'The particularly annoying thing about my neighbourhood is that it is really dirty. It's mainly due to people who look as if they have a migration background (Turks, people from the Middle East, Africa and sometimes also from the Balkans). The streets are dirty (spitting, leaving litter) and public property is vandalized. Also, as an Austrian, you are totally in the minority in my neighbourhood. The street is dominated by women wearing a headscarf and dark-skinned people (Turks, Africans). It's mainly the businesses in the streets that have changed a lot in recent years – small Austrian shops (such as shoe repair shops, tailors, etc.) have been replaced by Turkish grocery stores, bars and cafés, which means that walking around the neighbourhood is not very pleasant for women, especially in the evening.'

When asked how the ethnic diversity in her neighbourhood affected the extent to which she felt at home there, a woman from Rotterdam replied:

Respondent: 'For example, no one speaks Dutch when I go to Albert Heijn [a supermarket]. Or not real Dutch, you know what I mean. Just, well... Or, for example, in that shopping street, you are really 'the white one', you know?
Interviewer: 'So, if I hear you, you don't have much interaction with people with a migration background in the shops?'
Respondent: No, it's not exactly inviting. I don't get the feeling that they want that either. What really annoys me, for example, in the swimming pool or walking home at night from the station... That men whistle after you all the time, that doesn't exactly make you feel safe. It's hardly ever a white man doing that. That's not meant to be racist, but it is noticeable. Obviously, this does not exactly make you feel at home in the neighbourhood.'

Some people mentioned becoming involved in minor confrontations. A woman from Antwerp told us about this incident at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, when people were stockpiling toilet roll:

'I spoke to people who were taking our toilet roll. They were people with a migration background. It was written in great big letters that you could only buy one pack of toilet roll per person. And then, some woman took three. That really annoyed me. Can't I even wipe my ass?'

If people see migration-related diversity as a threat and also (as the above quotations show) as a source of nuisance, maybe it's no wonder that they often get into conflicts with the other people in their neighbourhood. Living like this in a diverse context

must be emotionally exhausting. It is therefore no surprise that these people reported feeling generally dissatisfied with their life significantly more often than the respondents who embraced the diversity in their neighbourhood.

How do people who are positive about migration-related diversity experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

What does life look like for people who see migration-related diversity as enriching? As we showed in Chapter 2, they form the largest group. These respondents feel completely at home in their neighbourhood. Eight out of ten of the respondents from this group disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'I feel like a stranger in my neighbourhood.' They also reported having a lot more trust in the other people living in their neighbourhood than the group described in the previous paragraph. Only one in ten people from this group said that the other residents in the neighbourhood were not to be trusted. These respondents – once again in sharp contrast to the previous group – reported having many pleasant interethnic interactions on the street (almost eight out of ten people) and in shops (almost nine out of ten people). There is a huge contrast between this group and the respondents who see diversity as threatening, and their everyday life also looks totally different. This man from Rotterdam described how he gains a great deal of enjoyment from living in his super-diverse neighbourhood:

> 'When I first moved there, this street, well, it looked like one big random street in Ankara or so, you know? A Turkish street, all of the little shops were Turkish, and they all had things displayed outside and on Saturdays, it was packed full with people, traffic jams, and lots and lots of people on the streets, but it is a very narrow street. I lived there, so when I went downstairs, and walked out the door, I spent the first five minutes walking through exotic Rotterdam. And I thought that was fantastic! I love it. All those people, it's great that this exists.'

The next quote is from a man in Hamburg who has a mixed circle of friends and sees diversity as enriching. He described the pleasant interethnic interactions in the neighbourhood with great enthusiasm:

> 'I love my neighbourhood. It's the diversity of people from different backgrounds that makes it so nice here. Everyone is there for each other, to help

each other and look after each other. No matter where you come from and despite Harburg's [the neighbourhood] reputation. I love this multicultural- ism with everyone helping each other and caring for each other. I really miss that in pure German neighbourhoods. Everyone is on their own there. It's pretty anonymous and distant, everyone looks out for themselves. But that's not the case in Harburg. Here, we know each other and support each other. I love that.'

The woman from Amsterdam quoted below said that it is important to make an effort to achieve a successful practice of living together:

'Well, it means that I get to know people in the street. Then I say hello, and that is a nice feeling in the neighbourhood. When I walk outside, I always bump into someone I know. That, I think, is a benefit. Yes, it creates a very pleasant atmosphere. Yes, sometimes it feels a bit organized, programmed or forced…but I think that that is necessary. Otherwise, you will not get into a conversation with these people. Because like you see in the garden, my Moroccan neighbour also said it, that there is often also a division.'

The respondents who see migration-related diversity as enriching not only reported that they enjoyed living in their neighbourhood much more often: they also reported being harassed on the street or physically threatened two to two-and-a-half times less often than the respondents who saw diversity as a threat. The debate on migra- tion-related diversity is mainly focused on problems and conflicts. Rarely has the question been asked how it may benefit people when they see (or begin to see) diversity as a positive thing. These outcomes show that everyday life in the neigh- bourhood is much more pleasant for the people who see migration-related diversity as enriching.

In Chapter 2, we stated that one of the largest subgroups (comprising both people with and without a higher education diploma) consists of people who see migration background diversity as enriching, but have no or hardly any friends or acquaint- ances with a migration background. What these respondents actually do in practice does not seem to correspond to their positive opinions regarding diversity. What would they gain in terms of their wellbeing if they translated their positive attitude to diversity into their social practice? For example, the data show that this group has significantly fewer pleasant interethnic interactions in shops and in the street than the group that also sees diversity as enriching, but which has a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances. The respondents without a mixed circle of friends and acquaint-

ances also had significantly less contact with neighbours with a migration background and felt like a stranger in their neighbourhood significantly more often than people with a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances. Despite the fact that both groups see diversity as enriching, having a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances apparently makes an important difference to the experience of living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. With regard to wellbeing, people without a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances stand to benefit a great deal by translating their positive attitude to a mixed social practice.

How do people who are neither positive nor negative about migration-related diversity (the middle group) experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

There is another significant group of people who do not think that cultural diversity is enriching, but neither do they perceive it as threatening: the group whose scores are somewhere in the middle. The answers given by this middle group (19 percent of the respondents without and 12 percent of the respondents with a higher education diploma respectively) to questions on alienation, mistrust and interethnic interactions in the neighbourhood, lie somewhere in-between the answers given by the groups we have already described. This middle position is illustrated by the following quote from a man from Antwerp. He is aware of the migration-related diversity in his neighbourhood, but does not have any clearly negative or positive assessment of his encounters with people with a migration background.

> **Interviewer**: 'You have told me about what kind of interactions you have in the neighbourhood. Do they often involve coming into contact with people with a migration background?'
> **Respondent**: 'Reasonably... I mean, sometimes I don't really notice. But I think so, because I often notice that there is great diversity. And then I often think, ah... Whenever I hear a different language on the street or so. Yes.'
> **Interviewer**: 'And you said "often" but you don't pay much attention to it. What exactly do you mean by this?'
> **Respondent**: '...yes, just... you get used to it [laughs].'
> **Interviewer**: 'You get used to it [laughs].' So actually, you don't really pay attention to it anymore, something like that?
> **Respondent**: 'No, they are just the people with whom I live here, you know what I mean?'

This group of respondents includes people who deliberately want to be 'colour-blind', such as this neighbourhood shop owner from Rotterdam:

> 'If I may speak for myself, I don't do that, I don't make any distinction in my everyday life. Why would I? We all live here, most come from someplace else, and if you don't come from here, it doesn't matter; it just makes it all the more interesting. You may be different, but this doesn't mean that you therefore live differently and such. You know that certain cultures have other customs, and that is only good and interesting, also to develop yourself more. But it's not like you have to adjust to it in your everyday life, not at all. You just do your own thing. So if everyone can just do their own thing and stay themselves, that's the main thing that's important to me. Then you can interact with each other in a pleasant way. So in my everyday life, I don't factor in whether someone is called Peter Pan or if they are black or blue, that doesn't interest me a jot: what matters is that people are themselves.'

The answers given by the middle group with respect to interethnic relations tend more towards the group that sees diversity as enriching than towards the group that sees diversity as threatening. For example, 63 percent of the people without a higher education diploma who saw diversity as enriching said that they had a positive relationship with their neighbours with a migration background, as opposed to just 37 percent of the group who saw diversity as threatening. Fifty-one percent of the people in the middle group said that they had a positive relationship with their neighbours with a migration background, which puts them in-between the two other groups, but still closer to the people who see diversity as enriching. Therefore, the influence of this middle group is more likely to tip the scales of the practice of living together in a positive direction. This is even more pronounced when we look at conflicts on the street (self-reports of the frequency of being harassed and involved in a physical conflict). There are then no longer any significant differences between this group and the people who see migration-related diversity as enriching, while there is a strong significant difference with the group that sees diversity as threatening.

This middle group is an interesting one. Maybe these respondents are just not particularly interested in the topic of diversity and they often answered 'slightly agree' or 'in-between'. Or maybe their attitude is more pragmatic and less political. They are not negative, but nor are they very enthusiastic about diversity in their neighbourhood. Their attitude does not fit within the framework of the contact hypothesis, but nor does it fall within that of the ethnic group threat theory. They

simply do not find ethnic identity – their own, or that of other people – particularly important. As we shall see in the following chapters, this attitude means that the middle group makes an important contribution to a successful practice of living together.

How do the members of the third generation experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

The category 'people without a migration background' also includes a number of respondents from the third generation. These people's parents were both born in the country where we were conducting research, but one or more of their grandparents were born elsewhere. This means the 'without a migration background' category includes people who were born out of mixed relationships as well as people with different skin colours. We want to emphasize that these people make up only a small part of the sample: when asked about self-identification, only 188 of the 3026 respondents answered that they belonged to the group of 'people with a migration background' or 'people with a mixed background.' The third generation is still relatively young and therefore not very strongly represented in the age category of our respondents (25 up to and including 45 years). Since then, many more young people whose grandparents have a migration background have been born. If we look at the number of BaM respondents who reported having a mixed relationship (a quarter of the respondents in a relationship) it is clear that there will be a strong increase in this group in the future. It is therefore interesting to study this still small group because its impact on the practice of living together will continue to increase. In his book *Whiteshift*, the Canadian demographer Eric Kaufmann (2018) even predicts that by the end of this century, most people living in large cities in the United Kingdom will be born to mixed couples.

The people who self-identified as having a migration background or being of mixed origin (even though according to conventional statistics, they are 'people without a migration background') saw migration-related diversity as enriching relatively often. Perhaps, this is not a surprising outcome. The main difference between these people and the other respondents concerned their circle of friends and acquaintances. A quarter of the respondents from this group said that they had several or many friends and acquaintances with a migration background. That is considerably more than the other respondents. The answers that this subgroup gave in the BaM survey when asked about interactions with people with a migration background also deviated. These respondents reported having a positive relationship with neighbours with a migration background significantly more often and having unpleasant inter-

actions on the street with people with a migration background significantly less often. They also reported having pleasant interethnic interactions more often. In the following quote, a man from Amsterdam with Surinamese roots talks about how his background has affected his attitudes towards diversity:

> 'I literally see people from all kinds of backgrounds and all kinds of socio-economic classes living side-by-side every day. And it's crystal clear that this is going well. The papers are not full of reports of yet another brawl in the Transvaalbuurt [neighbourhood]. So it is going extremely well, in a neighbourhood with an extremely high level of diversity. Even before we think about how this has happened, it demonstrates that it is possible. And now, I know that I have a mixed background, therefore in any case, I have a broader perspective, though being mixed is no guarantee of this, you know. But I know that I am an advocate of this and that we have to forget about dividing up groups in the population on the basis of these kinds of characteristics. This neighbourhood shows that it's possible.'

The following quote from a woman from Malmö illustrates how one's background can influence how you understand yourself. When asked about her parents' attitude to diversity, she told:

> 'When I was a child, and also as a young adult, they were very pro-diversity and in particular anti-racist and anti-Nazi. They thought that it was especially important, you know, to emphasize the suffering during the Nazi era. When my father used to talk about our Roma background, it was always a little bit, not really a joke, but a sort of obvious explanation for why we were already brown in April, while most Swedish don't have a tan until June. And why we love travelling so much, why we always took a car with a caravan to places where few other people went, and those sorts of things. The explanation was always: Yes, that's our Tinker background. When I was a child, it was a joke that I didn't understand. It was just something I accepted. It didn't really mean anything; it was not as if there was an ethnic group of people called that and I had no idea of the connection with Roma. It was not until I was an adult that I began to understand it. I then learnt a little Romani and I discovered that all kinds of words that I had thought were Stockholm street slang when I was little, were actually Romani words. For example, the most common Swedish word for girl is tjej. Tjej is Romani. It means young woman or girl.'

We have seen that people from the third generation, or those who self-identify as having a mixed background, more often see migration-related diversity as enriching and also have meaningful contact with people with a migration background more often. Because the number of people with a mixed background will continue to increase, they will also have an increasingly strong influence on the practice of living together in the superdiverse city of the future.

How do women experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

The largest subgroup (52 percent) within the entire category of 'people without a migration background' consists of people who identify as a woman. How do women experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood? The alleged lack of respect among ethnic minority groups for women without a migration background occupies a prominent place in the discourse of many anti-immigrant parties. According to these parties, superdiverse neighbourhoods are an unpleasant living environment for women. Relatively little research has been conducted into how women without a migration background living in superdiverse majority-minority (MM) neighbourhoods experience their neighbourhood. People who see migration-related diversity as threatening, often said that this was because women without a migration background are harassed by groups of young men with a migration background. Anti-immigrant parties present themselves as protectors of these women. It is therefore important to ask what women themselves have to say about this. Do women living in MM neighbourhoods see migration-related diversity as threatening more often than men? This would be a logical assumption, given that men are not subjected to this form of harassment. The results, however, show that women are less likely than men to see migration-related diversity as threatening (21 percent versus 26 percent), and are more likely to see it as enriching (64 percent versus 59 percent). The anti-immigrant discourse about women being harassed mainly accuses men from North Africa and the Middle East. To find out whether our female respondents were more negative towards this group than men, we analysed the 'temperature question' from the BaM survey, whereby respondents could express their feelings with regard to various groups by choosing a temperature ranging from 0 degrees (very cold feelings) to 100 degrees (very warm feelings). This revealed that female respondents had significantly warmer feelings towards people from North African and the Middle East than male respondents. The data therefore do not show that women from superdiverse MM neighbourhoods find diversity extra threatening.

Of course, it is possible that women are reluctant to mention negative behaviour on the part of men with a migration background. We therefore checked separately to see whether female respondents reported being insulted in the street by men on the basis of gender. Sixteen percent of the women had experienced this in the previous year. We asked these women whether the perpetrators belonged to a different ethnic group than themselves. Ten percent of the 16 percent said that this was the case. Our respondents acknowledged this intolerant behaviour and did not ignore it. But the overriding majority of these women also saw diversity as enriching. This is an important outcome for our book. Why, despite their negative experiences, do these women still have a generally positive attitude towards migration-related diversity? Our hypothesis is that these negative experiences are balanced out by numerous positive experiences with people with a migration background, so that these women do not generalize one experience with an individual to an entire group. If we look at the subgroup of women who have been insulted on the basis of their gender by someone with a migration background and who consider diversity as enriching, we see that this hypothesis is backed up by the data. Two-thirds of the women in this group have a number of good friends with a migration background and one in three has a partner with a migration background. Of the women with no or hardly any good friends with a migration background, two-thirds said that several of their acquaintances had a migration background. Many of these women also reported having a positive relationship with colleagues or neighbours with a migration background. It is highly likely that these meaningful relationships are an important reason why these women do not generalize an incident with one individual to cover an entire group. This is a very important mechanism through which the broader practice of living together is still able to succeed despite negative experiences.

How do people who identify as LGBTQ+ experience living in a superdiverse neighbourhood?

Another important subgroup within the category 'people without a migration background' is formed by the people who identify as one of the identities within the LGBTQ+ group. In the anti-immigrant discourse, they are also mentioned as a group whose freedom is threatened by specific groups of people with a migration background. Despite this, precious little is known about how people in the LGBTQ+ communities experience living in a superdiverse MM neighbourhood. 312 of the respondents in our survey identified as LGBTQ+, enough to compare them with

the group that identifies as a cisgender heterosexual man or woman. There did not appear to be any major differences between the two groups, but a slightly larger share of cisgender heterosexuals saw migration-related diversity as threatening.

To examine the much-heard stereotype of LGBTQ+ people being harassed by young people with an Islamic background, we also looked at whether LGBTQ+ people felt colder towards people from North Africa and the Middle East. We did not find any significant differences between the LGBTQ+ group and the cisgender heterosexual group in this respect. At 14 percent, the group that reported having been insulted because of their sexual orientation was approximately the same as among women. Once again, the perpetrator had been someone from a different ethnic group in two-thirds of the cases. However, this had not led this group to reject diversity in general. As we have already seen, we notice here that having meaningful relationships with people with a migration background contributes to not generalizing negative experiences into having a negative attitude towards an entire group. A quarter of the respondents from this subgroup said that their partner had a migration background. Six out of ten of the respondents in this group had several good friends with a migration background. The vast majority of the people who said that they did not have a mixed circle of friends said that their broader circle of acquaintances was mixed.

Even though anti-immigrant parties claim to champion women and the LGBTQ+ community in superdiverse neighbourhoods to further their anti-immigrant discourse, people from these groups do not actually seem to endorse this narrative.

Diversity within superdiversity

One of the most important features of the concept of superdiversity is *the diversification of diversity* (Vertovec 2023). This means that it is important to consider diversity *within* ethnic groups when determining the position that people occupy within society.

It's important to expose the diversity within an ethnic group because this brings other individual aspects, such as sexual orientation, gender, political preferences, taste in music, etc. into focus. Often, these other aspects transcend ethnic group boundaries. The gay community in Amsterdam provides an interesting example.

One of the characteristics of this community is its enormous ethnic diversity. This diversity is often seen by the community as something that is important and to be celebrated. For example, the Amsterdam Gay Men's Chorus proudly introduces itself as a choir containing 34 nationalities. Their members' gay identity seems to be every bit as important as, or even more so than their ethnic identity.

People have many different identities. The author and essayist Sinan Çankaya (2020) describes this as: 'my countless identities'. All of these other identities create just as many points of contact between people that can transcend differences based on ethnic identity. These different identities and similarities are an important reason why people do not generalize negative experiences with individuals from a migration background to an entire group.

There is also, however, a smaller group of respondents who seem to confine themselves to a single identity, namely their ethnic or national identity. Their attitude is focused on negative interethnic interactions, and this negativity also seems to be the starting point in subsequent encounters with people from migrant backgrounds, for example on the streets and in shops. This creates a negative spiral, which as we shall see in the next chapter, has far-reaching consequences for the practice of living together.

Chapter 5

What is the impact of the different attitudes towards diversity?

Politicians often label multicultural neighbourhoods as problem areas. As residents of this type of neighbourhood, we have never been able to take this type of one-sided assessment on board. Yes, neighbours sometimes have conflicts with each other, but this does not mean that they live in a state of permanent warfare. Sometimes there is an incident on the street but it's not as if you have to look over your shoulder every time you leave the house. The one thing in particular that we find missing from this conventional portrait concerns the pleasant, everyday interactions between residents: the chats on the street and in shops, the happy atmosphere in the park and the playground on a sunny day. We tried to capture this more balanced image of majority-minority (MM) neighbourhoods in the questions contained in the BaM survey. This is why these questions focus on both the pleasant and unpleasant aspects of the practice of living together.

Another question that we would like to answer is the extent to which the views and opinions of people living in MM neighbourhoods determine the practice of living together. We think that the group that sees migration-related diversity as a threat and the group that sees it as enriching both add their weight to the scales of the practice of living together and can therefore tip the balance of the social climate in opposite directions.

Unpleasant and pleasant interethnic interactions on the street as experienced by respondents without a higher education diploma in majority-minority cities.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

	pleasant interactions	unpleasant interactions
Amsterdam	68%	16%
Antwerp	60%	23%
Hamburg	65%	27%
Malmö	66%	23%
Rotterdam	53%	27%
Vienna	46%	43%

pleasant interactions

59%
average

unpleasant interactions

29%
average

Unpleasant and pleasant interethnic interactions on the street as experienced by respondents with a higher education diploma in majority-minority cities.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

	pleasant	unpleasant
Amsterdam	70%	18%
Antwerp	75%	21%
Hamburg	69%	23%
Malmö	75%	21%
Rotterdam	64%	24%
Vienna	55%	35%

pleasant interactions

unpleasant interactions

70%
average

22%
average
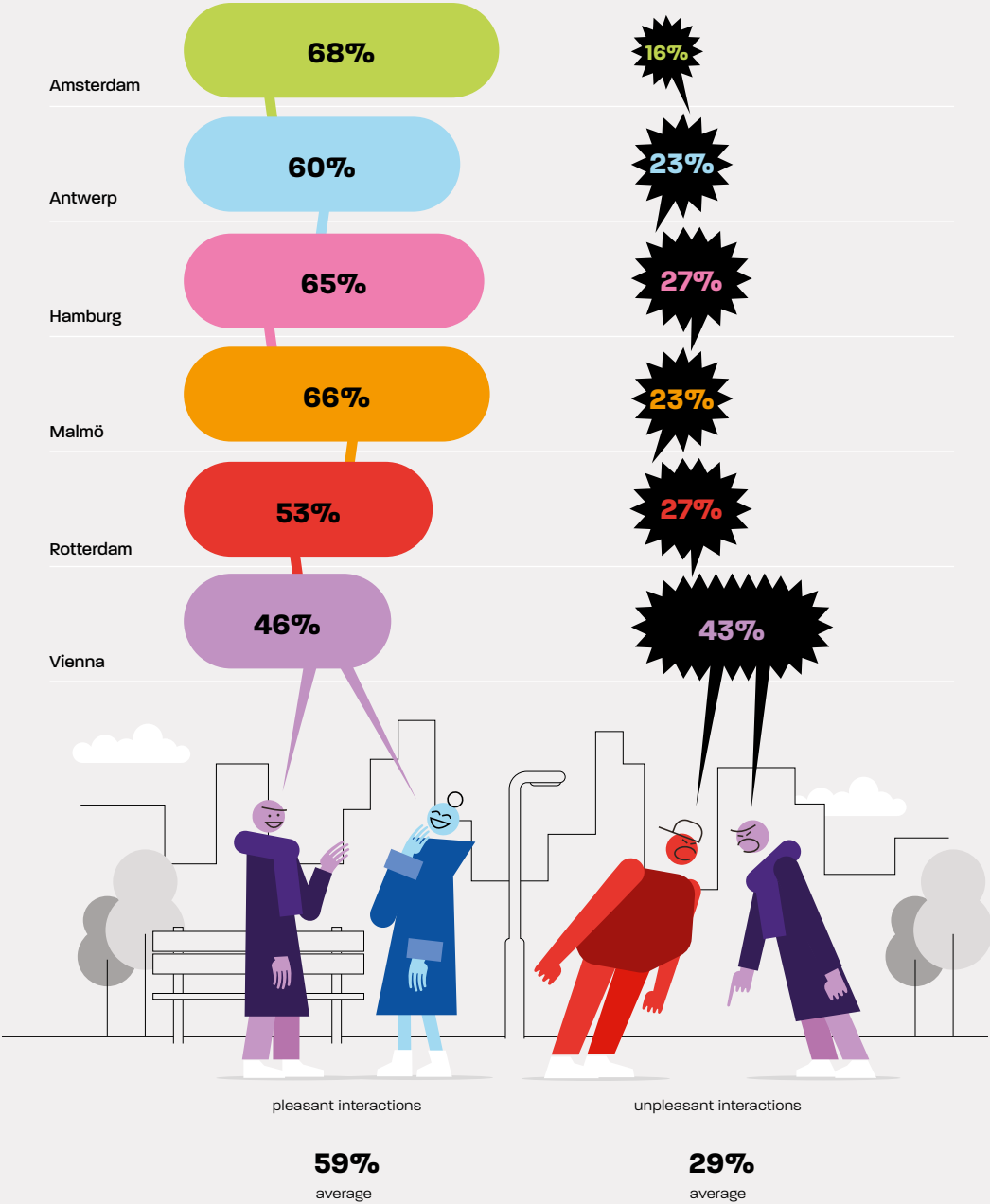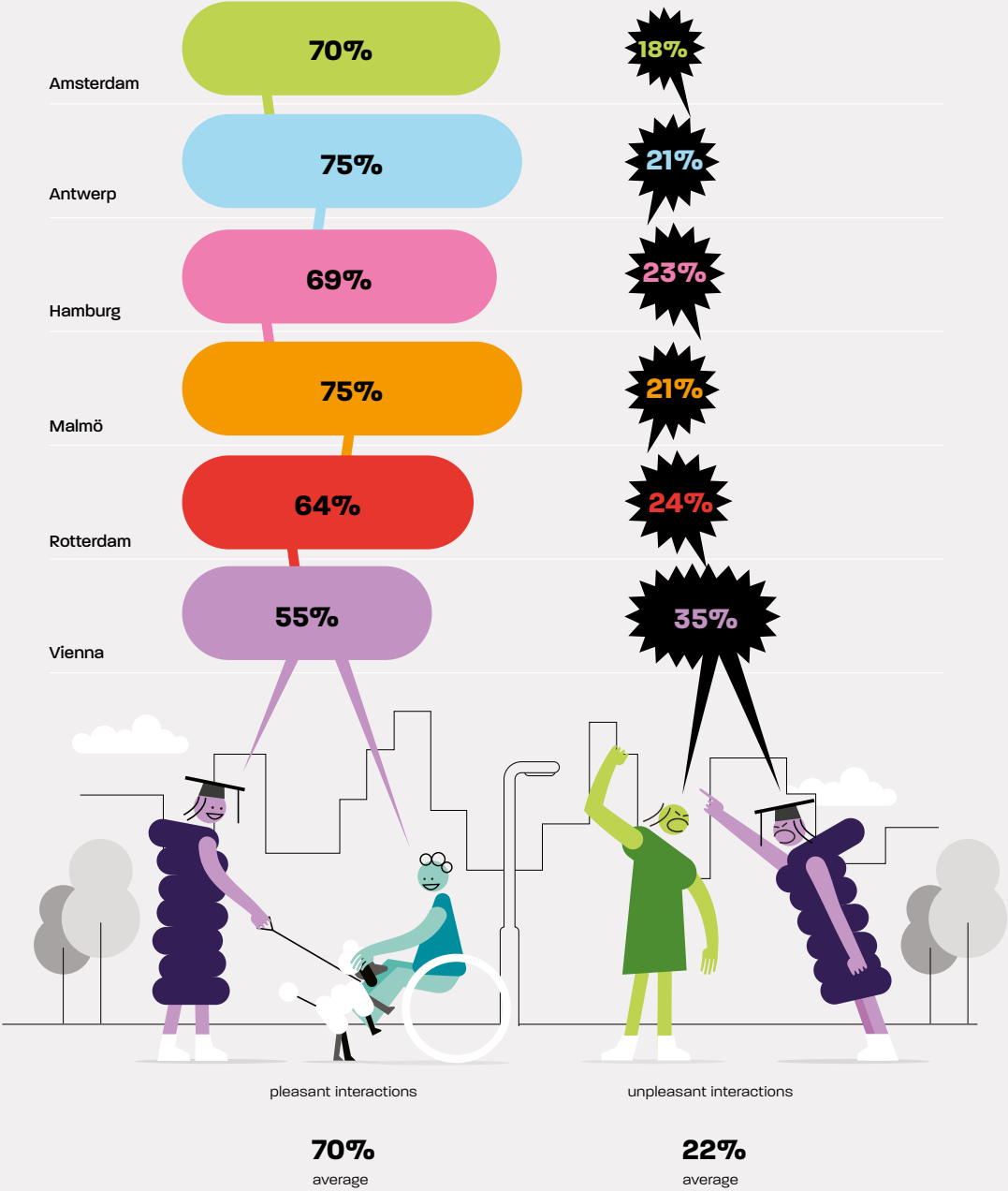
The practice of living together in figures

Research into neighbourhood tensions is nothing new. Many cities have neighbourhood monitors which they regularly use to measure the social climate in neighbourhoods and give it a score. Policymakers and all kinds of community professionals incorporate such measurements into their interventions. Our outcomes are focused specifically on the impact of the attitudes and interactions of residents without a migration background on the practice of living together in MM neighbourhoods. Naturally, this is only one aspect of living together in a neighbourhood, but it is one that has received little attention up until now.

In the survey, we asked respondents whether their interactions with people with a migration background in public spaces, such as on the street or in shops, were pleasant or unpleasant (see infographic 5a). The respondents could also state that they had had both pleasant and unpleasant interethnic interactions in a specific place, or no interactions at all. First of all, it is nice to see that in all of the cities there were many more pleasant interethnic interactions on the street than unpleasant interactions. Vienna was the only city in which there was an almost even balance between pleasant and unpleasant interactions.

When respondents had a higher education diploma, the balance tipped even more emphatically towards pleasant interethnic interactions (see infographic 5b). But here also, we see that the highest percentage of unpleasant interethnic interactions were in Vienna. In Chapter 6, we will go in search of what may be causing this.

We also asked about interactions with people with a migration background in shops. The trend in shops even showed a slightly more positive picture than the trend on the street (see infographics 6a and 6b).

There were fewer unpleasant interethnic interactions in the less anonymous atmosphere of a shop than in the more anonymous context of the street (also see Knipprath et al. 2021). There were even fewer unpleasant interethnic interactions in playgrounds where people usually meet each other more often. Thus, the more likely people are to know each other, the greater the likelihood of pleasant interethnic interactions.

In all of the BaM cities alike, it was striking how a disproportionately large number of the people who see migration-related diversity as a threat reported interethnic conflicts. This group accounts for 375 out of the total of 763 unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street that were reported in the survey. This is almost half of the incidents reported, even though this group makes up less than one-quarter of the

total number of respondents. If many of the people in a particular neighbourhood see diversity as a threat, the weight they add to the scales will have an enormous impact on the practice of living together in that neighbourhood.

There was also a subgroup of respondents that reported pleasant interethnic interactions disproportionally more often. It consisted of people who not only saw diversity as enriching, but who also had a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances. They reported having positive interethnic interactions on the street one-and-a-half times more often than people outside this group.

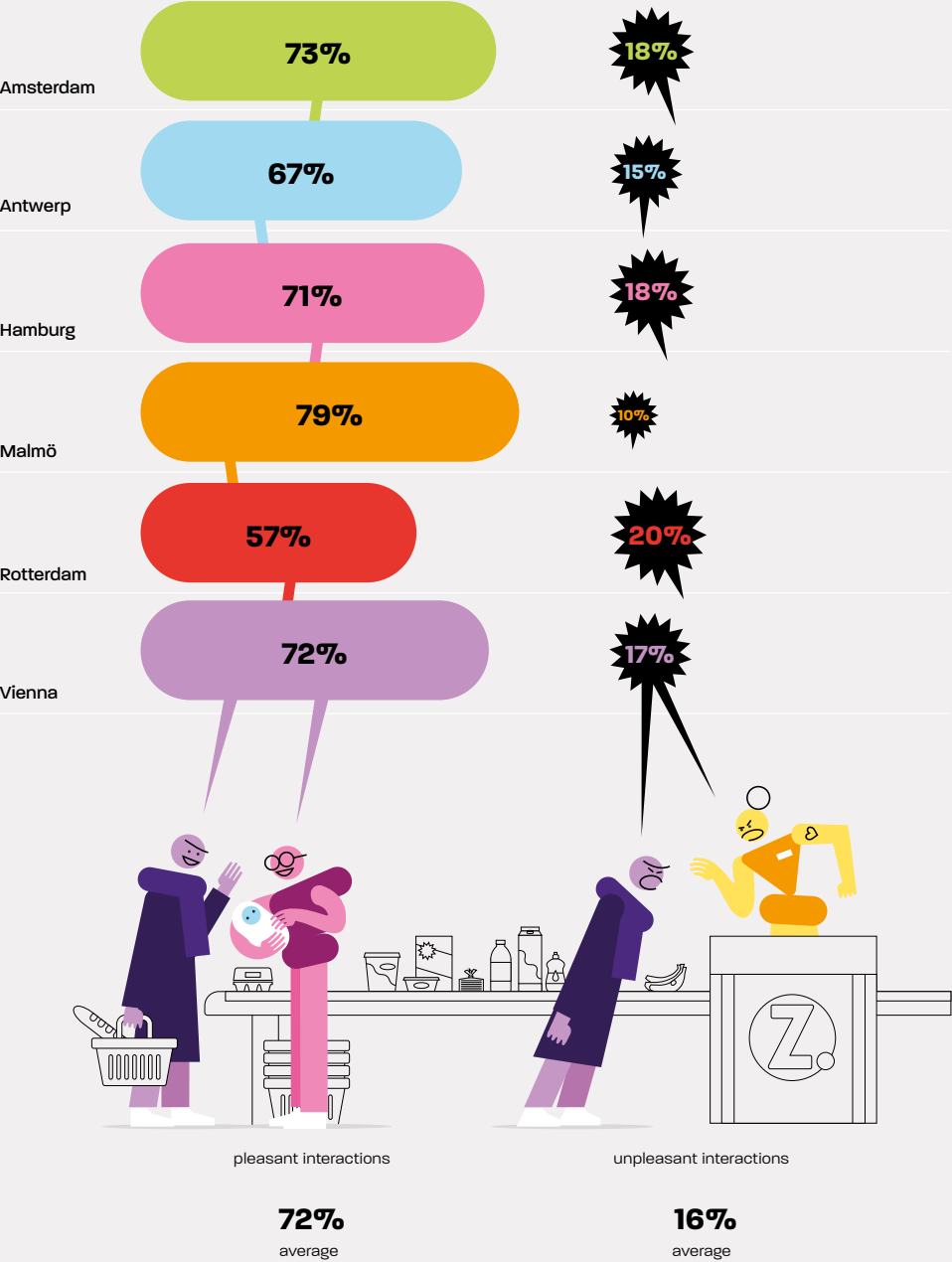## The relationship between political preferences and the practice of living together

When examining the impact of people without a migration background on the practice of living together, we also included political preference. We know that sometimes more than half of the people living in MM neighbourhoods do not vote. Furthermore, research conducted by political scientists shows that people who vote for anti-immigrant parties do not always reveal their political preference. Our survey will be no exception to this. It is also difficult to compare the anti-immigrant parties in the five European countries in our study as they all have a different character and history. We therefore included a question in the BaM questionnaire, asking people where they would place themselves on a political scale ranging from the far left to the far right. Is there a relationship between respondents' political preferences and unpleasant interethnic interactions and conflicts on the street? We not only asked about unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street, but also about threats and physical violence in the neighbourhood in the previous year. Infographic 7a shows that there is a clear connection between political preference and unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street.

We also asked about threats and physical confrontations on the street. Here, it appears that there is little or no difference regarding the outcomes for people who place themselves somewhere between far left to moderate right on the scale. However, the percentage that reported having experienced this type of conflict is a great deal higher among the respondents whose political preference was to the 'right 'or 'far right'. No less than a third of the respondents who positioned themselves on the extreme right of the scale reported threats and/or physical confrontations on the street in the past year (infographic 7b).

INFOGRAPHIC 6A

Unpleasant and pleasant interethnic interactions in shops as experienced by respondents without a higher education diploma in majority-minority cities.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

City	Pleasant	Unpleasant
Amsterdam	73%	18%
Antwerp	67%	15%
Hamburg	71%	18%
Malmö	79%	10%
Rotterdam	57%	20%
Vienna	72%	17%

pleasant interactions

unpleasant interactions

72%
average

16%
average

Unpleasant and pleasant interethnic interactions in shops as experienced by respondents with a higher education diploma in majority-minority cities.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

City	Pleasant	Unpleasant
Amsterdam	83%	8%
Antwerp	81%	8%
Hamburg	76%	14%
Malmö	86%	6%
Rotterdam	78%	8%
Vienna	77%	14%

pleasant interactions

unpleasant interactions

80%
average

9%
average

The political preference of respondents without a migration background and reported unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019
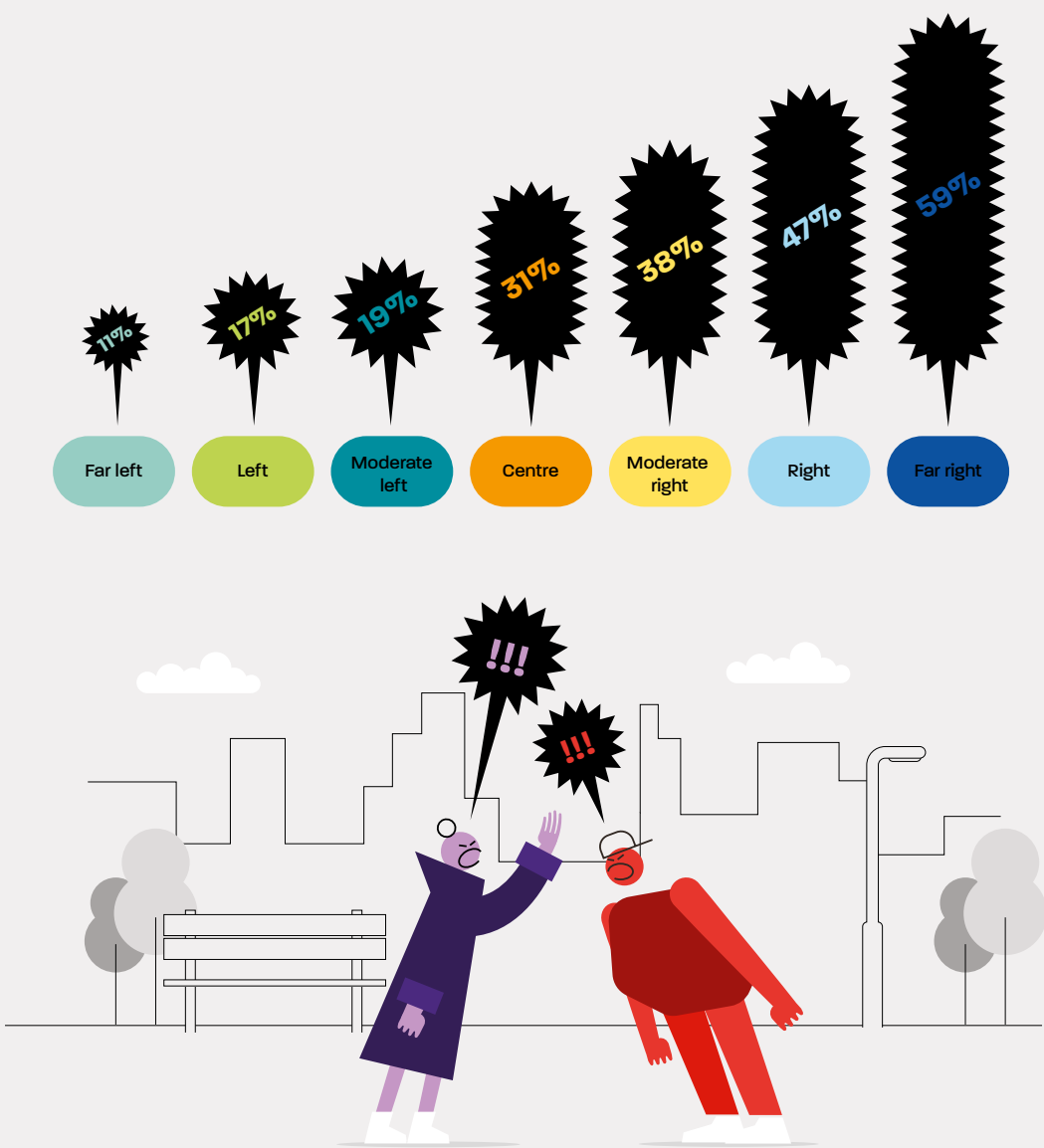
Far left	Left	Moderate left	Centre	Moderate right	Right	Far right
11%	17%	19%	31%	38%	47%	59%

The political preference of respondents without a migration background and reports of threats or physical violence in the neighbourhood.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

32%

18%

6%

5%

6%

9%

9%

| Far left | Left | Moderate left | Centre | Moderate right | Right | Far right |
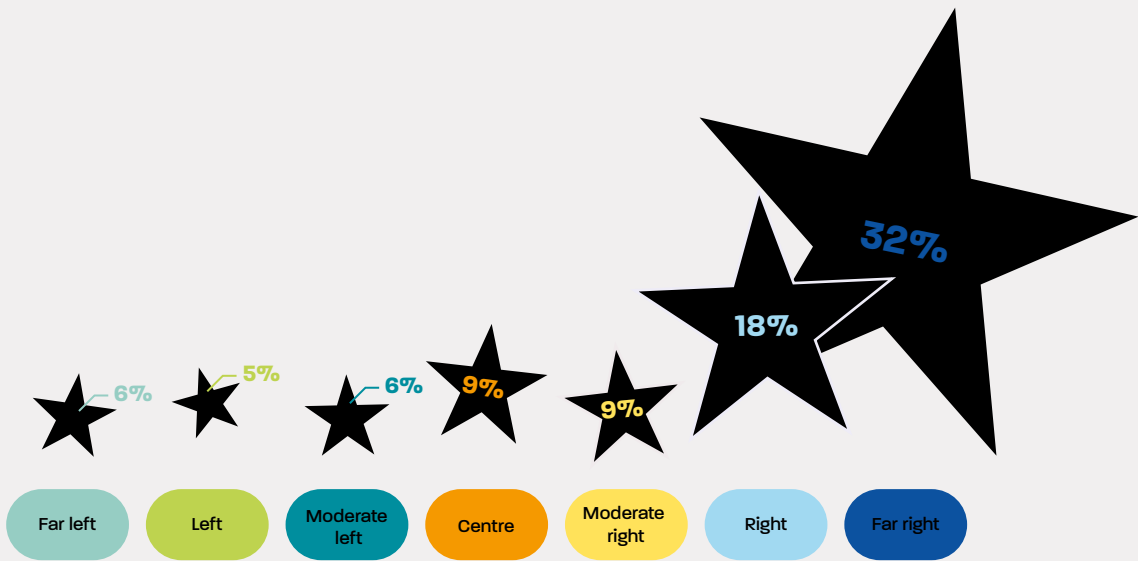
Our survey does not allow us to answer whether or not extreme right-wing parties create a climate that fuels neighbourhood conflicts. But, in any case it is clear that there is a relationship between the occurrence of unpleasant interactions on the street and threats and physical conflicts in the neighbourhood and the number of extreme right-wing people reporting such incidents.

The presence of a large group of people with a right-wing or extreme right-wing political preference has a huge impact on the social climate in superdiverse neighbourhoods and cities. Vienna – the city with not only the most voters for extreme right-wing parties, but also the most inhabitants who described themselves as being far right – was where we found by far the greatest number of negative interethnic interactions. In Amsterdam, where far right-wing parties have a much smaller following and where far fewer people labelled themselves as being extreme right-wing, we found relatively few negative interethnic interactions.

The 'connectors': the relationship between having a mixed circle of friends and the practice of living together

We have already seen that people who have a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances have an important impact on the successful practice of living together. In her book *The new religious intolerance*, Martha Nussbaum (2012) describes the importance of what she calls *interethnic elective friendships*. Many authors have mentioned interethnic friendships as an important basis for social cohesion in a superdiverse neighbourhood or city. Yet, we still do not know much about exactly how this works. Of course, the fact that having a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances, which means that people meet each other across ethnic group boundaries, is important in itself, but do people who maintain such friendships also fulfil another role in the neighbourhood?

To study this, we looked at respondents whose circle of friends and acquaintances consists of people with a migration background for at least the half. As we already mentioned, this group also includes people who do not see migration-related diversity as enriching. One-quarter (25 percent) of the respondents without a migration background who do not have a higher education diploma belongs to this group. This figure is approximately one in seven (14 percent) among respondents with a higher education diploma. In Chapter 3, we have already seen that many of these respondents grew up in a diverse neighbourhood and attended a mixed primary school. Their circle of friends probably dates from this period.

An important subgroup among the connectors consists of respondents who are in a relationship with a person with a migration background. The BaM data show that

no fewer than one in four respondents in a relationship has a partner with a migration background. This concerns a large group, which can add significant weight to the scales of the practice of living together in the neighbourhood. We decided to look at this group in more detail. One woman from Amsterdam told how her experiences in more personal relationships had influenced her interactions with the people in her superdiverse neighbourhood:

> 'Maybe it's to do with finding out a little bit more about other cultures every time. I have been in Ghana and had a Ghanaian partner. I work with a lot of Syrians and have many Syrian friends. You begin to recognize cultural habits. So when you see people from a particular country on the street behaving a certain way or you hear them talking, I react, because I like to do this [says a few words in Arabic]. Well, you could think: are you doing this to show off? But I think that it is just an easy way to let them know: hey, I know something about your culture and I love your culture, you know. And with Surinamese people, yes, you hear a certain type of street slang and I recognize it, because I have spent some time in Suriname. So this is how I connect.'

It is interesting that many studies mainly look at the impact that being in a mixed relationship has on the partner *with* a migration background. Entering into a mixed relationship is often seen as the ultimate litmus test of integration – on the part of the partner with a migration background. The idea is that having a partner without a migration background will enable the migrant to adopt the norms and values of the receiving society. But there has been scarcely any research into how this may affect the partner without a migration background (Crul, Lelie & Song 2023). Once more, this reveals the blind spot in research into migration-related diversity with regard to the impact of living in a culturally diverse context on those without a migration background.

One-third of the people whose partner has a migration background said that at least half of their circle of friends and acquaintances consisted of people with a migration background. To compare: this is true of only 13 percent of the respondents with a partner without a migration background. We see that respondents in a mixed relationship were also much more accepting of migration-related diversity. For example, they form the group that most often reported having adopted different norms and values from other cultures, but that also, for example, said that they have learnt to speak a few words in another language in order to communicate with neighbours with a migration background. This group is significantly more likely to have contact with

neighbours with a migration background and also significantly more likely to evaluate this contact as positive than respondents who are also positive about diversity but have a partner who, like themselves, does not have a migration background.

The qualitative interviews also reveal that people in a mixed union have more contact with neighbours with a migration background. This often involves the small mutual gestures that make life in a neighbourhood pleasant. A woman from Rotterdam whose partner is of Moroccan origin, described the contact with her next-door neighbour:

> 'I have a neighbour, he is Surinamese; he also has cats, so we have cat contact. Our gardens border on each other. Recently he brought me some cherry tomato seedlings in a pot, and occasionally, I also bring him something.'

A man living in Amsterdam whose partner is of Moroccan origin, told us about interactions in his hallway in a casual manner:

> **Interviewer**: 'How many families in the common entrance hall have a migration background?'
> **Respondent**: 'Yes, everyone, except on the ground floor, that's a Dutch woman and her son. Below, there's an African woman and a man. And there are Somalian people upstairs.'
> **Interviewer**: 'How would you describe the contact?'
> **Respondent**: '[We just say] hello, or we help each other carry the groceries up the stairs. That's it. It's better to have good neighbours than bad contact with your neighbours. We are all aware of that. You walk up and down those stairs with your children and you want to feel safe on the stairs. You always receive help, even with the baby buggy. If you are not good with your neighbours, they will just walk past you. You're on your own.'
> **Interviewer**: 'Yes, because some people find it harder to have good contact with neighbours with a migration background, while others get on with them just fine. What makes for good contact?'
> **Respondent**: 'I'm not used to anything else. I can't judge. It's very normal for me, people from another culture, for example. This feels normal to me. I don't see it any differently. All my children are half Moroccan.'

Such everyday examples of neighbours helping each other are important for enjoying living in a building with a communal hallway.

Interethnic contacts in your private life therefore influence your actions in contexts outside your close social circle. We noticed that this also had a huge influence on pleasant interethnic interactions on the street, in shops and in the park. A woman from Antwerp with an Ethiopian partner described how she deals with certain codes and sensitivities in order to have pleasant interethnic interactions:

> 'If someone does not speak Dutch, I will act differently, because I adapt. I would approach certain topics more carefully with someone who is observing. I wouldn't give a bottle of wine to a Muslim. And greetings. In the Ethiopian community, I greet people in the Ethiopian way, or use Ethiopian words. Or you dress differently. For example, in the summer, it's different in Borgerhout than it is here. Here, I can easily go to the baker's in a short dress. But I would not do that there. It's like fashion, isn't it? When everyone starts doing or wearing something, you often start doing it yourself.'

The same woman said that the concept of empathy was central to improving the practice of living together:

> 'You can't just know who the other person is. That is an obligation [to get to know people], I think, because we have to be empathic. But obviously, you can't be empathic if you don't know who the other person is. This means that you have to talk to other people, you have to enter into a dialogue to find out who the other person is. And in addition to this, but that's my feeling of responsibility, you have to give people the feeling that they belong. And there is a responsibility to welcome other people or make them feel at ease. But this is a structural problem. We try to achieve this through education, but [the fact that] these encounters are not taking place is a gigantic problem. Our government should do much more to encourage encounters [between people].'

A woman in Amsterdam with a Moroccan partner also gave examples of things that she has started doing differently to facilitate contact with neighbours and family members with a migration background. This often involved small things:

> 'My husband is also Moroccan. For example, we do not eat outdoors during Ramadan, even though my husband does not observe it. But during the time that people are fasting, we do not eat outdoors out of respect [for other people who are fasting]. So there are some adjustments. Yes, and if I go to my parents-in-law. It's not that I would usually wear revealing clothing, but

> I do pay attention to this. In any case, everyone there always looks tip-top. Yes, then I also make a bit of an effort.… You have to take your shoes off there, so you have to make sure that you are wearing nice socks. Yes, I do pay attention to this. In fact, I also do when I'm in my own house.'

In the qualitative interviews, it was noticeable that respondents whose partner had a migration background did more than just exchange pleasantries with people in the neighbourhood with a migration background. They were often able to tell us more personal things about them. Often, they functioned as a sort of bridge between people with and without a migration background in the hallway or block of flats, and sometimes, they facilitated contact by organizing joint activities for the residents. The interviews revealed that a number of these people were working as professionals in the social, cultural or education sector and therefore have the professional skills to bring people in the neighbourhood or block of flats together for social or cultural activities. This is an important added value that these people contribute to their superdiverse neighbourhood. When a person without a migration background forms such connections, it becomes easier for other residents without a migration background to make contact with neighbourhood residents with a migration background through these 'bridge-builders'. The woman in Amsterdam with a Moroccan partner quoted above, told us about an event that she had organized in the communal garden behind her block of flats:

> 'Yes, that was reasonably well-visited. I have to say that my next-door neighbour [with a migration background] did not attend. But the people around the corner did come. An older Moroccan couple live there. So there were different residents. And there is a Moroccan woman living here [points], whom I also know since then. I organize a coffee event in the garden every year together with her. The weekend before the summer holiday, we invite all the neighbours to come drink something in the garden. I do that together with her [the Moroccan neighbour]. I deliberately approached her for this.'

If there are minor conflicts in the neighbourhood with the children, these people often act as mediators and ensure that conflicts don't get out of hand or are ethnicized. The following quote from a woman in Amsterdam whose partner has a migration background illustrates this point:

> 'Sometimes a ball lands on the balcony. My children are inclined to throw it back, but I wait until they ring the doorbell. Then they say: "Yes, my ball is on the balcony." Then I say: "Oh, shall I throw it back?" And then I say, "What's

the missing word?" "Oh yeah, thank you." [smiles] They always come looking for me, because I have a long stick in the meter cupboard for if a ball gets stuck in a tree. This is how you create... I do this on purpose, if I see the boys playing outside on our little square, I say hello to them. I keep doing that so that they know that I know them.'

It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of these connectors for a neighbourhood. They are crucial for a successful practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. Together with the connectors with a migration background, they form an invisible fabric that connects people in a neighbourhood to each other and defuse potential conflicts.

Chapter 6

What tips the balance in favour of a successful practice of living together?

In this chapter, we want to answer one of the most important questions we had in mind when we started the Becoming a Minority project. In our own neighbourhood in Amsterdam, diversity has long been a broadly accepted aspect of everyday life. Cultural, educational and social institutions are all adapting to this reality if they have not already done so. This image is almost at odds with the increasingly negative political climate. Our multicultural society is regularly described as a 'failure' and has even been referred to as a 'multicultural tragedy'. According to many politicians the multicultural project is 'dead'. But if that is the case, why is the balance tipping towards a successful practice of living together?

In the previous chapter, we examined several factors that influence the practice of living together in superdiverse neighbourhoods. In this chapter, we will introduce two important mechanisms that can tip the balance in favour of a successful practice of living together. The first concerns the apparent contradiction between people's attitudes towards diversity (their opinions) and their actual practices when it comes to diversity. A considerable group of respondents said that they mainly considered migration-related diversity as a threat, but when we asked them about how they would describe their relationships with neighbours with a migration background, they said that it was positive. What is even more interesting is that this specific group also had fewer unpleasant and more pleasant interethnic interactions on the street, in the park and in shops. The fact that a section of people with negative views on diversity do not extend this attitude to their contacts with their neighbours and in

public spaces tips the scales further towards a successful practice of living together. To examine whether this mechanism also works in a context within which there is a strong prevalence of negative attitudes, we conducted a stress test. We examined the context in which we found the most negative opinions on migration-related diversity – respondents living in social housing in Vienna. It would be a clear signal if the mechanism described above manages to tip the balance towards a successful practice of living together, even in this context.

The second important mechanism that influences the practice of living together concerns the impact of power positions. People may exercise power individually, for example as a manager or by virtue of their position within an organization or institution. They can put their position of power into practice, either to move the scales towards the acceptance of cultural diversity or towards its rejection. This is why this chapter will look at respondents in managerial positions, including both people with and people without a higher education diploma. Their formal power position means that managers can add extra weight to the scale, causing it to tip towards either inclusion or exclusion. We also looked at people who can influence the diversity climate in institutions in the cultural, educational and social fields.

Negative about diversity, but more nuanced in practice

We have seen that a significant group of respondents, mainly people without a higher education diploma, said that migration-related diversity is threatening. Here, we will examine whether they extend this attitude to interethnic interactions with their neighbours and in the neighbourhood. We have taken the group without a higher education diploma as an example because it contains the largest subgroup with a negative opinion of migration-related diversity. Is the practice that we described in Chapter 1, taking The Hague's Schilderswijk neighbourhood as an example – namely, that people may be explicitly negative about migration while also being explicitly positive about their relationship with their neighbours with a migration background – a more widespread phenomenon?

One-third (37 percent) of the people without a higher education diploma who saw migration-related diversity as a threat, nonetheless evaluated their contact with neighbours with a migration background as being positive (see table 4 in appendix 2). These respondents therefore did not extend their negative attitude to their personal contact with their neighbours. Is this positive contact with neighbours an exception to their behaviour towards people with a migration background or do these respond-

ents really differ from the people who are neutral or negative about their neighbours with a migration background? To find out, we examined possible differences in interethnic interactions on the street. We also found significant differences in this respect. People who had a positive evaluation of their contact with neighbours with a migration background reported significantly fewer unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street than people with a negative evaluation of their contact with neighbours with a migration background. This difference was a striking 46 percent! We also asked whether people had been threatened or physically attacked on the street in the previous year. Once more, we saw strongly significant differences (15 percent vs 39 percent) between respondents who had positive contact and respondents who had negative contact with their neighbours with a migration background. Once more, we emphasize that we are now talking about people with a negative opinion of migration-related diversity. However, the people who had positive contact with neighbours with a migration background were clearly less often involved in such conflicts.

This is an important conclusion, especially for policymakers and politicians. Currently everyone who expresses a negative opinion regarding migration-related diversity is put into a single category. A considerable number of these people, however, seem willing to build a positive relationship with their neighbours with a migration background. This requires an active approach, especially in view of their opinions on migration-related diversity. In Chapter 3, we saw that many people who see migration-related diversity as a threat often pay a high social-emotional price for adopting this position, leading a life of self-segregation and conflict in their culturally diverse neighbourhood. Apparently, a considerable part of this group does not want to live this way. In practice, these respondents choose to maintain a good relationship with their neighbours with a migration background and do not have any conflicts in the public space.

A number of these people also made use of the option to leave a comment at the end of the BaM survey. Researchers, ourselves included, often use respondents' quotes as illustrations to clarify a mechanism that we have observed in order to show once again how people think and act. Often, quotations containing contradictory opinions are discarded. But it is important to allow people who express more contradictory opinions to have their say. This is why we have included the following comments, which were left at the end of the BaM survey, even though they would not usually be chosen because of the apparent contradictions they contain. However, we think that it is precisely this contradiction between seeing migration-related diversity as a threat, while nevertheless having a relaxed practice of living together that illustrates an important opening in a polarized debate:

> 'I would like to provide some nuance. I have good contact with my Moroccan, Surinamese and Caribbean neighbours. However, we are regularly bothered (by noise and littler) caused by a group of youths loitering about, who spoil the atmosphere in the street and behave in an anti-social way. The people living in this street chat to each other and say hello and help each other wherever necessary. It's not that we are dropping in on each other all the time, but you can expect a helping hand, if for example, you have to carry something heavy up the stairs.'

'Not everyone is equal and deserves the chance to be treated equally. What annoys me is how people from other countries handle their rubbish. They chuck their rubbish out the window. Despite that, I think that it's good to get to know other cultures.'

> 'I grew up with a lot of migrants and I know their problems. But despite that, I want more attention paid to the problems of our own population.'

'The biggest problem at the moment is not so much the people from different backgrounds, but the fact that they are given the most, for example with opening a shop, or benefits and a person like myself and many others wait years for a house or if anything happens, we have to apply for benefits and get a cut and/or hardly get anything.'

> 'I don't have a problem with migration, but I do think that our culture is not taken into consideration enough.'

The outcomes of the BaM survey and the comments of the respondents add nuance to the ethnic group conflict theory that we discussed in Chapter 3, as not everyone who sees migration-related diversity as a threat ends up in a downward spiral of interethnic conflict accompanied by even more negative attitudes. At the same time, our findings also add nuance to the contact hypothesis, which assumes that positive personal contact will lead to more tolerance, accompanied by more positive attitudes towards migration-related diversity. There also seems to be no evidence of this taking place. The respondents from this group maintained a negative attitude towards migration-related diversity. They seem to find themselves in a grey area somewhere in-between the predictions made by the two theories.

This grey area becomes even larger when we include the respondents with negative attitudes towards migration-related diversity who describe their contact with neighbours with a migration background as neutral. Numerically, this is the largest group. We see that they report fewer conflicts in semi-public spaces than the group that links

negative attitudes to having negative personal contact with neighbours. It seems that neither the contact hypothesis nor the ethnic group threat theory includes this grey area made up of people who do not behave 'consistently', because interethnic contact does not make them more positive, but neither does it push them into a downward spiral of conflict.

The weight of this large group of people in the grey area is an important reason why the balance ultimately tips less towards a negative diversity climate than we would expect on the strength of their opinions alone. Moreover, looking at the bigger picture, we see that most of the people who speak negatively about diversity do not put these attitudes into practice, while those who speak positively about migration-related diversity tend to turn their attitudes into enjoyable interactions and contact. This nuance illustrates why it is so important to look at the practice of living together. If we were only to consider the negative attitudes towards living in a culturally diverse context, we could expect to find a great many unpleasant interactions and numerous conflicts. But when we look at what people actually do, we often see a successful practice of living together.

Stress test for the practice of living together

Earlier, we have seen that Vienna has many people without a higher education diploma who have negative attitudes with regard to migration-related diversity and that there are many tensions on the street and in shops in this city that have a negative impact on the diversity climate. Out of all the respondents, the respondents without a higher education diploma living in social housing in Vienna appear to have the most negative opinions about diversity. Social housing here is often built in separate clusters within a neighbourhood, usually in the form of apartment blocks and high-rise flats. We will discuss the architecture of these neighbourhoods and its influence on the social climate in more detail later in this book, but first let's take a look at the practice of living together in the Viennese majority-minority neighbourhoods we studied. These neighbourhoods had the highest scores out of all of the BaM neighbourhoods for rejection of migration-related diversity. This is the ultimate stress test. Our Viennese sample contained 162 people without a higher education diploma living in social housing, which is sufficient for a data analysis. These respondents saw migration-related diversity as threatening (53 percent) twice as often as enriching (23 percent) (see table 5 in appendix 2). By comparison, in the other cities, the percentage of people without a higher education degree who see diversity as a threat hovers somewhere between 30 and 40 percent (see infographic 2 chapter 2).

Eighty-five percent of the respondents living in these neighbourhoods was born in Vienna. One-third was even born in the neighbourhood they were currently living in. These numbers are also very high in comparison to the other cities. These are people who have seen their city change at an ever-accelerating rate over the years. For example, 30 percent said that diversity within their neighbourhood had increased over the past five years, and 38 percent said that it had 'strongly increased'. For many respondents, their choice to live in their neighbourhood is based on financial considerations. Relatively few respondents said that it had been a positive choice to live there. A third of the respondents said that they had moved into the neighbourhood because they had been allocated social housing there, and approximately half said that they were living in their neighbourhood due to the lower rents. These respondents often share communal facilities, such as a gallery or a lift, with other residents. This combination of a lack of choice and forced interethnic contact outlines the challenges that characterize living together in these neighbourhoods.

Yet even in this particular context, four out of ten people reported having positive contact with neighbours with a migration background, while only one in ten said that this contact was negative (see Table 6 in Annex 2). Once again, this paints a different picture of the social climate than their attitudes towards diversity would suggest. Breaking the results down further into attitudes on migration-related diversity, we found that as many as 35 percent of people who saw migration-related diversity as a threat described their contact with neighbours with a migration background as positive (see table 7 in appendix 2).

If we look at pleasant or unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street, the picture tilts in the same way as described above. Even in these neighbourhoods, at 46 percent, the number of pleasant interethnic interactions is slightly higher than the number of unpleasant interethnic interactions (42 percent) (see table 8 in appendix 2). Once more, it is striking that not everyone who regards diversity as threatening also reports having unpleasant interethnic interactions. A significant portion (22 percent) does not extend these negative attitudes regarding diversity to negative interethnic interactions on the street (see table 9 in appendix 2). The outcomes for the group with a neutral score are very close to the outcomes of the group that sees migration-related diversity as enriching. When you add these groups together, you have a significantly less negative image of the diversity climate in the neighbourhood than could be expected on the basis of the attitudes expressed.

It is certainly not our intention to depict the social climate in these social housing neighbourhoods as pleasant overall. These respondents reported conflicts, threats and even physical violence more often than respondents elsewhere. What we wanted to do here was to examine whether – just as we had observed in more average

neighbourhoods – the previously described mechanisms that make the practice of living together more positive than one might expect on the basis of the negative attitudes of a large proportion of residents, also operate in the more extreme, negative context of these Viennese neighbourhoods. The outcome of the BaM survey confirms that we have found one of the most important mechanisms for the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. As 'the other' becomes less anonymous, we see a more positive evaluation of the interethnic contact, even when this is in marked contrast to a negative attitude towards migration-related diversity. This mechanism is the reason why even in this very negative context with regard to migration-related diversity, the balance is tipping towards a successful practice of living together in real life. This is an important and encouraging outcome.

The influence of people in positions of power on the practice of living together

In this chapter, we add a second element to our analysis of what places a decisive weight on the scales of the practice of living together: people's positions of power. Up until now, integration and assimilation research has had remarkably little to say about the power of people without a migration background (see Crul & Lelie in publication). In all majority-minority cities in Europe, these people constitute the most powerful group in economic and socio-cultural terms. For instance, people without a migration background are strongly overrepresented in the highest political and policy positions, managerial roles, and key positions in social, cultural and educational institutions. They can shape the diversity climate in a city like no other group, as they can hinder migrants and their children from climbing the social ladder, or grant them access to the labour market. Often, their position at the upper levels of a company gives them the power to decide who will be given opportunities for promotion. It is therefore remarkable that so little research has been conducted into the diversity attitudes and practices of people without a migration background in managerial positions.

Power is a missing element – one that we think is vital to include explicitly. We have added this element by empirically examining the impact of the exercise of power on the diversity climate in the same way as we examined the impact of attitudes and practices regarding diversity. We were able to examine the possible influence of positions of power when conducting the BaM survey by asking our respondents whether they occupied managerial positions and if so, which ones, and what proportion of their team consisted of people with a migration background.

We will first look at how managers assess migration-related diversity in the labour market and the workplace. In the BaM survey, we asked the classic question of whether migration creates or destroys jobs. The outcomes to this question show a clear trend among managers. Almost three-quarters of the managers with an academic qualification supported the statement that migration creates jobs, and only 8 percent thought that migration destroys jobs (see infographic 8 a). Approximately one-quarter of the managers without a higher education diploma said that it destroys jobs, one-third were in-between and 43 percent said that migration creates jobs. This last group of respondents in a managerial position gave us insight into the part of the employment market in which many less qualified people with a migration background are employed. Managers without a higher education diploma may manage other employees due to their position as a foreman or head of a department in shops, factories, the transport sector or in the administration department of an office.

In a different part of the survey, we asked all of the respondents the classic 'temperature question'. This involves people giving their feelings towards specific groups in the population a score between 0 degrees (cold) to 100 degrees (warm). We examined the answers to the temperature question alongside the answers to the question on whether migration creates or destroys jobs. Here, we see that two-thirds of managers with a higher education degree say they have warm feelings towards people with a migration background, and a quarter of the managers without a higher education degree say they have cold feelings towards this group (see infographic 8b).

More than a third of the respondents without a higher education degree in a managerial position who have cold feelings towards people with a migration background, were leading a team consisting for more than 50% of people with a migration background. You can imagine that this has a significant negative impact on the climate in that workplace. Our findings seem to suggest that a significant group of people with a migration background are having to deal with a negative situation in their workplace.

However, the vast majority of managers appear to see migration as contributing to the economy and mainly have warm feelings towards people with a migration background. On the whole, people who occupy positions of power in the labour market are tipping the scales towards a positive practice of living together.

Managers with a higher education diploma often exert influence on who is employed in their team. It is therefore interesting to find out whether their attitude towards migration-related diversity influences the ethnic composition of their teams. As in Chapter 3, we compared the respondents who see migration-related diversity as

Respondents without a migration background in a managerial position and their attitudes towards diversity

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

migration creates jobs

in-between

migration destroys jobs
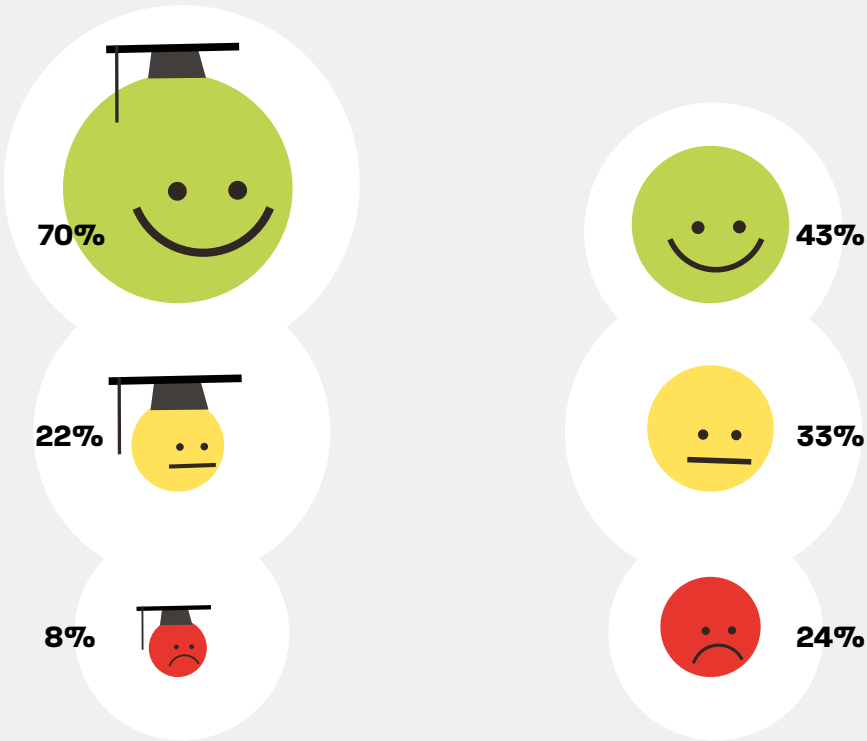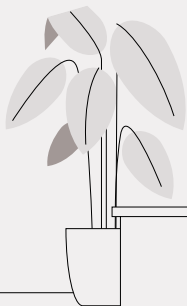
70%

22%

8%

43%

33%

24%

managers with a higher
education diploma

managers without a higher
education diploma

Respondents without a migration background in a managerial position and their feelings towards people with a migration background

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

warm feelings

neutral feelings

cold feelings

63%

25%

12%

47%

28%

25%
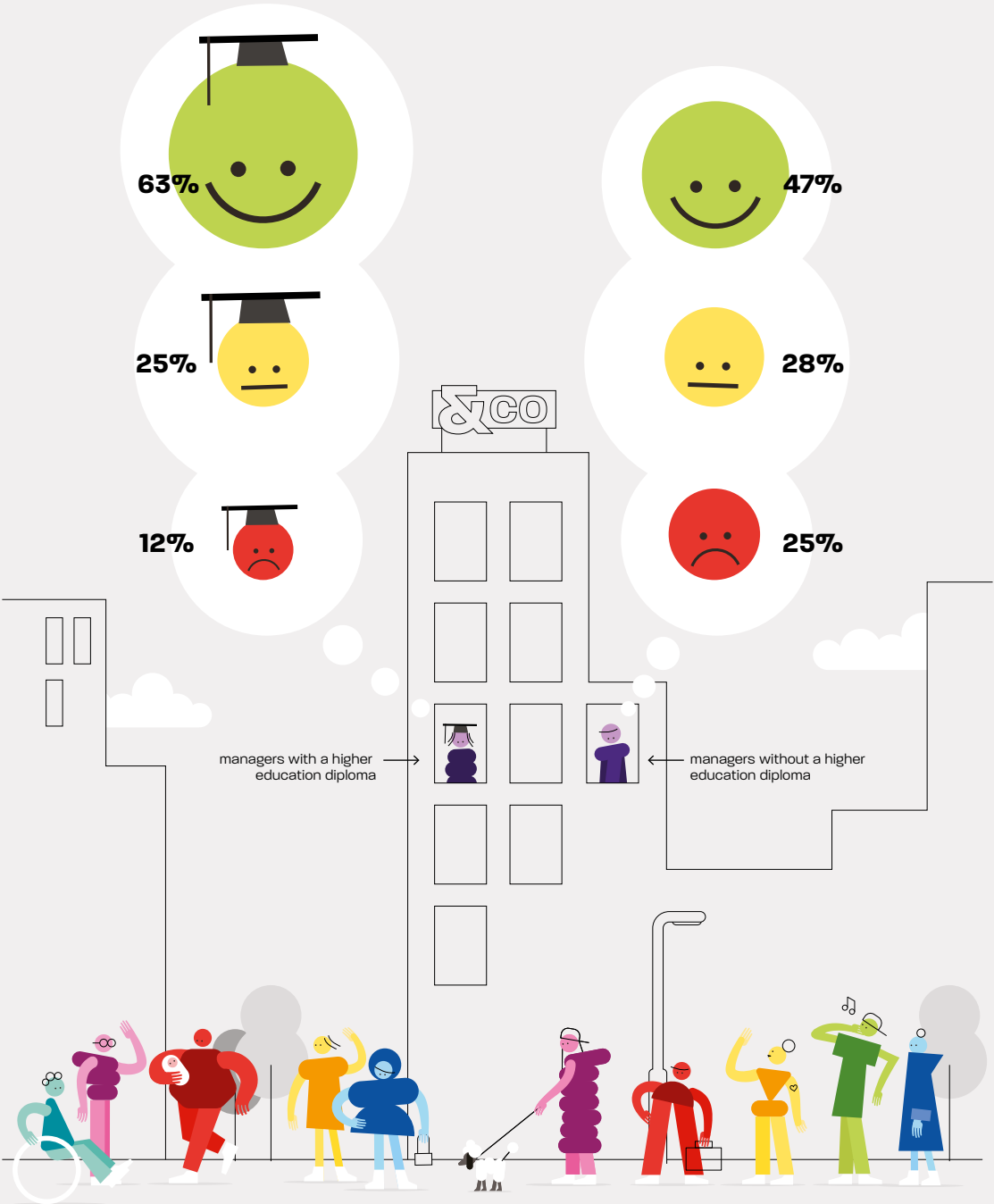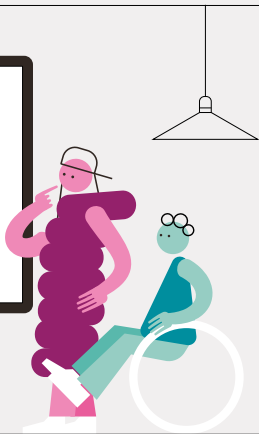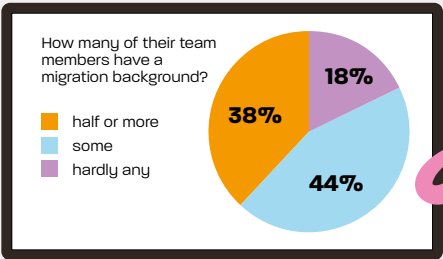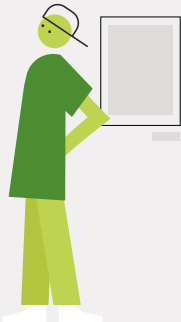
managers with a higher education diploma

managers without a higher education diploma

enriching with the respondents who see this diversity as threatening. Their difference in attitude does not show any significant difference with regard to the ethnic composition of the team of which they are in charge. Could it be that their social practice is influencing their hiring policy? To find out, we examined the possible influence of having a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances (see infographic 9). We found that these managers' social practice was strongly related to the composition of their team. Managers with a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances were three times as likely to have a mixed team. Once more, this demonstrates the enormous impact of having a mixed circle of friends. Apparently, people's diversity practice weighs heavier than their attitude. People appear to reinforce their behaviour towards migration-related diversity in their personal lives through the position of power they occupy at work.

Even if they are not in leadership positions, people may also occupy positions of power by being able to exert more influence on a city's cultural and social climate than others due to their specific occupation. For example, a curator could do this in a museum, a head teacher in their school and a family doctor in their practice. In a previously published article we used a detailed analysis of respondents' job descriptions in the city of Rotterdam to examine how people who hold positions of power in the education, social or cultural sectors value migration-related diversity (Crul & Lelie 2021). There almost seemed to be a consensus among people working in the cultural sector that migration-related diversity is enriching.

Respondents without a migration background in a managerial position, their circle of friends and acquaintances, and the composition of their team.

In the six BaM cities, BaM survey 2019

How many of their team members have a migration background?
- half or more
- some
- hardly any

12%
45%
43%

managers with **no or hardly** any friends with a migration background

How many of their team members have a migration background?
- half or more
- some
- hardly any

19%
37%
44%

managers with **some** friends with a migration background

How many of their team members have a migration background?
- half or more
- some
- hardly any

38%
18%
44%

managers, **half of whose** friends have a migration background

We noted in the conclusion of the article on Rotterdam that even in a city where an anti-immigrant party has been the largest party in the municipal council for years and is also in the governing coalition, the trend among most civil society organizations and institutions nevertheless seems to be moving towards embracing cultural diversity. This also explains the polarization in this city to some extent. A significant proportion of residents without a migration background vote for anti-immigrant parties, while the vast majority of residents working in cultural, social and educational institutions and those in positions of power in companies and organizations see diversity as a positive phenomenon and promote it actively.

Chapter 7

What facilitates the art of living together?

One important question asked in this book concerns interventions that have the potential to facilitate the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. As in each of our previous studies, we examined what actually works in practice and what we can learn from this. In this chapter, we will focus mainly on organizational mechanisms and architectural features that have the potential to facilitate a successful practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. A successful practice is characterized by having many pleasant and few unpleasant interethnic interactions in public spaces such as streets, shops and parks. What factors influence this? This is a question that occupies many policymakers and politicians. To learn more, we looked at activities and specific architectural features in a neighbourhood. The way in which a neighbourhood or housing block is structured can ensure that interactions between residents are more personal and less anonymous and that residents have less bother from each other when using semi-public spaces, such as shared hallways, galleries and gardens.

Which circumstances and activities promote the practice of living together?

To answer this question, we examined the characteristics of the neighbourhood and the activities of the residents we questioned as part of the BaM survey. We discovered three factors that appear to be of particular importance: the quality of contact with neighbours with a migrant background; the extent to which there are activities in the neighbourhood where people from different ethnic backgrounds can meet each other; and whether or not respondents had sent their children to a primary school with a mixed pupil population.

The quality of contact with neighbours with a migration background appears to be an important factor that contributes to a positive diversity climate in the neighbourhood. When many people from our target group described their relationship with their neighbours with a migration background as being positive, we also saw many more positive interethnic interactions on the street and in shops. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents who described this contact as being positive reported having mainly pleasant interactions on the street, compared to 53 percent and 13 percent, respectively, of those who had described their contact with neighbours with a migrant background as neutral or negative. We observed the same strong trend with regard to interactions in shops. There is therefore a strong relationship between the quality of the contact between neighbours and interactions in semi-public spaces. This is not about maintaining friendships with one's neighbours with a migration background. It's simply about friendly interactions. Many of the people we interviewed said that although their positive contacts with their neighbours were superficial, they were important to making their neighbourhood a pleasant place to live in, a place where they felt at home.

> **Interviewer**: 'What do you expect from having contact with your neighbours?'
> **Respondent**: 'Well, I don't expect so much. You just say hi and have a chat, that is fine. That you know that people are going on holiday and the cheerful downstairs neighbour, who waves when you come home. I think this is nice, it gives me a feeling of home. That you know people; you know that they are there and if there is anything, you can go to them. We have been living here for years. There's a Moroccan family living next door. Our landlord has a lot of contact with them and does a lot with them. They also welcomed us when we moved in here. That was nice. Yes, the man often helped with a bit of DIY and renovating and the woman made Moroccan tea. So, we did a bit of DIY with them and drank tea, that was nice. We regularly see them on the street and sometimes we have a chat.'

It is therefore very important to think about ways to promote positive relationships between neighbours. In Chapter 6, we saw how a significant number of respondents who held negative opinions about people with a migration background, nonetheless experienced their relationships with their neighbours with a migration background as being positive. What type of situations and activities promote a positive relationship between neighbours? For people who see migration-related diversity as threatening, the goal should probably not be to celebrate diversity. Encouraging people to 'have a cup of tea with the neighbours' does not seem to be an effective approach.

When we think back to the contact hypothesis, what matters is to create a situation that involves a shared interest or a communal goal. This could be something like cleaning up the street together, sharing a vegetable patch in the communal courtyard garden in the block or getting together to renovate a playground. A successful practice of living together can be created when people living in a neighbourhood do things together. Coming up with an idea that would benefit everyone is the first step towards achieving this goal. A woman from Malmö described how the communal garden that she made with other residents has become a meeting place:

> 'It is very diverse, also a very mixed group of people attend the activities that we organize in the garden. Everyone can tend their own little piece of land if they want. And since we have the communal garden and work there, other neighbours have been coming and asking: "Can I also tend a plot of land?" And this way, more and more people are joining in.'

In addition to having a positive relationship with neighbours from migrant backgrounds, another important factor is the availability of leisure activities in the neighbourhood that people from different ethnic backgrounds can participate in together. We presented our respondents with a wide range of activities, such as sports and religious or cultural activities, or participation in a parents' committee at school, a political party or a home owners' association, and asked whether they participated in any of them. We then asked if people with a migration background also participated in one or more of these activities. Once again, there was a statistically strong relationship between participating in an activity together that includes people with a migrant background and having more frequent enjoyable interethnic interactions on the street and in shops. The reported rate of enjoyable interethnic interactions on the street increased by 10 percent among respondents who were participating in activities together with people from other ethnic groups, such as playing football or singing in a choir or participating in a home owners' association. We also found a clear relationship between participating in mixed activities and having a more mixed circle of friends and acquaintances. Unlike superficial contact with one's neighbours, this type of activity is related to forming friendships. One of the respondents from Hamburg explained the difference between doing something together and meeting people on the street.

> 'Yes, doing an activity together with a certain group of people is a good way to make contact. It can be a sport, or something completely different. These are places to make contact, and that doesn't really happen on the street.

> Not with anyone actually. I can't remember ever meeting someone on the
> street and becoming friends with them.'

Many of the people interviewed said that participating in a team sport was one of the
occasions on which they engage in more personal contact with people with a migra-
tion background. Other than the workplace or neighbourhood cafés, playing a sport
together appears to transcend ethnic background. Once again, participation in such
activities does not automatically have to lead to close friendships, but these situa-
tions allow people to get to know people with whom they would otherwise have had
little or no personal contact. This experience also seems to be closely related to
reports of more pleasant interethnic interactions on the street and in shops. In the
following quote, a respondent from Amsterdam talks about his football team, where
he was one of the few players without a migration background:

> **Respondent**: 'Yes, I used to play football and that is a more diverse
> environment. I was in a team in which I was a minority.'
> **Interviewer**: 'How was that for you?'
> **Respondent**: 'Yes, well…. Those boys had a very different life. Much less
> protected in a way. As far as that goes, football is quite easy… Easy to get
> a group feeling in any case. I never had the idea that you were being
> excluded or anything, absolutely not. But it was an interesting sensation.
> Normally you are used to being in the majority.'

When asked whether he sometimes spends time with people in his neighbourhood
with a migration background, this respondent from Malmö explained that a shared
identity as a football fan is more important than background:

> **Respondent**: 'Yes, yes definitely. Especially at football matches.'
> **Interviewer**: 'So, the football matches are very diverse?'
> **Respondent**: 'Yes, very. So in our section, when I'm watching the game, I am
> sitting there cheering them on, and then you always chat to your neighbour.
> That is also interesting, because everyone joins in with the singing. And
> during the break, when it is quiet, you start talking. I have seen people from
> all kinds of ethnic backgrounds hugging, Swedes too, it really doesn't matter
> because you are there for the same goal. To see your team win the match
> and to support them like this, so yes.'

If you are going to play football at your local club in a majority-minority neighbour-
hood, you will probably end up in a mixed team. This may not be a deliberate choice,

merely the actual situation, as was the case at our daughter's football club. The ratio of children with and children without a migration background was approximately fifty-fifty. For some parents without a migration background, this was maybe one of the few places where they encountered parents with a migration background. At first, people could feel slightly uncomfortable, but as the season went on and parents drove cars full of children to away matches and stood on the side-lines for an hour-and-a-half cheering them on, this slowly changed. It became easier to strike up more personal conversations about their children and what the other parent does in their daily life. Playing a team sport together with people from different backgrounds meets the most important criterion of the contact hypothesis: having a clearly-defined common goal. The risk of feeling belonging uncertainty is small, as it is clear why you are there and what your role is as a team player. Unfortunately, we did not enquire about this in the BaM survey, but the interviews also revealed that venues for certain types of music, or concerts featuring different musical subcultures are also important meeting places for people from different backgrounds. A woman from Rotterdam described this in the following quotation:

> **Respondent**: 'Yes, I have a very mixed group of friends.'
> **Interviewer**: 'Why is that, do you think?'
> **Respondent**: 'Maybe because a lot of DJs have a migration background. What my colleague often does, he's the one employing the DJs, and then people came to the Biergarten, young and a bit rascally, and then he brought them in to DJ. This has grown into a community. These were youngsters who had no education, nothing. I think that is awesome. We are also a bit into the hip-hop and house scene and that also attracts a very mixed group. More so than other types of music I think.'

A respondent from Amsterdam credited the hip-hop, R&B and soul scene as one of the environments where he used to meet many people with a migrant background to explain why he currently has a mixed group of friends:

> 'I really love soul, R&B and hip-hop. I just love the atmosphere around it. When I used to go out in the past, those were the places I went to. I didn't mind at all that I was one of the only people with white skin there. So actually, it is the music that connects me with people with a migration background. I am definitely in the minority, it's just that I don't have a problem with that.'

A third noticeable factor that promotes a pleasant practice of living together seems to be having a child attending a mixed primary school. Here too, we see that this strongly correlates with more pleasant interethnic interactions of the parents on the street and in shops. Forty-four percent of respondents whose children do not attend a mixed primary school reported having mainly enjoyable interethnic interactions on the street, while this number rises to 71 percent for respondents with a child at a primary school where at least half of the pupils have a migrant background. We also found a difference of no less than 27 percent between both groups of parents when we asked about pleasant interactions in neighbourhood shops. Almost all of the parents whom we interviewed with one or more children at a mixed school mentioned having contact with parents with a migration background. The following quote is from a woman from Malmö whose child was attending a mixed school.

> 'Yes, this is where I live, so where I have contact with people in the garden in the courtyard. I always say hello when I meet someone. It doesn't matter whether or not you recognize them, you always say hello. And, in the park, if my [two-year-old] daughter plays with another child, I often strike up a conversation with the other parents. I just chat a bit with them then.'

As with mixed activities, we also found a clear relationship between sending your child to a mixed school and having a more mixed circle of friends and acquaintances. Respondents often remarked that this was the only occasion on which they had more personal contact with people with a migration background. A woman from Antwerp with two young children also reflected upon this when the interviewer asked whether she had much contact with people with a migration background:

> **Respondent**: 'Uhm... not much actually. I have known my friends for a long time. Real friends, you know, the people from way back. New people too, that you know via the children's school. Because they go to school in my neighbourhood, Borgerhout. And then I know people, of course, also people with a migration background.'
> **Interview**: 'What exactly is this interaction like?'
> **Respondent**: 'As a matter of fact, just the same as with the other parents. Yes, so it seems that in certain areas, you simply focus on other things [than on ethnic background].'

The main common denominator for the three factors we have just discussed is that they have all led to meaningful interethnic contact. It does not matter whether this is the result of contact with neighbours, a neighbourhood activity or the children's

school as long as meaningful contact is made. Often, it's very simple. If your child attends a mixed school, you will meet parents with a migration background in the school yard. Because you are in a similar life phase, it is easier for these parents to become part of your circle of acquaintances and this could lead to friendships forming. If you do not choose to send your child to a mixed primary school in the neighbourhood, you will not have this particular opportunity to meet these parents.

Josje Schut, one of our BaM PhD students, together with BaM postdoc Ismintha Waldring, showed that 'mixing' in a neighbourhood is an active undertaking (Schut & Waldring 2023). They use the term diversity labour to describe the activities undertaken by people who engage in interethnic contact. As we have already said, intercultural contact is not something that just happens automatically: it requires effort. It may feel uneasy at first, misunderstandings may occur and mistakes may be made. But eventually, it will yield benefits.

In Chapter 3, we introduced the concept of belonging uncertainty. What these three factors (contact with neighbours with a migration background, mixed leisure activities in the neighbourhood and mixed schools) have in common is that belonging uncertainty plays less of a role here. Encounters at school and during activities are characterized by the fact that they are organized and have a formal aspect to some extent. Because it is clear what is expected of the participants, they do not have to feel uncertain about their role and whether or not they are welcome. Furthermore, these interactions have a clearly defined character and shared objective. All this goes to reduce any possible belonging uncertainty. When it comes to your role as a parent or carer, it is clear why you are standing in that schoolyard and why you are engaging with parents or carers of other children, and most conversations will probably be about the children at first. Once again, there are no uncertainties as to why and about what you are having contact.

Uncertainty is something that people regularly mention when describing how they feel in a situation in which they are not in the majority and their cultural norms and values are not the indisputable standard. But in the interactions that we have just referred to, their presence in a culturally diverse place is justified and they have certainty as to their role. This means that there is less belonging uncertainty. These encounters go further than the famous – or infamous – recommendation to have a cup of tea together, the advice given by Patijn, the former mayor of Amsterdam, to help to bring people from different backgrounds together. In the situations described above, the aim is not to promote or celebrate cultural diversity. Interethnic contact is a side effect of living together, playing sports, joining a choir or bringing your child to school. This removes the pressure that is often felt when people are told to 'have a cup of tea

together', an activity organized specifically so that they can socialize together. We agree with the famous American sociologist, Richard Alba, who often wrote in his articles about migrants that *assimilation happens while doing other things*. We believe that a successful practice of living together can also be created while doing other things together.

A successful practice of living together also has the opportunity to manifest because this appeals to an important aspect of the concept of superdiversity: the fact that each one of us has many different identities. In addition to our ethnic identity, we have several other identities that are just as important – or maybe even more so, depending on the context. All of the three factors we have just discussed activate a different aspect of personal identity than ethnic identity, such as one's identity as a parent, neighbour, sports lover or member of a political party. This shared identity can lead to a shared goal that encourages people to engage in an activity together that transcends their differences, at least temporarily. People often feel more comfortable about making contact across ethnic group boundaries when acting on the basis of their other identities, such as that of a parent, a member of a faith community or a sports fan. These identities are rich in experiences, and these multiple layers of emotions make it possible to establish meaningful contact.

Conversely, it seems as if people who identify first and foremost as not having a migration background do not want to activate part of their other identities, and impose limits on the interethnic connections they could make on the basis of those identities. This makes their social world unnecessarily constricted. Actively avoiding contact with the people in your neighbourhood is not pleasant and entails both social and emotional costs. This may be what is at the root of the sense of loss felt by so many people who see diversity as a threat.

Can architecture have a positive influence on the practice of living together?

In the previous paragraph, we made clear how important it is for people to meet each other. How can the way in which a neighbourhood is structured, the architecture of housing blocks and public spaces, facilitate such pleasant encounters? To answer this question, we will first zoom in on neighbourhoods with particularly high scores for unpleasant interethnic interactions. In Chapter 6, we wrote about people living in

social housing in Vienna. Fifty-three percent of our Viennese respondents without a migration background and without a higher education diploma reported having had unpleasant interethnic interactions, and only 26 percent said that they had pleasant interethnic interactions on the street. Interestingly, respondents without a higher education degree who were living in the private rental sector in Vienna reported having fewer unpleasant interethnic interactions (42 per cent) and almost twice as many pleasant interactions (48 per cent) on the street. Where do these differences come from? If we look at the differences in the type of housing where these Viennese respondents live, one possible explanation is that social housing is more likely to be located in more anonymous blocks of flats, while private rented housing tends to be located in smaller, less anonymous apartment buildings. These are architectural features that can influence personal contact between close neighbours and other people living in the neighbourhood.

As we said in Chapter 5, we found a more successful practice of living together in Amsterdam, where our respondents reported fewer unpleasant interethnic interactions and a great many more pleasant interethnic interactions than the respondents in Vienna. But there were also differences within Amsterdam. Majority-minority neighbourhoods in Amsterdam can be divided roughly into neighbourhoods outside the A10 ring road (New-West, South-East and North), which are characterized by a preponderance of post-war buildings, and the neighbourhoods within the ring road, which are characterized by pre-war neighbourhoods with generally smaller apartment buildings that are only three or four stories high. If we bear this rough dividing line in mind when looking at the BaM data and the practice of living together, we see that there is a much higher incidence rate of unpleasant interactions on the street in the high-rise neighbourhoods outside the ring road (28 percent) than within the ring road (16 percent). All of the neighbourhoods we studied are majority-minority neighbourhoods, but the respondents living within the A10 ring road reported having a positive relationship with their neighbours with a migration background significantly more often than the respondents living outside the ring road. If we only look at the people who see migration-related diversity as a threat, we see that the percentage of people who nonetheless have a positive relationship with neighbours with a migration background is 17 percent higher among people living within the ring road. It seems as if it is more difficult to achieve a successful practice of living together in neighbourhoods characterized by more impersonal high-rise flats.

When asked whether he had any contact with his neighbours with a migration background, this man in Malmö answered:

> 'Yes. The small scale helps with this. My neighbour across the street is just ten metres away from me. If I was living in a high-rise flat, my neighbour would be one hundred metres away from me. And there would be three hundred neighbours like that. Now, I just have one to the left, and one to the right. I get to know them. We don't necessarily see each other every day. But if we do see each other, we stop for a chat. The way you do in a small-scale place. What you probably wouldn't do in a large-scale place. So it is the way it is built. The way it is structured is very important for the atmosphere.'

Of course, dividing neighbourhoods according to whether they are inside or outside the ring road is only a rough indicator of whether people live in a low-rise apartment building or a block of high-rise flats. Some respondents inside the ring road live in high-rise, while respondents living outside the ring road may live in low-rise apartment buildings that are just four storeys high. The best way to make a comparison would be to compare a neighbourhood that only has low-rise apartment buildings and a neighbourhood that only has high-rise blocks of flats. At the start of the BaM study, we looked for existing data on this topic and found a number of reports by the municipal statistical bureau (OIS) on social cohesion in different city districts and neighbourhoods in Amsterdam (Broekhuizen et al. 2012; Wonderen and Broekhuizen 2012). Based on these reports, we decided to make a comparison between the Harbour Island West neighbourhood and the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood (Crul, Steinmetz & Lelie 2020). These two neighbourhoods were found to exhibit the greatest contrast in terms of neighbourhood conflict among all neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, even though their ethnic and socio-economic composition is almost identical. At the neighbourhood level, the OIS data gives a good picture of exactly what is different between these two neighbourhoods, and it neatly complements what we have already discovered about the differences between people in apartments in four storey walk-ups and people in high-rise buildings. According to the OIS research, the entire high-rise neighbourhood, Harbour Island West, has the highest incidence of conflicts. For this research OIS interviewed 263 residents aged 16 years and older, 155 of whom did not have a migration background. According to the study, the fewest incidences of conflicts were in the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood, near the old city centre. Two hundred residents were interviewed in this neighbourhood, 120 of whom were of Dutch origin. In Harbour Island West, slightly less than half of the residents (47 percent) did not have a migration background. Among the group

with a migration background, the largest group was formed by people of Surinamese descent, followed by people of Moroccan descent (Broekhuizen et al. 2012). The ethnic composition of the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood is very similar to that of Harbour Island West. Approximately half of the residents (53 percent) do not have a migration background. Residents of Moroccan or Turkish descent formed the largest group with a migration background, followed by residents of Surinamese descent (Wonderen & Broekhuizen 2012). A comparison in socio-economic terms shows that the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood is home to slightly more working-class people than Harbour Island West. We therefore have a good comparison here as these neighbourhoods are very similar in terms of ethnic composition, but are very different with regard to social cohesion and conflicts. In addition to having one of the highest rates of reported conflicts out of the 20 Amsterdam neighbourhoods surveyed by OIS, Harbour Island West also has one of the lowest rates of trust between residents. Almost half (47 percent) of the people living in this neighbourhood reported tensions. A quarter (24 percent) said that there were many conflicts between residents from different ethnic groups and 24 percent also reported having little or no trust in their neighbours. Almost half of the respondents (48 percent) who reported tensions said that they were caused by 'cultural differences between different ethnic groups'. More than one-third (37 percent) of the respondents reported having 'negative feelings about certain ethnic groups' (Broekhuizen et al. 2012). The number of conflicts in the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood was on the opposite side of the spectrum. In comparison with Harbour Island West, almost three times fewer (16 percent) respondents reported tensions. At 14 percent, the group that has little or no trust in their neighbours is much smaller. People living in the neighbourhood who reported conflicts also framed them in a different perspective. In the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood, only 26 percent of the reported conflicts were attributed to cultural differences. Most respondents saw the conflicts as generational conflicts between younger and older residents (Wonderen & Broekhuizen 2012).

What are the conflicts in Harbour Island West about? The main complaints that residents mentioned in the OIS survey were about young people and children causing a nuisance in semi-public spaces and the inner courtyards (Broekhuizen et al. 2012; Wonderen & Broekhuizen 2012; also see Tersteeg & Pinkster 2016; Van Marissing 2014). The new large blocks of flats in Harbour Island West have a range of semi-public spaces such as an inner courtyard, communal hallways, a lift and a garage. The three or four storey walk-ups in the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood also have a shared entrance, but it is shared by a much smaller number of people, making the setting less anonymous compared to the large modern housing blocks in Harbour Island West.

This major architectural difference has a huge impact on everyday interethnic contact between neighbours. People living in the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood have significantly more interethnic contacts and as the BaM survey shows, there is a correlation between this type of contact and feeling safe and at home in your neighbourhood (also see Paolini et al. 2014). In the OIS study, the residents were also asked about the use of the semi-public spaces, such as galleries, lifts and staircases, and how people behave and relate towards each other in these spaces. The survey contained seven statements about irritations that may arise during everyday contact in these semi-public spaces, such as 'Residents have conflicts about keeping the stairways, corridors and galleries clean'. In Harbour Island West, all of the outcomes were significant (Broekhuizen et al. 2012). Once more, this presents a striking contrast with the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood, where only one item out of the seven was significant. The correlation for the item ('Rubbish is put on the street at the wrong time') was weak (Wonderen & Broekhuizen 2012). The fact that no conflicts in semi-public spaces were reported in the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood and there was only a complaint about rubbish clearly indicates that the small-scale architecture of this neighbourhood has a major impact on the interactions between its inhabitants.

Most of the complaints from people who see diversity as threatening were about rubbish on the street, noise nuisance and being harassed on the street. It is striking that this group attributed those problems specifically to people with a migration background. The Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood and Harbour Island West are almost identical in terms of population composition. These problems – which some residents attribute to ethnicity – should therefore occur to the same extent. But this does not seem to be the case. There is an enormous difference in the interethnic dynamics between the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods. The interviews conducted as part of the BaM project throw some light on the reasons for this difference. The architecture of neighbourhoods such as the Jacob van Lennep neighbourhood encourages personal contact to a greater extent, also across group boundaries. This means that the children of neighbours with a migration background, for example, are primarily seen as 'the neighbourhood kids' and not 'those .... kids' (fill in the ethnicity yourself). Maybe the neighbours know each other and each other's children by name, maybe they know more about each other's lives. If there is any nuisance or bother, it's easier for them to approach each other than it would be if they were anonymous neighbours who had not yet had any personal contact with each other. The ensuing conversation will therefore have a different dynamic with a lower risk of escalation.

The following quote from a woman living in Amsterdam illustrates the de-escalating effect of having personal contact:

> 'There have been youths hanging around on that square ever since I have been living here. Naturally, that became worse [during the lockdown in connection with COVID-19], because the youngsters couldn't go to school. They couldn't go anywhere. Then I thought: why am I so scared of them actually? I was going to do my groceries and I saw one of the guys at the cash till in the health food store. I said: "Hey, you are always sitting on the square." And then he said: "Yes, that's right. I used to go to school there and that is really my turf, and I feel at home there." And that totally changes your view of such a guy. So, you have to engage in interaction. At least, I do, because I'm the one who is bothered and they can't tell that just by looking at me. So I have had to get over my fear. I also went up to them a few times, like: "Hey, hello, I live here, it's fine that you are here, but could you turn the music off after 11 p.m.?"'

The following quote from a man in Malmö illustrates how personal contact (just a short chat) can take the sting out of a situation that could have been an unpleasant interaction and led to conflict:

> 'Let me tell you another story. This happened a while ago, when I had just moved in here. I was pushing my son in his buggy; he was very young. We walked past the square. I think that it was around Christmas/New Year because there were some youngsters playing with fireworks. So I said something like: "Hey, can you please not do that because of my little son?" And maybe two or three days later, I bumped into them again and one of the boys said something like: 'Oh, that's him, the one who talked to us yesterday." And that really got me thinking. Because it was not: "He shouted at us," or "He is an annoying old man", but "He talked to us." And I think that that changed my perception of what it is to communicate with these kids. They were more struck by the fact that I had spoken to them than that I had told them to stop doing what they were doing. And yes, I think that a lot of people say nothing, and then they go home and get a stomach ulcer because they are so full of fear and anger, and then they go vote for a right-wing populist party. And they are angry instead of just having a conversation.'

This woman from Malmö also affirms that it is the little things that make for a successful practice of living together in the neighbourhood.

> **Respondent**: 'The housing association or the council had a slogan for the neighbourhood, that was something like: "Say hello to your neighbours", and I thought that was great. I think that just saying hello will get you a long way. And I think that it works. It worked for me.'
> **Interviewer**: 'Even if it is not a long conversation or anything?'
> **Respondent**: 'Yes, yes, yes. You know, just a smile and a greeting.'

The outcomes from these two neighbourhoods show that we can learn from the older neighbourhoods closer to the city centre how it is easier for people from different ethnic groups to live together successfully in a more natural and nuanced way in a small-scale environment. Even the people who reported having decidedly negative views on migration-related diversity were more likely to have good relationships with neighbours with a migrant background in such a context. Large-scale galleries offer this opportunity to a lesser extent. Smaller units with separate staircases could promote social cohesion. But it is also important to organize semi-public spaces with specific goals in mind. The old neighbourhood squares and parks are places where young children can play and teenagers can hang out without causing any nuisance. Groups of young people 'hanging out' in galleries or hallways is perceived as a nuisance by other residents. This is exacerbated by the fact that the large scale of high-rise buildings means that the young people hanging out there are anonymous. Several mechanisms that we identified earlier as being important for personal interethnic contact can therefore be strengthened or weakened by the architecture in a neighbourhood. This means that it is literally possible to build a pleasant practice of living together.

Chapter 8

A new political and policy framework for the practice of living together

For the past half-century, the thinking on integration and assimilation has been giving people without a migration background the more or less reassuring message that it's all up to the newcomer, the migrant, to adapt. If migrants can learn to behave more like people without a migration background (i.e. become less different) then we will all live happily together. This is what we call successful integration. This concept of integration may have been perfectly adequate when relatively small minority groups had to integrate into a large majority group, but it has become obsolete due to demographic changes in the major Western-European cities, where the old majority group is increasingly often no longer a majority, but a minority in a city made up of many minority groups, or in other words a majority-minority (MM) city. In many large cities in 2023, just one in three of people under the age of fifteen does not have a migration background. This century, more than any century before it, will be one in which people from all over the world live together in major cities. This is why we want to focus on how we can make such a society both feasible and pleasant. People are becoming increasingly mobile and it will become more common in the future to live and work in another city or country for a specific period. One of the most important tasks ahead of us this century is to learn how to actively promote a pleasant practice of living together so that the superdiverse cities of the future will be agreeable places to live in.

By letting go of the old concept of integration and focusing on the practice of living together, we have tried to take the sting out of the strongly polarized debate on integration. Examining as it does the practice of living together, our research is not so

much about what makes people different, but about the things they do to make a success of the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. To create a successful practice of living together in the superdiverse city, it is not necessary for people to resemble each other or to share the same opinions. What is important is the ability to live together pleasantly with people from whom you differ. It is obvious that both people with and people without a migration background will have to make an effort in order to bring about a pleasant practice of living together. This perspective transforms the unilateral task imposed on people with a migration background by the traditional focus on integration into a multilateral process.

The outcomes of the Becoming a Minority study confirm that a pleasant practice of living together in the superdiverse city is not something that will just happen all by itself. Unfortunately, the somewhat romantic idea that a pleasant living environment characterized by a large degree of social cohesion will automatically ensue when people from very different backgrounds live together in a neighbourhood has proven to be somewhat naive. Many people, especially people without a migration background, have not learnt to function in a superdiverse society from an early age. In practice, we see that it is mainly the residents without a migration background in superdiverse neighbourhoods who have little meaningful contact outside of their own group, even when they live in a neighbourhood where at least half of the other residents have a migration background. But does it really matter if groups of people live alongside, but separately, from each other? Thanks to the answers to the BaM survey, we are able to conclude that it matters a great deal. It matters for the people without a migration background, and undoubtedly also for their neighbours with a migration background. It is not enough for people to merely leave each other in peace, to live and let live, but otherwise ignore each other. Social cohesion is important because it gives people a sense of feeling at home and helps to prevent conflicts. If people confine themselves to their own ethnic group, their social circle becomes smaller, and consequently, so does their participation in the superdiverse city. Confining yourself to your own group has an impact on the social fabric of both the neighbourhood and the city and may lead to a divide opening up between people with and people without a migration background in our superdiverse cities.

Swift-moving demographic changes are leading to an increase in the number of MM cities. We are currently at a crucial tippling point in the history of the superdiverse city. We started this book with a reference to Dominique Moïsi (2009), who speaks of the possibility of a 'scenario of hope and empowerment' contrasted against the possibility of a 'scenario of fear and humiliation.' The practice of self-segregation among a group of people without a migration background revealed by our study suggests a problematic scenario for the future. However, this scenario has become more

nuanced because most people without a migration background, people with and without a higher education diploma alike, view migration-related diversity as enriching. This attitude makes a scenario of hope possible. Even when we examine interethnic interactions at the neighbourhood level in more detail, we find that the vast majority of people without a migration background are contributing to a successful practice of living together. They have contact with their neighbours with a migration background and actively engage in ensuring that interethnic interactions on the street, in shops, in the park and playground are enjoyable. Even some of the people who see cultural diversity as a threat, are actively involved in living together with people with a migration background in a pleasant manner in practice. These countless small interactions between people who are very different from each other are what enables a successful practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. This is why superdiverse neighbourhoods usally function well and are considered by many people as being pleasant places to live in.

But does this mean that everything in the garden is rosy? The answer to this is a resounding no. We also came across a significant group of people without a migration background who reject cultural diversity in the city and in their neighbourhood and who hinder a pleasant practice of living together. They avoid having more personal relationships with people with a migration background. When we asked these people what it was like for them to live in a superdiverse neighbourhood, they reported a disproportionate amount of unpleasant interethnic interactions with neighbours with a migration background as well as with people on the street, in shops and in the park. They also had many conflicts in public and semi-public spaces involving people with a migration background. As we have shown, these people have a disproportionately negative impact on the diversity climate in their neighbourhood. This impact seems to be particularly large in cities where a lot of people vote for parties on the far right. The political climate in a city or country can tip the balance of the practice of living together towards a negative scenario. It is important that the people who see migration-related diversity as enriching provide a counterbalance to this political climate in order to tip the scales in the other direction.

A positive scenario for superdiverse cities requires the active engagement of individual citizens, policymakers, people participating in all kinds of organizations and activities, and politicians. We will all have to do something, as this scenario will not come about spontaneously. The people who, by their practice maintain the interethnic fabric both in their neighbourhood and their city, provide an important counterbalance to hate and intolerance. When conducting the research for BaM, we came across an important mechanism. People who have learned to 'do diversity' in the more personal sphere with their partner or friends and acquaintances with a

migration background also apply this knowledge and experience to their dealings with people in the public sphere and neighbours with a migration background. Once people learn to function in a culturally diverse context, this spreads to their inter-ethnic interactions in other places. They often become 'connectors' between people with a migration background and those without a migration background in their everyday life. They often seem to get involved in solving conflicts, or ensuring that interethnic conflicts in their living environment do not arise in the first place. Maintaining meaningful contact across ethnic group boundaries appears to be one of the most important mechanisms for preventing conflict and distrust in a superdiverse neighbourhood.

This central mechanism makes it possible to actively develop a scenario of hope. This behaviour can also be learnt by people who have not learnt to 'do diversity' from an early age. But to achieve this, people must be able to meet each other, not just at the grocer's shop, but also in places and during activities that allow them the opportunity to engage in meaningful interethnic contact. Learning to 'do diversity' in an environment in which people share a common goal has an important impact on 'doing diversity' within one's own social circle. The BaM data reveal all kinds of activities that people from different ethnic groups undertake together, learning the art of living together in the process. Such activities may be a team sport, a religious meeting, an activity for parents at a mixed school or a meeting of the home owner's association in a mixed block of housing. This involves what we call 'meaningful contact', which is something that comes about when people get to know each other personally. Anonymity is the enemy of meaningful contact. Activities don't have to focus on 'celebrating diversity'. In fact, it is better if they don't, because these types of activities may make interethnic contact uneasy, and will seldom be attended by people who see diversity as a threat. Doing something practical together that appeals to a different identity than one's ethnic identity (such as one's identity as a parent, member of a team or singer in a choir) provides opportunities for meaningful contact. Seen from this perspective, there are countless opportunities for citizens, policy-makers, organizations and housing associations to encourage a pleasant practice of living together through meaningful contact involving all kinds of larger and smaller initiatives.

What does the future look like for our superdiverse cities? We dare to be optimistic, even though these cities are currently at an important tipping point and the debate is characterized by polarization and conflict. Two factors from our research justify our optimism for the future. An interesting finding of the BaM study is that the attitudes and practices concerning migration-related diversity of respondents whose partner has a migration background differ so markedly from those of respondents not in

a mixed union. The group with a partner with a migration background constituted a quarter of the respondents in a union in our study. This is a rapidly growing group, partly because the superdiverse city has extended the range of potential partners far beyond one's own ethnic group and partly because more and more people are meeting their partner while travelling, studying or working abroad. These people seem to be frontrunners in the art of living together, both with regard to their circle of friends and acquaintances and their attitudes to diversity. Their children are also important for the future. From an early age, these children learn to live with diversity not only within their family, but also in their parents' social circles. According to demographers, children born from mixed unions, who are people with roots in more than one place in the world, will, in time, constitute the largest new minority group. A second development which is related to the first one is that it be will natural for children without a migration background living in superdiverse cities to grow up having classmates and neighbours from a different background than their own. The BaM survey showed that people without a migration background who became used to migration-related diversity at an early age are much more likely to have a mixed circle of friends and a more pleasant practice of living together when they grow up. In the future, an increasing number of people will have learnt to 'do diversity' from an early age and to consider this as normal. These two developments alone will ensure that more people living in superdiverse cities will be willing to shape the interethnic fabric of society together.

A new political and policy framework for a successful practice of living together in the superdiverse city

In this book, we set ourselves the challenge of developing a new theoretical, political and policy framework to promote a successful practice of living together in the superdiverse city. Based on the insights from the BaM study, we advocate a radically different way of looking at diversity in West-Europe's major cities. The concept of integration as it was used in the last century may have been useful for the process whereby minority groups had to learn to fit in with a large national majority group, but it is no longer sufficient to meet the political and policy challenges facing superdiverse cities in this new millennium. We need a new perspective. This can be discovered once we replace the focus on integration with a focus on living together. How do you create a successful practice of living together in a city or neighbourhood where people are so different from each other? According to this new perspective, the people without a migration background are just as important a target group for policy-related and political action as the people with a migration background.

During the past forty years, this group seems to have been overlooked by integration policies, a practice that is becoming increasingly harmful now that we have arrived at a point at which the group without a migration background has become a numerical minority in many cities.

These enormous demographic changes require policymakers and politicians to make both a mental and a political turnaround regarding their policies on integration. We advocate a new political and policy focus on the practice of living together that explicitly considers how people without a migration background can participate or learn how to participate in the superdiverse city. After forty years of integration policy, it is obvious that this is not going to happen all by itself. This is therefore an important task facing policymakers and politicians: a task that will require political courage in order to clearly state that it is now the turn of people without a migration background in superdiverse cities to make an effort. That in order to achieve a successful practice of living together, it is important that those people who are in fact living segregated lives come out of their little circle and join in. They too are responsible for the outcome of living together in the superdiverse city.

The new politics that we are advocating also provide an answer to the sense of loss that is often expressed by some people without a migration background, a sentiment that has gradually become recruitment territory for the far right. Progressive parties have often responded to this sentiment by proclaiming the blessings of living in a diverse society. Of course, this brings many benefits and they were often mentioned by our respondents. But a failure to take seriously the sense of loss that some people are feeling is a political and societal mistake. As we saw in the BaM data and interviews, in general, interethnic encounters in superdiverse neighbourhoods do not just occur spontaneously. The lack of meaningful contact between different population groups in the neighbourhood may lead to the loss of a sense of community and to self-segregation. This is how groups end up facing each other across a divide. It is therefore important for policymakers, organizations and housing associations to support initiatives and places which enable people to make meaningful contact with each other.

This book has an optimistic message. If people without a migration background actively participate in the superdiverse city, they will also derive more enjoyment from living in a superdiverse neighbourhood. Participation yields a benefit, namely an increased feeling of wellbeing. People who participate and have agreeable relationships with neighbours from different backgrounds do not feel like strangers in their neighbourhood, and people who form friendships across ethnic group boundaries are more likely to report pleasant interactions and less likely to report unpleasant interactions in their superdiverse neighbourhood. Through this, loss can

be transformed into gain. We can learn how to shape a successful practice of living together from those people this book refers to as 'the connectors'. Organizations should fulfil a predominantly faciliatory role to give these 'connectors' the scope to do what they are good at. They are our starting point.

A theoretical framework for the practice of living together in the superdiverse city

Various integration theories have been developed in the more than forty years in which research has been conducted in Europe and North America. The most famous and oft-quoted theories are the *classic assimilation theory*, developed by researchers at the Chicago School, the *new assimilation theory* of Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2003) and the *segmented assimilation theory* formulated by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993). These theories were developed to help us understand how smaller groups of migrants integrate into a larger majority group. But a new theoretical framework is required to help us understand integration processes in this new millennium's majority-minority context. The concept of 'superdiversity' as used in our last book *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration* is useful to describe the new demographic reality in the larger West-European cities, but it does not provide a theoretical framework to determine when a superdiverse context is either functioning well or poorly. In this book, we have taken the first steps towards developing a theory on the practice of living together in the superdiverse context of a neighbourhood or city. To fill in our theoretical framework in more detail, we developed three analytical steps that together determine the outcomes for the practice of living together in a superdiverse neighbourhood. In the first step, we asked about the objective practice of living with migration-related diversity ('Do you have friends and acquaintances with a migration background?') and about people's subjective attitude to this topic" ('Do you see migration-related diversity more as an enrichment or more as a threat?'). We were able to identify different groups of respondents based on combinations of these positions. In the second step, we examined the extent to which these positions are related to how the respondents evaluate their well-being and sense of feeling at home in the neighbourhood, but also to how they evaluate the practice of living together with neighbours with a migration background and their interactions with local residents with a migration background on the street. In the third step, we looked at the outcomes for the practice of living together and the impact of the various attitudes towards migration-related diversity.

The symbolic image that we used for our theoretical framework is that of a set of old-fashioned weighing scales. On one side of the scales, we imagine the weight added by people who see migration-related diversity as enriching; on the other side, the weight added by the people who see this phenomenon as a threat. The weight added on each side impacts the practice of living together in a neighbourhood or city. We identified five essential mechanisms that can tip the scales in a specific direction. First, a successful practice of living together is often achieved because, paradoxically, a proportion of people who are negative about migration-related diversity do not express this attitude in their personal contacts, while people who are positive about migration-related diversity do tend to put this attitude into practice. This tips the balance in favour of a more positive practice of living together than one would assume on the sole basis of people's attitudes. A second mechanism that promotes a positive practice of living together is that people in leadership positions appear more likely to have a positive than a negative attitude towards migration-related diversity, and their position of power allows them to make this attitude weigh heavier. They decide the level of inclusivity on the work floor. The third mechanism that we found is that people working in the cultural, social and education sectors are overwhelmingly positive towards migration-related diversity and therefore influence the diversity and inclusion agenda in these sectors. Fourth, it seems that people who see migration-related diversity as an enrichment, but who do not have a mixed circle of friends and acquaintances have a huge potential that has not yet been tapped into. Under favourable circumstances, many people from this group will enter into interethnic relationships, thereby shifting to the position of a 'connector'. If the members of this group were to overcome their belonging uncertainty it is reasonable to assume that they could make a major contribution to a successful practice of living together. As we have already seen, this would also be beneficial for their own well-being in the superdiverse context. On the other hand, shifting to a position characterized by unpleasant interethnic interactions is not exactly an attractive prospect for those people who are negative about diversity, but in practice live pleasantly with their neighbours from a migrant background. Such a shift would bring few, if any, benefits for their own wellbeing. In practice, most people who have negative opinions about migration-related diversity do not choose to have a negative relationship with their culturally diverse living environment. Fifth, and following on from the fourth mechanism, it appears that once people have learnt to enjoy functioning in one culturally diverse context, they can put the art of living together into practice in all kinds of other culturally diverse contexts. Interethnic contact in the personal sphere appears to be 'contagious', causing people to also engage in positive interethnic

contact in public and semi-public spaces. Eventually, this becomes second nature. When the fourth mechanism is activated, it has a flywheel effect in the form of the fifth mechanism, which strengthens the culture of living together.

One of the key mechanisms is to establish personal and meaningful interethnic contact. In our theoretical framework, this is an important catalyst for a successful practice of living together in superdiverse neighbourhoods. The most important elements seem to be having contact that is small-scale, personal and meaningful. It seems to be important to ensure that cultural diversity is not the purpose of the encounter. The group that is positive about migration-related diversity but which does not have a mixed social circle, feels a degree of uncertainty about interethnic encounters, while the group that is negative about migration-related diversity feels resistance towards the positive multicultural discourse. For both of these groups, however, encountering people from a migrant background on the basis of a common goal, such as sport, work or in the schoolyard, can spontaneously lead to meaningful interethnic interactions. Earlier in this chapter, we advocated a new policy and political vision for the practice of living together in the superdiverse city. This means that new research tools will be required in order to monitor this practice. The DAPI index (Diversity Attitudes and Practices Impact scales) (Crul & Lelie 2021) makes it possible to monitor the state of the practice of living together on a neighbourhood and city level. We translated the DAPI index into a model of the practice of living together (see next page) based on the outcomes presented in this book. The model shows the most important trends we found. We can assume that in every context there will be groups of people with either positive or negative attitudes towards migration-related diversity. The size of these groups will vary in each neighbourhood or city. People's attitudes are generally reflected in their everyday practice. People with a positive attitude generally reported having mainly pleasant interethnic interactions in public spaces. However, the group of individuals with a negative attitude towards migration-related diversity contained a not-insignificant subset that nonetheless reported having predominantly enjoyable interactions with people with a migration background. This contradictory position is crucial because it represents an important mechanism through which people who may have a negative attitude towards migration-related diversity in their daily lives still contribute to a successful practice of living together. The model also includes the impact of the positions of power that people may occupy. This may be a formal position of power (such as a managerial position) or a position that gives people the power to influence matters like diversity policy. At the end of the day, the quality of the practice of living together is determined by the sum total of pleasant and unpleasant interethnic interactions, while the positions of power held by people also help to determine their impact. We can use this model to give an overview of successful and problematic
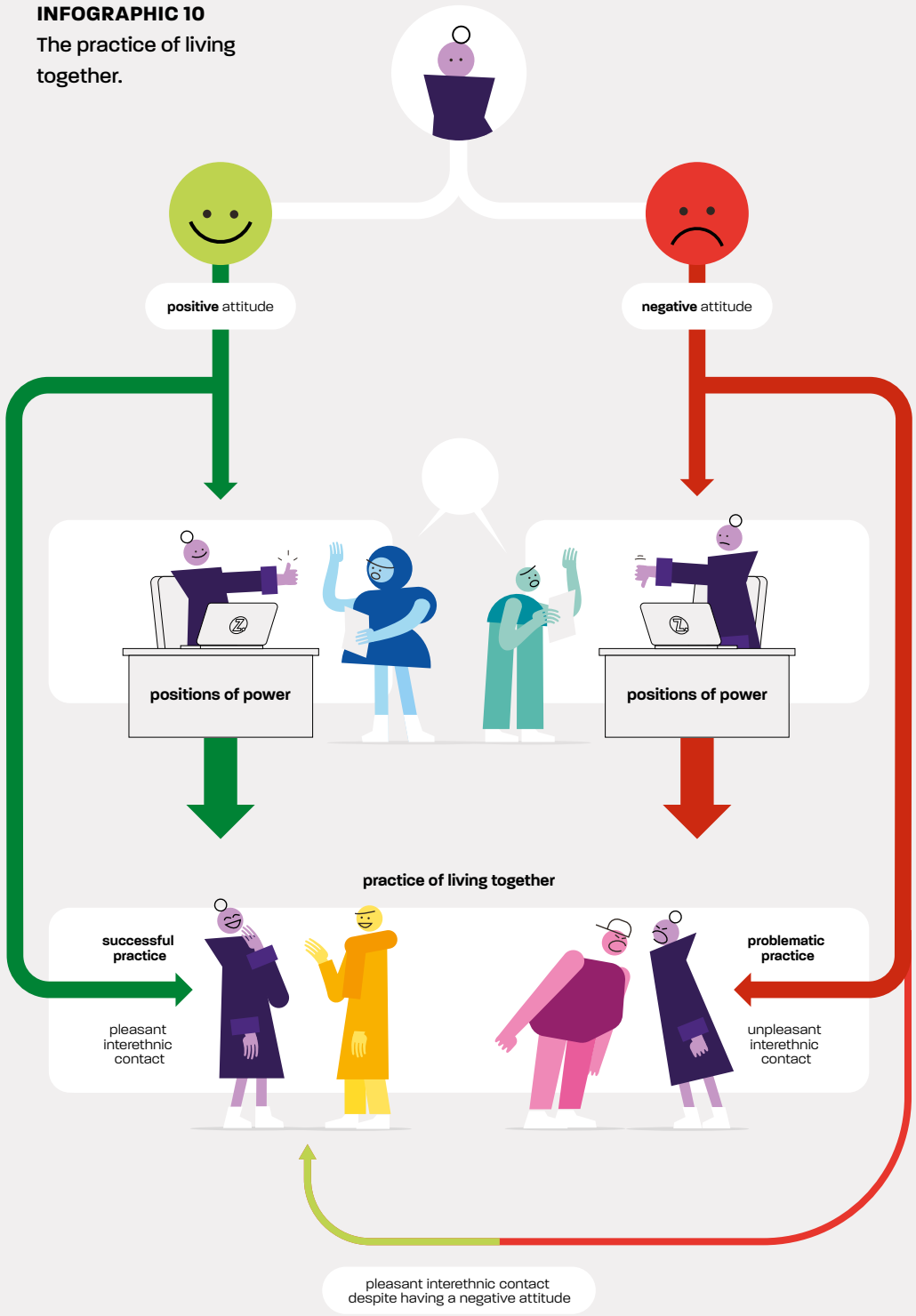
practices in each neighbourhood or urban context. There will be neighbourhoods where successful practices are by far more common and neighbourhoods where problematic practices predominate.

The DAPI index can be used to establish in which neighbourhoods the practice of living together has reached a dangerous tipping point. In such neighbourhoods, interventions must be deployed in order to promote a positive scenario. These interventions can then be monitored at the level of the neighbourhood, a part of the neighbourhood or even a housing block, using the DAPI index. Effective interventions can therefore be used in different neighbourhoods or housing blocks, while always taking the specific context into account. Gradually, it will be possible to identify more effective interventions that can be rolled out across larger areas in the city and also in other municipalities.

The influence of people with a migration background on the practice of living together

Finally, we would like to philosophize briefly about how the theory of the practice of living together might be applied to people with a migration background. We saw a range of attitudes towards cultural diversity when looking at people without a migration background, and we expect that the same applies to people with a migration background. Some people from this group see cultural diversity in a negative light because they reject the lifestyles of people from other ethnic groups. We speculate that in many ways, people with a migration background who reject diversity and self-segregate will share several characteristics with those without a migration background who have adopted this position, as both groups consider their own cultural norms and values superior and prefer to associate only with people from their own ethnic group. It is highly likely that these people, just like the group without a migration background, are strongly attached to tradition and suspicious of people who are distinctly different from them. We would not be surprised if people with a migration background who perceive diversity as threatening were also more often involved in unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street and in shops. It is likely that the large majority of people with a migration background – just like the BaM project's target group – see cultural diversity as an enrichment and engage in pleasant interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood. There will also be some people with a migration background who, while having negative views on cultural diversity (and who may reject the norms and values of those without a migration background), in practice neverthe-

INFOGRAPHIC 10
The practice of living together.

positive attitude

negative attitude

positions of power

positions of power

practice of living together

successful practice

pleasant interethnic contact

problematic practice

unpleasant interethnic contact

pleasant interethnic contact despite having a negative attitude

less maintain cordial relations with their neighbours without a migration background, thereby also making a positive contribution to the successful practice of living together.

Existing assimilation and integration theories have designated migrants and their descendants as a special category, setting them apart from people without a migration background. For example, it is claimed that some people with a migration background cling to the traditions of their own ethnic group or 'do not want to adapt'. The BaM study has made it clear that there is also a subgroup among the people without a migration background who demonstrate a similar pattern. Our theoretical framework can be used to check whether the mechanism for the practice of living together works in the same way for everyone, whether or not they have a migration background. We therefore advocate for diversity research to take a new direction in order to look at more general mechanisms that either help or hinder the practice of living together in a superdiverse city or neighbourhood.

The active role of people without a migration background in creating a successful practice of living together

Our research has shown that a positive practice of living together in a neighbourhood or city is the result of an active process. Living together is something you do. The BaM survey enabled us to reveal a group of people without a migration background who are contributing to a successful practice of living together through many actions, some big, some small, and by making and maintaining contacts in their neighbourhood. These interventions, both large and small, in addition to their contact with local residents with a migration background, keep tipping the balance in a positive direction to give the practice of living together a chance of success. More than they may realize, these people have a decisive influence on the diversity climate in their neighbourhood.

One of the aims of this book was to use the outcomes of the BaM study to show what works and what is important in order to facilitate a successful practice of living together. Many people are experiencing a feeling of powerlessness because the rejection of cultural diversity seems to be gaining the upper hand. We want this book to help transform this feeling of powerlessness into one of hope. We want to make it clear that all actions, whether large or small, play a role in the art of living together and that the vast majority of people – both people with and people without a migration background – are already making an important contribution to this.

In the introduction to this book, we described how we had learned how to 'do diversity' through a process of trial and error in organizations where we worked together with people from different ethnic groups and from very different backgrounds. Within these organizations, we had a shared political aim, our presence was not regarded as strange and we had a clearly-defined role, all of which removed our uncertainty to some extent. Our contact with all of our different neighbours and our work in the Schilderswijk neighbourhood also taught us how to 'do diversity'. We noticed that at some point, our feeling of unease and unfamiliarity concerning 'how to do it' disappeared. We also learned that we all have to shape the practice of living together, and that it is necessary to make an effort, as this is not going to happen all by itself.

Everyone can learn to 'do diversity'. Not only does this promote cohesion in super-diverse societies, but after this study, we know that participating in a diverse environment is also good for your own sense of wellbeing.

Central concepts and research choices in this book

People without a migration background

In Becoming a Minority (BaM), we studied people without a migration background living in neighbourhoods where the majority of residents have a migration background. The most important distinctive criterion hereby is that our definition of migration background is based on the country of birth of the person in question and that of both of their parents. This is also the criterion used in administrative data and statistics used by Statistics Netherlands[*] and the German DESTATIS of the Statistisches Bundesambt[**].

This definition means that the respondents on whose answers this book is based were born in the countries where we conducted the BaM survey and that both of their parents were also born there. This means that the country of birth is the most important characteristic of this target group. Naturally, any categorization will lead to a simplification and, hence, a distortion of reality. We are aware that our research is no exception.

The BaM team had long discussions about what to call our target group, as this was no simple matter. We will sum up our considerations briefly here, because it will

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[*]   https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/our-services/methods/definitions/person-with-a-migration-background

[**]   https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html

soon be clear who does and who does not belong to this group. For example, it seems obvious to refer to people in this group as 'Dutch' (or Swedes/Germans/Belgians/Austrians). In everyday language, the terms migrants and Dutch are often used to refer to two mutually exclusive groups. The use of the term 'Dutch people' is, however, problematic because migrants and their children are also Dutch and often have Dutch (or Swedish/German/Belgian/Austrian) nationality. Is the term 'white Dutch people' then suitable? No, because some brown and black Dutch people fall under the category 'without a migration background', while there are Dutch people with a migration background who are white. In the end, we chose to call the target group of the BaM study 'people without a migration background', even though it is unlikely that anyone would actually refer to themselves as such in practice.

Majority-minority cities and neighbourhoods

The term 'majority-minority city' comes from the United States, where the term majority-minority is used to indicate that the old majority group of non-Hispanic whites no longer represents the numerical majority in a city or even in a state (Kasinitz et al. 2002). This has been a fact for decades in cities like New York and Los Angeles. In New York, the group of non-Hispanic whites is still the largest category, covering one third of the population. In Los Angeles, Hispanic is by far the largest category, and only slightly more than a quarter of the population belongs to the category non-Hispanic white. The phenomenon of cities undergoing a demographic change towards consisting entirely of numerical minorities, is therefore nothing new. This development will continue as a result of ongoing migration. American cities are slightly ahead of European cities in this respect. In most large global cities, no new majority group has replaced the old majority group. Much more often, there is an enormous variety of ethnicities, skin colours, languages, classes and spiritual convictions.

In 2011, Amsterdam became the first majority-minority city in the Netherlands. Since then, most of its inhabitants have been people with a migration background. By 2022, their share of the population had grown to 57 percent (https://onderzoek. amsterdam.nl/dataset/stand-van-de-bevolking-amsterdam). As we have already stated, the majority of people with a migration background is extremely diverse. This group includes high-earning expats, people with refugee status, the children of migrants from the former colonies, international students, labour migrants and their children, digital nomads, people who moved here for love and practically everything else you can think of. Amsterdam is home to people from more than 180 countries.

Approximately one fifth of the population comes from the four traditional migration countries (Suriname, Morocco, Turkey and the Antilles) but the most swiftly growing group falls under the category defined as 'other' in the statistics. All inhabitants of the city now actually belong to a numerical minority group.

Majority-minority cities and neighbourhoods in the BaM study

Below, we show how the cities in our study evolved over time on their way to obtaining majority-minority status. We have the best statistics for Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam because these municipalities register inhabitants' own country of birth and that of their parents. This allows us to see exactly how many majority-minority neighbourhoods there are in the city and where we can find them.

Figure 1 clearly shows that Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam have been majority-minority cities for quite some time: Amsterdam for over ten years, Rotterdam for five years, and Antwerp for three years. There is a similar trend in the other three cities in our study. By now, Malmö has also passed the tipping point. According to the figure, Vienna and Hamburg do not seem to be majority-minority cities yet, but this is distorted by the fact that people in Austria and Germany are registered on the basis of their nationality, and not according to their own country of birth or that of their parents. In Vienna in 2021, for example, 42 percent of the population was of ausländischer Herkunft (foreign origin), which means that they did not have Austrian citizenship or had been born abroad. People who were born in Austria and had Austrian nationality, but who had one or two parents born abroad, were not included in the statistics as belonging to the group with a migration background. If they had been included in this group, as they would have been in the other countries, Vienna would also have passed the tipping point to become a majority-minority city.
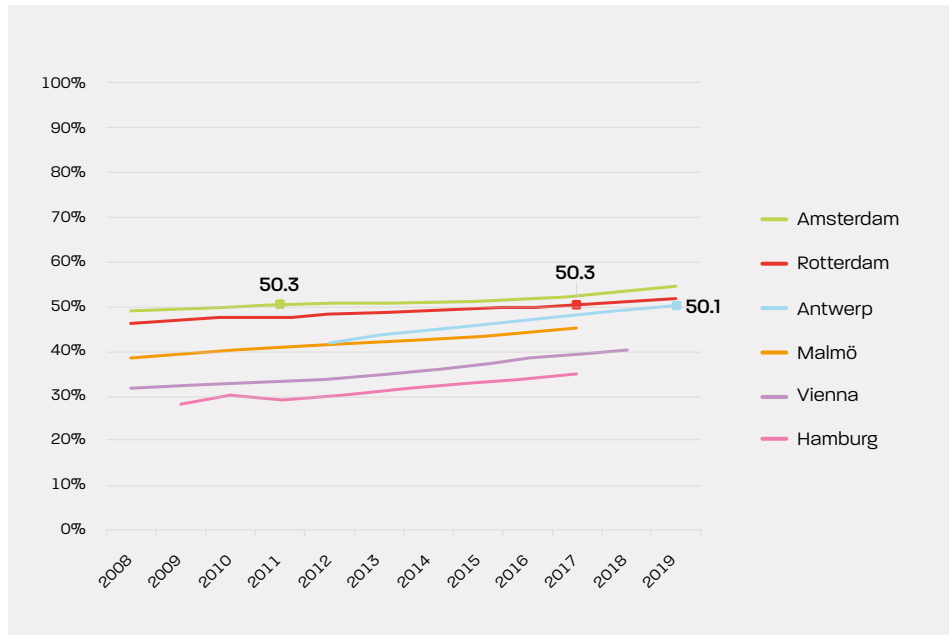
If we look at the youngest part of the population, shown in figure 2, the demographic trend leading to majority-minority cities seems set to accelerate in the future. In Antwerp the number of young people with a migration background is already above 70 percent and this figure is around 60 percent in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Therefore, young people without a migration background will form a numerical minority group in an increasing number of contexts.
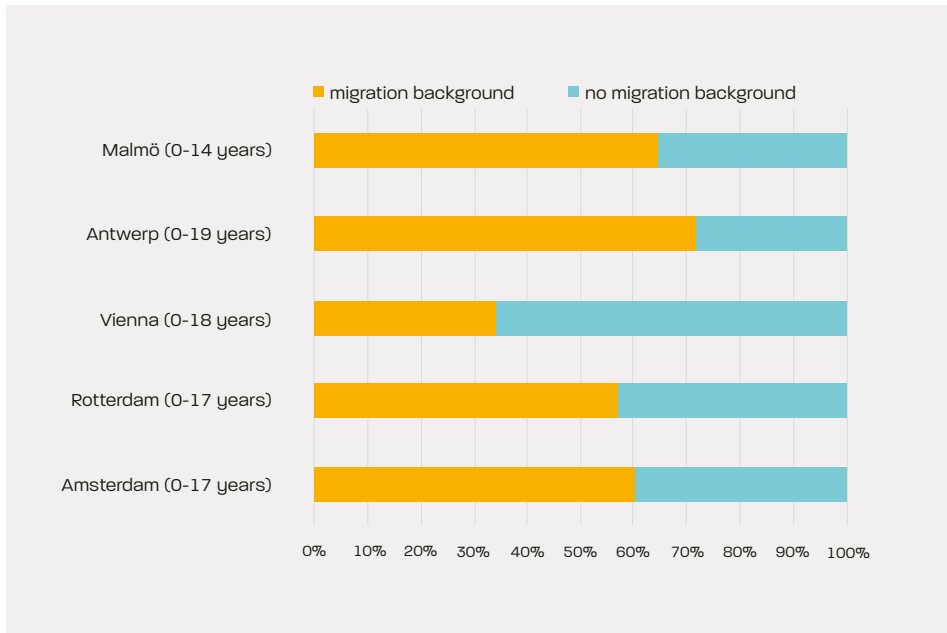
Each city has neighbourhoods that are much more diverse than other areas. In the
1960s and 1970s, migrant workers lived mainly in working-class neighbourhoods
where less expensive housing could be found. Many people without a migration
background subsequently moved to the suburbs or satellite towns. In many cases,
these migrants are now the people with the longest history of living in the neighbour-
hood, while young families without a migration background are often the newcomers
to these neighbourhoods (see Keskiner & Waldring 2023).

Figure 3 shows that in Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam there are only a few
neighbourhoods that do not have a majority-minority composition. In Amsterdam,
these neighbourhoods are mainly in the south of the city, while in Rotterdam these
neighbourhoods are mainly in the city centre and the wealthier district of Hillegers-
berg. In Antwerp, the neighbourhoods where people without a migration background
are still in the numerical majority are mainly located in the centre and in chicer
neighbourhoods such as 't Zuid and Nieuw Zuid. The maps below clearly show that

majority-minority neighbourhoods are no longer only to be found in typical working-class neighbourhoods, but that they also extend to many lower middle-class areas. Nowadays, the neighbourhoods where the people without a migration background still form a majority are like little islands, while the vast majority of the city is characterized by a majority-minority population and a large or even very large degree of migration-related diversity.

FIGURE 3
Sources: Amsterdam: BRP/OIS, Rotterdam: BRP/OBI, Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, Districts- en loketwerking
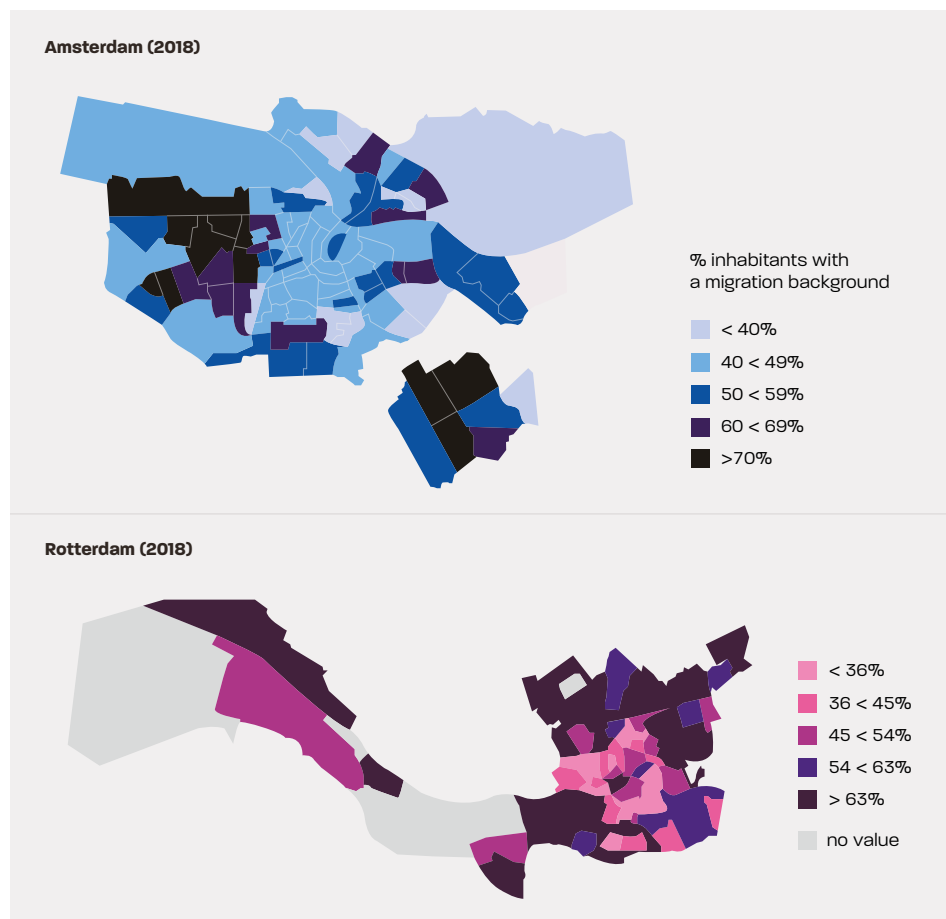
The statistical data from these municipal councils show that diversity in the every-day life of the city – as anyone who walks around these cities can see – has become a fact.

Antwerp (2018)

% inhabitants with
a migration background

- < 43%
- 43 < 51%
- 51 < 60%
- 60 < 68%
- > 68%
- no value
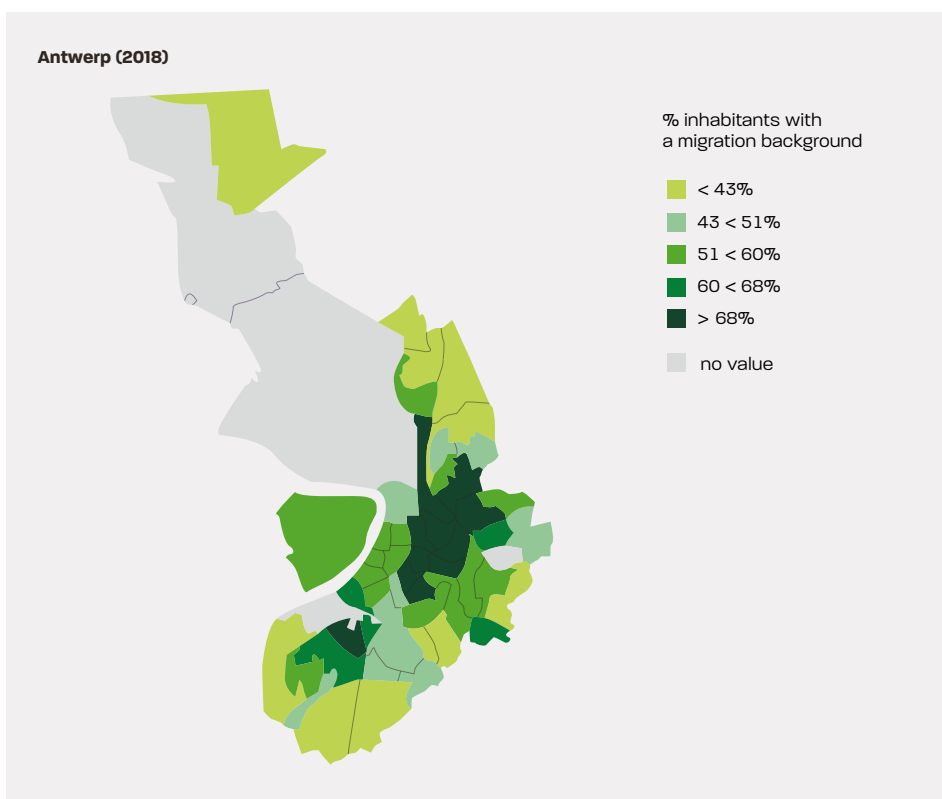
The research design of BaM

The BaM study was based on a sample in all majority-minority neighbourhoods in three harbour cities (Rotterdam, Antwerp and Malmö) and three financial and service sector cities (Amsterdam, Hamburg and Vienna). In Sweden and in the Netherlands, the municipal councils gave us access to data from the population register to establish the country of birth of our respondents and that of their parents and to determine the age category. In Germany and Belgium, where the parents' country of birth is not registered, we used onomastic (name-based) sampling in combination with administrative data. We approached people who, on the basis of their last name, might belong to our target group and asked if that was the case. In Austria we had access to even fewer administrative data. Here, the survey agency applied a so-called random walk (ringing the doorbell at houses based on a certain system) in majority-minority neighbourhoods and asked people if they belonged to the target group and wanted to participate in the survey (for a detailed explanation of the research method, see the introductory article in the open access JEMS Special Issue, Crul et al. 2023).

None of the cities, including those that recorded country of birth and country of birth of one's parents, had neighbourhood-level statistics on the exact socio-economic composition of the group without a migration background. That is in itself an interesting fact, as it reveals that policymakers have no interest in examining this group separately. We usually know much more about the various groups of migrants in these neighbourhoods.

In analysing survey results, we often found significant differences in both attitudes and practices regarding migration-related diversity between people without a higher education certificate (senior secondary vocational education or mbo degree or below) and those with a higher education qualification (higher professional education and university). For this reason, we often show the outcomes for people with and without a higher education diploma separately. This yields a more realistic comparison between cities because it is not distorted by possible differences in the number of respondents with and without a higher education qualification in our sample.

It is also important to emphasize that the results should not automatically be regarded as being representative of these cities as a whole. All of the cities in our study still have neighbourhoods where the overwhelming majority of inhabitants do not have a migration background and it is plausible that the outcomes would be different there. First of all, as these neighbourhoods are wealthier, they have a different socio-economic composition. Secondly, it is possible that the residents of these neighbourhoods have deliberately chosen to live in a less diverse neighbourhood and that, consequently, their attitudes and practices towards diversity differ from those of people living in majority-minority neighbourhoods.

Appendix 2:
Tables

TABLE 1

Respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods in the six BaM cities: the composition of their neighbourhood based on migration background as reported by the respondents. Question: 'How would you describe your neighbourhood?'

	As a neighbourhood where no one or hardly anyone has a migration background	As a neighbourhood where some people have a migration background	As a neighbourhood where half of the people have a migration background	As a neighbourhood where most people have a migration background	As a neighbourhood where everyone has a migration background
No higher education diploma	2%	15%	36%	36%	11%
Higher education diploma	2%	17%	40%	34%	7%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 2

Respondents without a migration background in majority-minority neighbourhoods in the six BaM cities: the number of neighbours with a migration background with whom they have contact as reported by the respondents.

	Almost no one	Some neighbours	The half of the neighbours	The majority of the neighbours	Almost all of the neighbours
No higher education diploma	10%	31%	32%	19%	8%
Higher education diploma	10%	37%	30%	17%	6%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 3A

People without a migration background and without a higher education diploma in MM neighbourhoods in the six BaM cities and their views on diversity, disaggregated by residents of a MM part of the neighbourhood and residents of a part of the neighbourhood where there are fewer people with a migration background.

	Threatening	In-between	Enriching
Less than half have a migration background	39%	22%	39%
Half have a migration background	27%	24%	49%
More than half have a migration background	43%	15%	42%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 3B

People without a migration background and with a higher education diploma in majority-minority neighbourhoods in the six BaM cities and their views on diversity, disaggregated by residents of a MM part of the neighbourhood and residents of a part of the neighbourhood where there are fewer people with a migration background.

	Threatening	In-between	Enriching
Less than half	15%	14%	71%
Half	13%	13%	74%
More than half	19%	11%	70%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 4

Respondents without a higher education diploma in the six BaM cities who are negative about diversity and how they assess their contact with neighbours with a migration background.

	Positive contact	Neutral contact	Negative contact
Migration-related diversity is a threat	37%	48%	15%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 5

Respondents without a higher education diploma who are living in social housing in Vienna and their attitudes towards migration-related diversity.

	Migration-related diversity is a threat	Neutral	Migration-related diversity is enriching
People living in social housing	**53%**	**24%**	**23%**

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 6

Respondents without a higher education diploma who are living in social housing in Vienna and the quality of their contact with neighbours with a migration background.

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Quality of the contact with neighbours with a migration background	**40%**	**51%**	**9%**

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 7

Respondents without a higher education diploma who are living in social housing in Vienna, their attitudes towards migration-related diversity and the quality of their contact with neighbours with a migration background.

	Positive about contact with neighbours with a migration background	Neutral about contact with neighbours with a migration background	Negative about contact with neighbours with a migration background
Migration-related diversity is a threat	**35%**	**49%**	**16%**
Neutral	**38%**	**59%**	**3%**
Migration-related diversity is enriching	**51%**	**49%**	**0%**

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 8

Respondents without a higher education diploma who are living in social housing in Vienna and the quality of their interethnic interactions on the street.

Vienna	Pleasant interethnic inter-actions on the street	Unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street	No interethnic interactions on the street
People living in social housing	46%	42%	12%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

TABLE 9

Respondents who are living in social housing in Vienna, their attitudes towards migration-related diversity and the quality of their interethnic interactions on the street.

Vienna	Pleasant interethnic inter-actions on the street	Unpleasant interethnic interactions on the street	No interethnic interactions on the street
Migration-related diversity is a threat	22%	63%	15%
Neutral	72%	23%	5%
Migration-related diversity is enriching	75%	17%	8%

SOURCE: BAM SURVEY 2019

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The New Minority

People Without a Migration Background in the Superdiverse City

After more than forty years of discussion, research and policies aimed at migrants, their children and their grandchildren, it is high time for a book that focuses on a group that has been overlooked in the integration debate: people without a migration background. In many major European cities, this group has become a numerical minority. How do they experience today's superdiverse cities? How do they engage with diversity? These and related questions were answered in the international Becoming a Minority (BaM) research project. An important outcome was that people without a migration background generally see living in an ethnically diverse city as enriching but very few have ethnically mixed friendship groups. Many members of this new minority group have not learnt to 'do diversity' from an early age.

This book shows that people who have mastered the art of living together in a diverse environment have more social contacts and enjoyable interactions, resulting in a greater sense of belonging in the superdiverse city. Participating in your diverse surrounding appears to be good for your own well-being.