

GLOBAL
DIVERSITIES

Diversity and Contact

*Immigration and Social
Interaction in German Cities*

KAREN SCHÖNWÄLDER
SÖREN PETERMANN
JÖRG HÜTTERMANN
STEVEN VERTOVEC
MILES HEWSTONE
DIETLIND STOLLE
KATHARINA SCHMID
THOMAS SCHMITT



Global Diversities

Series Editors

Steven Vertovec
Department of Socio-Cultural Diversity
Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and
Ethnic Diversity
Göttingen, Germany

Peter van der Veer
Department of Religious Diversity
Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and
Ethnic Diversity
Göttingen, Germany

Ayelet Shachar
Department of Ethics, Law, and Politics
Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and
Ethnic Diversity
Göttingen, Germany

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Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of 'diversity' are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of 'diversity', this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

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Karen Schönwälder • Sören Petermann • Jörg Hüttermann •
Steven Vertovec • Miles Hewstone • Dietlind Stolle •
Katharina Schmid • Thomas Schmitt

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Karen Schönwälder
Max Planck Institute for the Study of
Religious and Ethnic Diversity
Göttingen, Germany

Sören Petermann
Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Bochum, Germany

Jörg Hüttermann
University of Bielefeld
Bielefeld, Germany

Steven Vertovec
Max Planck Institute for the Study of
Religious and Ethnic Diversity
Göttingen, Germany

Miles Hewstone
Department of Experimental Psychology
University of Oxford
Oxford, United Kingdom

Dietlind Stolle
Department of Political Science
McGill University
Montreal, Canada

Katharina Schmid
ESADE Business School
Ramon Llull University
Barcelona, Spain

Thomas Schmitt
Institut für Geographie
Universität Nürnberg-Erlangen
Erlangen, Germany

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Preface

This book is the product of a collaboration between researchers at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, at Oxford University and at McGill University in Montréal. Each of the authors has contributed in specific ways, reflecting their areas of expertise, but altogether this is the product of a collective effort and this is documented in our co-authorship of the book.

Apart from the authors, others have contributed to the success of this project: Karolina Barglowski, Esther Baumgärtner, Katharina Borberg, Mijal Gandelsman-Trier, and Ute Marie Metje have done the qualitative fieldwork that forms the basis of our portraits of five selected neighbourhoods. Mijal Gandelsman-Trier was also involved in analysing the interviews.

Christian Jacobs developed a system for the classification of the 50 areas investigated in this book, based on a preliminary classification system devised by Thomas Schmitt. As a student assistant, Christian Jacobs was also involved in compiling our city data base. Other student assistants at the Göttingen Max Planck Institute supported the team in many ways, in particular Anna Wiese, Friedrich Striewski, and Ricarda Keenan. Other members of the institute staff provided crucial support, in particular Jutta Esser, Doris Büthe, Diana Aurisch, and Christel Albern. Chris Kofri translated German quotations, edited, and proof-read the manuscript.

Sebastian Günther and Joe Heywood helped with some of the statistical analyses and the technical report for the first wave of the survey. The survey was conducted by TNS Emnid where Torsten Schneider-Haase and Manuela Hofmann provided useful advice.

All photographs in this book were taken by members of the research team, in particular Thomas Schmitt and the five fieldworkers listed above. Burkhard Peter edited the photographs and helped with the selection.

Our thanks go to all participants of the survey and the residents and experts who agreed to be interviewed in five selected neighbourhoods. Without this support, our research would have been impossible.

Results of the Diversity and Contact Project have been presented at several major academic events, and we have profited from the comments and suggestions of participants and commentators there. Such events included an international conference in Göttingen in April 2011, at the Max Planck Institute (where Sonja Haug and Ulrich Wagner in particular commented on our preliminary results), conferences of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) in Reykjavik (August 2011), of the European Sociological Association (ESA) in Geneva (September 2011), of the International Sociological Association (ISA Forum) in Buenos Aires (August 2012) and of the German Sociological Association (DGS) in Bochum. In July 2014, a panel at the IPSA conference in Montréal provided further opportunity to discuss project results with an international audience.

Funding for this project was granted by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen. The Max Planck Society, to which the institute belongs, is financed by the federal and regional states of Germany and thus by the taxpayers. Ultimately, this public funding made our research possible.

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About the Authors

Miles Hewstone is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Oxford, and Fellow of New College. He has published widely in the field of experimental social psychology, focusing on prejudice and stereotyping, intergroup contact, the reduction of intergroup conflict, sectarianism in Northern Ireland, and segregation and integration. He is a Fellow of the British Academy. His major current focus is on intergroup contact. Recent significant contributions include research on longitudinal studies, extended contact, the secondary transfer effect, and effects of diversity. He is the founding co-editor of the *European Review of Social Psychology*. He has been actively involved in public policy input relating to improving intergroup relations in the United Kingdom, including The Equalities Review, Cabinet Office, the Commission on Integration and Cohesion and most recently with the Department for Communities and Local Government. He has received a number of awards, including, most recently, the Codol Medal (2014) from the European Association of Social Psychology.

Jörg Hüttermann is a researcher at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence at Bielefeld University and a former research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen. He took part in research projects about policing, Group Conflicts in Small Cities, Conflicts over Islamic

Symbols, and conflict and figuration in Bradford and Duisburg. He is the author of *Entzündungsfähige Konfliktkonstellationen: Eskalations- und Integrationspotentiale in Kleinstädten der Einwanderungsgesellschaft* (Juventa, 2010) and *Das Minarett: Zur politischen Kultur des Konflikts um islamische Symbole* (Juventa, 2006) and co-author of *Lived Diversity: Space, Place and Identities in the multiethnic city* (Policy Press, 2014). He has also published several articles in journals such as *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*.

Sören Petermann is now professor of Sociology and Urban and Regional Studies at Ruhr University Bochum. Before, he was research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. The sociologist is particularly interested in interpersonal networks and social capital, socio-cultural diversity and urban sociology. His book publications include *Persönliches soziales Kapital in Stadtgesellschaften* (Springer VS, 2014) and *Persönliche Netzwerke in Stadt und Land. Siedlungsstruktur und soziale Unterstützungsnetzwerke im Raum Halle/Saale* (Westdeutscher Verlag, 2002).

Katharina Schmid is an Assistant Professor at ESADE Business School, Ramon Llull University, Barcelona, Spain. She previously held positions at University of Oxford, and the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. She holds a PhD in Social Psychology. Her research interests fall broadly into the areas of intergroup relations, diversity and social identity.

Thomas Schmitt is a human geographer at Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen-Nürnberg. He previously worked at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. His research has focussed on conflicts surrounding religious symbols in the public space and cultural heritage. He is author of *Cultural Governance* (Franz-Steiner-Verlag, 2011) and *Moscheen in Deutschland. Konflikte um ihre Errichtung und Nutzung* (TU München, 2002).

Karen Schönwälder is Research Group Leader at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity and Extracurricular

Professor at the Georg August University in Göttingen. She has written and co-edited several books including *Einwanderung und ethnische Pluralität* (Klartext, 2001), *Politische Steuerung von Integrationsprozessen: Intentionen und Wirkungen* (VS Verlag, 2006) and *European Encounters* (Ashgate, 2003), as well as articles in journals such as *European Societies*, *West European Politics* and *Soziale Welt*. Topics include the political incorporation of immigrants, residential segregation, immigrant policies and their effects, diversity and racism.

Dietlind Stolle is the Director of the Inter-University Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship at McGill University in Montréal. Her research themes are political culture and attitudes, political participation, ethnic diversity, multiculturalism, and immigrant integration. She is co-author of *Political Consumerism—Global Responsibility in Action* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and has published widely in journals such as the *Perspectives on Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *PNAS*, *Political Research Quarterly* and *European Societies*

Steven Vertovec is Director at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, Germany, and Honorary Joint Professor of Sociology and Ethnology, University of Göttingen, Germany. He is co-editor of the journal *Global Networks*, author of several books including *Transnationalism* (Routledge, 2008), and editor and co-editor of over thirty volumes including *Diversities Old and New: Migration and Socio-Spatial Patterns in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), and *The Multiculturalism Backlash* (Routledge, 2010) and a number of special issues.

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1

Introduction: Research Context and Hypotheses

Many contemporary European and North American societies have become increasingly diverse. In particular their cities are marked by a co-existence of people whose life trajectories, preferred and practiced forms of partnership and family, and aspirations differ. One aspect of such diversity is the plurality of ethnic affiliations, cultural preferences and life experiences linked with immigration. While the facts of permanent immigration and increased diversity are nowadays widely recognized, the exact character and the societal impact of these transformations are controversial and in several ways as yet insufficiently understood.

This study investigates, for one dimension of social life, the consequences that arise from the experience of diversity in the living environments of individuals. How does the socio-demographic and cultural diversity of societies affect the social interactions of individuals and groups within them? We investigate this question in one of Europe's major countries of immigration. With over nine million foreign-born residents, the share of immigrants in Germany is similar to that in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France, and not much below that in the United States. About one fifth of the country's inhabitants have

immigrated or are the children of immigrants. In some of the big cities more than one third of the population are first and second-generation immigrants. Does this matter for the ways in which urban residents interact, form friendship-ties, trust, or resent others?

1.1 Interaction Versus Withdrawal

In public and often also academic debates, negative predictions of potential consequences of immigration often gain more attention than positive scenarios. Several academic and non-academic observers have voiced worries that an increasing social and cultural diversity of the population of nation states may have disintegrative effects on these societies. Such worries are not new. In some ways they resemble debates about the consequences of urbanisation around the turn of the twentieth century. At that time, the rapid development of large cities, driven by industrialization, was associated with a loss of community—a prediction that did not come true.

In the 1990s, potentially negative consequences of globalisation were a much debated issue. In Germany, Wilhelm Heitmeyer and other scholars asked whether cities were losing their traditional ‘integrative potential’. Given the pressures of an increasing socio-economic polarisation and spatial segregation along socio-demographic and ethnic lines (Heitmeyer et al. 1998: 9; Anhut and Heitmeyer 2005; Anhut and Heitmeyer 2000), society seemed under threat of losing the capacity to cope with the heterogeneities and conflicts associated with immigration. In this literature, immigration-related diversity was seen as one dimension of stress or disadvantage, and worries centred on the effects of an assumed trend towards the spatial concentration of multiple disadvantages (Anhut and Heitmeyer 2000: 44–45). As urban sociologist Jens Dangschat (1998: 81–82, 84) suggested, in situations of insecurity and competition, contact would lead to more negative stereotypes and increased conflict. Multi-cultural co-existence could then only be the exception.

In Britain, ‘community cohesion’ emerged as a key policy concern and academic buzz word in response to disturbances in some north English towns in 2001 and the 2005 London bomb attacks (see Lowndes and Thorp 2011; Flint and Robinson 2008: 2–3). Here as well, ethnic diver-

sity was associated with divisions and tensions. Increased interaction between different communities was perceived as an important objective of political intervention.

In the academic debate, the publication of results of the US *Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey* revived older discussions about the societal consequences of immigration-related and ethnic¹ diversity. Based on these data, Robert Putnam (2007) warned that ethnic diversity would, at least in the short term, lead to reduced social solidarity and social capital, lower trust between citizens, and reduced participation in community and political activities. As Putnam (2007: 150–151) argued, ‘inhabitants of diverse communities tend to withdraw from collective life, to distrust their neighbours, [...] to expect the worst from their community and its leaders’. This concept assumes a causal connection between the extent and variety of social interaction, trust in co-citizens and confidence in the structures of society and politics. Environments marked by ethnic diversity are presumed to be perceived as threatening by their inhabitants which affects social interactions and attitudes, and in consequence ‘social cohesion’. Going back to Blumer’s work in the 1950s, there is a tradition of conflict- or threat-theoretical approaches that emphasize alienation and competition between groups (see for example Blumer 1958; Hero 2003; Giles and Buckner 1993; Bobo and Hutchings 1996).

Neither the fundamental theoretical framework, nor the empirical claims of various disintegration approaches have remained unchallenged. Alejandro Portes and Erik Vickstrom (2011: 472) present alternative views of the origins and benefits of social capital: ‘Mutual trust and bowling leagues [Putnam’s example for associations and a vivid civic life] are nice things to have, but they do not represent a *sine qua non* for a viable society’. They contend that modern societies do not need homogeneity and communitarianism for an organization of social life that is beneficial to individuals and the collective. Similarly, Craig Calhoun (2002: 161) has emphasized that ‘the social order of a complex, large-scale society, [...] is necessarily shaped much more by the mediation of markets,

¹What is sometimes termed *racial difference* can be seen as one form of ethnicity, that is the ascription of common characteristics based on, in this case, physical features, in other cases language or national origin, see Wimmer 2008: 973–975.

formal organizations, and impersonal communications' than by interpersonal networks. Thus, even if diversity did indeed negatively affect mutual trust, this would not endanger social life more generally. Barbara Arneil (2010) has pointed out that a decline in trust may be a necessary by-product of a struggle for a more just and less discriminatory society and in that sense a positive development. Others, including for instance Ash Amin, have suggested that co-existence does not lead to conflict but to the normalisation of the presence of strangers. Amin (2013: 4) refers to the 'habitual negotiation of difference' that occurs 'at most times without rancour'.

Social-psychological contact theory in a different way challenges disintegration and threat hypotheses. After decades of research, it is nowadays widely accepted that contact across groups has positive effects on attitudes. As Pettigrew and Tropp concluded, based on hundreds of studies, 'contact between groups can be effective in reducing prejudice' (2011: 27; see also Hewstone 2009). Research has for instance shown that positive intergroup contact is associated with more outgroup trust (for example Crisp et al. 2010; Schmid et al. 2014; Tam et al. 2009). While initially Gordon Allport (1954) had proposed that positive effects of contact were dependent on a set of conditions, empirical research now suggests that these conditions are not essential for contact to have positive effects (Pettigrew and Tropp 2011: 67, 169; on negative contact see 185–200; see also Dovidio et al. 2003). Furthermore, as has now been convincingly demonstrated, even indirect contact can have positive effects on individual's attitudes towards an outgroup (on this secondary transfer effect see Schmid et al. 2014).

Contact theory has so far mainly focused on effects of such encounters and interactions, rather than the conditions leading to their occurrence. Still, it tends to be associated with more optimistic assumptions regarding the ways in which individuals respond to contextual diversity. Contexts marked by diversity can be seen as opportunities for interaction which in turn tends to lead to positive outcomes. The crucial question is whether interaction indeed occurs.

One contribution this study makes to the literature is that it explores to what extent and under what conditions intergroup interaction happens.

It thus helps to broaden the perspectives of contact theory. Beyond that, we believe that we can provide a substantial empirically based answer to the controversially debated question of how diversity affects social life. This book outlines the results of both quantitative and qualitative investigations in 50 randomly selected urban neighbourhoods of German cities. The Diversity and Contact-Project aimed to not only to undertake a wide-ranging, systematic empirical enquiry but also to combine different methodological approaches and disciplinary traditions. These are very ambitious aims, and it is up to the readers to decide to what extent we succeeded.

1.2 The Relevance of Neighbourhood Context

Debates about the consequences of immigration-related, or ethnic, diversity on societal integration usually relate to neighbourhoods, sometimes to cities. This study also takes the neighbourhood as its object of study. Taking an ecological or broadly institutionalist approach, we assume that social and institutional contexts importantly shape social life and impact on the behaviour and beliefs of individuals and groups. We assume that, if we are interested in the ways in which individuals experience diversity, their immediate context of living plays an important role.

This is not uncontested. The importance of neighbourhood has been questioned from different perspectives. Clearly, the neighbourhood of classic urban sociology, in which people lived and worked in the same locality, often also marked by a relatively homogeneous socio-cultural milieu, belongs to the past. Already in the 1970s, Barry Wellman and others put forward a 'community liberated' argument which 'contends that non-local, personal network communities flourish' (Wellman 1996: 348). Against the background of an increasing globalisation and the development of new information and communication technologies, a view of individuals connected regardless of place in a networked society (see for example Castells 1996) gained support.

In migration studies, transnationalism and its emphasis on the border-crossing links retained by immigrants and the transnational fields in

which they were living unsettled traditional foci on the local community and shifted attention to social and identitarian links far beyond the local (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Vertovec 2009; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). More generally, perceptions of social structures as tied to limited localities, of localised ethnic communities, came under attack. ‘Space is less determinative of strong ties today’, opined Richard Alba and Nancy Denton (2004: 257–258; see also Wimmer 2002: 6; Drever 2004: 1424).

For anthropology, Caroline Bretell notes a ‘general move [...] away from bounded units of analysis and localized community studies’ (2008: 121). And yet, in anthropology and urban sociology it is frequently taken more or less for granted that neighbourhoods matter. Ethnographic studies that zoom in on small local contexts may use the local site as a lens through which more general social and cultural developments can be studied, but often they also assume a crucial impact of local specificities on individuals and groups. Thus Berg and Sigona (2013: 352) insist that ‘geography matters fundamentally’ and that the ‘intersection of axes of differences’ plays out differently ‘in particular places’. Some authors insist on the peculiarity of each local (read: city) context (see for example Keith 2005: 10; Berking and Löw 2008). But Berg and Sigona also emphasize that our understanding of ‘how space itself shapes the unfolding of diversity on the ground’ is as yet underdeveloped (2013: 356).

While there is some disagreement as to the relevance of the local, the balance within the academic debate has today altogether shifted towards recognition of the relevance of both global and local influences. Thus Roland Robertson (1995), who popularized the term *glocalization*, argued that the local had not become obsolete but should be re-conceived as embedded in a new global circumstance. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar, emphasizing the importance of studying ‘the sociospatial dimension of human experience’, point at the ‘mutuality of the global and local’ (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011: 64–65, referring to Doreen Massey; see also Amin 2007).

Research interested in social interactions and networks nowadays also accepts a continuing relevance of the immediate spatial context for interpersonal relations (see McPherson et al. 2001; Logan 2012: 514–516). Thus, Gary Bridge, surveying the empirical evidence for the UK, suggests a ‘continued role for the local area in the fostering of close friendship

or kinship ties' (2002: 7). Bridge concludes from the literature that it is not necessarily the closest ties that live close, but that for frequent contacts neighbourhood is still important—alongside colleagues at work. Barry Wellman called on 'network analysts to bring proximity back into their investigations of community' (Wellman 1996: 353). Although the neighbourhood 'no longer dominate[s] most personal networks' (Plickert et al. 2007: 406), proximity matters for social interactions. Everyday routines are located there; leisure time is spent not too far from people's homes, meaning that unplanned encounters and many more or less regular interactions are located within limited space. For Germany, studies by Petermann (2002) and Mewes (2009) have shown that a significant share of network members still live relatively close (see also Hennig 2007: 384).

One of the strongest recent pleas for the 'continuing (if not increasing) significance of place' comes from Robert Sampson's *Great American City* (2012: 24; on the importance of place and space, see also Logan 2012). As he argues, 'a durable spatial logic organizes or mediates much of social life, with neighborhoods and local communities a key component' (Sampson 2012: 21). In Sampson's view, neighbourhoods are 'important determinants of the quantity and quality of human behavior in their own right'. More specifically, Sampson believes that 'we react to neighborhood difference, and these reactions constitute social mechanisms and practices that in turn shape perceptions, relationships, and behaviors that reverberate both within and beyond traditional neighborhood borders' (2012: 21–22). In a way, Sampson re-interprets neighbourhood effects by extending the concept to what is happening between neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood effects have been the subject of an exploding body of mainly sociological, sometimes criminological, scholarship (Nonnenmacher 2013; Galster 2012; van Ham et al. 2012; Sampson et al. 2002; Massey 2013). In fields often dominated by methodological individualism, this represents a turn towards ecological conditions of individual behaviour. While there is by now an enormous body of research on various neighbourhood effects, their size and relative impact are still far from clear. Van Ham and co-authors are optimistic as regards the existence of such effects but still concede limited understanding: 'There is little doubt that these effects exist, but we do not know enough about the causal mechanisms which produce them, their relative importance com-

pared to individual characteristics such as education, and under which circumstances and where these effects are important.’ (van Ham et al. 2012: 3) Especially for European countries effects are more doubtful than for the US, possibly because differences between neighbourhoods are less pronounced (see for example Friedrichs et al. 2003; Oberwittler 2007).

Further, most of the neighbourhood effects literature has focused on crime and individual life chances, in particular poverty, labour market, and educational opportunities. The focus of this book is different in that our project is interested in social interactions between residents of particular neighbourhoods (and beyond) and their attitudes to diversity. Possibly, the socio-spatial context affects different outcomes in different ways. As regards social interactions, research investigating whether and how they are influenced by the specifics of local context is limited and presents contradictory views. Some scholars assume that neither the frequency and intensity of personal interactions in general nor the frequency of intergroup interaction is influenced, in a relevant way, by neighbourhood differences (Friedrichs and Oberwittler 2007: 461–462; see also Wimmer 2002: 22). Häußermann and Siebel (2004: 111–113) report older research in German cities suggesting that spatial proximity was unlikely to produce interaction across social differences. Networks were increasingly spatially dispersed, and choice and preferences were more important than proximity. One study of 17 selected neighbourhood in three German cities did not find a systematic relationship between socio-spatial characteristics and attitudes, rather, the authors regarded individual factors and the general evaluation of the neighbourhood by residents as decisive for negative attitudes and conflicts (Schröder et al. 2000: 165, 194–197). Others have pointed at differential effects of the neighbourhood environment on majority and minority populations. Co-existence in the neighbourhood may have stronger effects on members of the majority population (see for example Gijsberts and Dagevos 2005; Souza Briggs 2007: 284). Given the large number of studies on neighbourhood effects, it is somewhat disappointing that the ways in which contexts’ impact on outcomes are far from clear. Robert Sampson (2012: 46–47) concludes that the ‘social mechanisms and dynamic processes accounting for neighborhood effects have remained largely a black box’.

In the study presented here, we assume that the neighbourhood may affect residents' interactive behaviour and their attitudes through environmental and social-interactive mechanisms (in Galster's terms: Galster 2012: 25). First, the neighbourhood serves as an opportunity structure: The composition of the population in a particular area determines the likelihood to encounter others in everyday life. Indirectly, via contact and mechanisms such as empathy, the neighbourhood then impacts specific attitudes.

Second, physical and infrastructural features of the neighbourhood, such as characteristics of its public space, of the housing stock, and the infrastructure, may encourage or discourage interaction among co-residents. Thus, a shopping street or a park with leisure facilities may motivate residents to spend time in such public spaces where they may encounter other residents, observe their behaviour, or directly interact with them. On the other hand, such interaction is to a lesser extent encouraged by a neighbourhood environment dominated by single-family houses and poorly equipped with retail and eating establishments where residents may spend a greater part of their time at home.

Further, the neighbourhood is an environment of other people, and their presence and behaviour may affect residents via social learning (some authors distinguish between contagion, role models, socialization, see for example Friedrichs 2013: 19–20, all these terms refer to the adoption of attitudes and norms or forms of behaviour through observation and interaction). Those exposed to diversity may get used to it, become more accepting of unusual behaviour. In addition, a prevailing culture or milieu may exert normative pressure. Thus, for instance in an environment where diversity is mostly seen as positive, individuals may tend to conform to such norms (Christ et al. 2014). The existence and intensity of neighbourhood effects in all likelihood depends on an individual's exposure to environmental conditions.

1.3 Recent Empirical Studies

Recent debates about effects of diversity have reinvigorated the debate not so much about crucial mechanisms but about effects of neighbourhood contexts on social interactions, sometimes suggesting a negative

impact of in particular immigration-related diversity on connectedness. Several new empirical analyses have been undertaken that often dispute or further qualify a general link between diversity and decreased interpersonal interaction (see van der Meer and Tolsma 2014; see also Schaeffer 2014). For the study presented here, studies that are based on data for neighbourhood-size spatial contexts are of particular interest (and we specifically refer to those below).² For both Britain and the Netherlands it has been found that interaction among co-residents of highly diverse neighbourhoods is negatively affected, but other interactions or outcomes are not. Thus for neighbourhoods in the 50 largest Dutch cities, (Gijssberts et al. 2012: 533) found that only contact within the neighbourhood is negatively affected by higher ethnic diversity, while for example trust is not (other Dutch studies include: Lancee and Dronkers 2008, 2011; Tolsma and van der Meer 2009; with a focus on ethnic minorities: Vervoort et al. 2010).

Studies of British contexts showed, as Laurence (2013: 269) points out, that individuals living in diverse neighbourhood do not have smaller or weaker networks altogether, but that they have fewer contacts within the neighbourhood. At the same time, Laurence found that increasing diversity ‘improves perceptions of, and relations between, ethnic groups’ (2011: 70). Importantly, it is disadvantage that ‘has the most detrimental impact’ (2011: 70; see also Letki 2008; with other indicators of social capital: Fieldhouse and Cutts 2010).

In Belgium, Vanhoutte and Hooghe have found more diversity in friendship networks in more heterogeneous communities (2012; on Flemish municipalities but with different indicators see also Coffe and Geys 2006).

As regards attitudes, some studies have confirmed negative correlations between diversity in the neighbourhood and trust in neighbours. Thus, according to Laurence, several British studies ‘observe that, on the whole, living in more diverse communities has a significant negative relationship with attitudes towards one’s neighbours, especially trust in neighbours’

²A number of other studies have investigated effects of different national levels of diversity, see Hooghe et al. 2008; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010. Some studies for Germany have used official data for districts (*Kreise*) or post code areas: Wagner et al. 2006; Gundelach and Traunmüller 2010; Drever 2008.

(2013a: 257). Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010), in a wide-ranging analysis of the relationship between neighbourhood diversity, neighbourhood norms and community participation in England and the US, find that diversity has negative effects on the neighbourhood norms of members of the white majorities, but not of others. For the high-trust Danish society, it has been found that high immigrant shares in the municipality are associated with (slightly) lower trust—but also that effects of average income in the municipality are larger (Dinesen and Sønderskov 2012: 285–287). In contrast, for Swedish municipalities, Hjern (2009: 57) has shown that the proportion of the foreign-born has no effect on anti-immigrant attitudes (on Switzerland and anti-immigrant attitudes see also Green et al. 2010). Repeatedly it was found that negative effects of diversity, if they exist, are moderated by contact (for example Laurence 2014: 1339–40).

Altogether and with reference to European societies, Laura Morales (2013: 250) suggested that ‘the case for a sweeping “hunkering” effect of immigration-related diversity is not very strong.’ Sometimes no effects were found, sometimes contact acted as key mediator. Overall, partly because of conceptual and methodological inconsistencies, partly because the available data are not ideally suited for the purpose, and possibly because the investigated contexts differ in crucial characteristics and effects, the empirical findings as yet remain inconclusive (for critical overviews, see van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014; Portes and Vickstrom, 2011: 469–472).

Ethnographic studies investigating social life in usually one or two localities have illustrated examples of conflict and of conviviality in multi-ethnic settings. Thus Neckel and Sutterlüty (2008) (see also Sutterlüty et al. 2008) have focused on how negative classifications arise in local communicative processes. They were specifically interested in situations where established hierarchies were challenged by the social ascent of immigrants. Investigating in two deprived urban neighbourhoods in Germany, they stressed the linkage of negative classifications and ethnic markers. In contrast, Wessendorf (2014b)—in a study about the London district of Hackney—emphasises the everyday cosmopolitanism and civility in the practices of residents, in particular in the public realm, and she argues that that difference is accepted as normal in ‘super-diverse’ contexts.

1.4 This Book

The project presented in this book combined qualitative and quantitative investigations in a wide-ranging empirical study that sought to clarify a number of the questions discussed above. Overall, we are interested in the effects of immigration-related diversity on social life. How does the co-existence of people with different national backgrounds and life trajectories affect social interactions and attitudes to immigration, diversity, and groups perceived as different? To what extent and under what conditions do people interact across boundaries? Does the mere experience of diversity, and specifically different forms of interacting with others, change attitudes? What is the role of neighbourhood context?

By drawing on a panel study conducted in 50 randomly selected neighbourhoods, we believe that our study can help alleviate a shortcoming noted for example by Pettigrew and Tropp (2011: 209), namely ‘a scarcity of both longitudinal and multi-level studies’. Such studies can help establish causalities more clearly than analyses with cross-sectional data. We can thus for instance more confidently make claims about effects of contact on particular attitudes.

The same authors also called for ‘more discursive, comparative, and qualitative analyses that would support a richer description of actual intergroup contact and how people commonly view their everyday contact experiences’ (Pettigrew and Tropp 2011: 168; for similar demands see van Ham et al. 2012: 8). Our field studies in five of the 50 neighbourhoods provide such richer description of interactions and their perceptions as well as of the specific contexts and their interpretation by residents. Here, and throughout, this study profits from the interdisciplinary composition of its team that included sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and geographers and thus a variety of methodological skills and disciplinary perspectives.

Chapter 2 explains the design of the Diversity and Contact study and the methods used in more detail. We clarify how the 50 neighbourhoods were selected and provide details about the panel survey, the area explorations, and the field studies in five selected neighbourhoods.

Chapter 3 briefly outlines the history and structure of immigration to Germany and the diversity of its cities. We then introduce the 50 neighbourhoods investigated in this study. This includes discussion of immigrant concentration, extent and features of spatial segregation, and national origins of the immigrant population. Drawing on our own area explorations we present key features of the 50 neighbourhoods: the structure of diversity, its visibility, and the character of the public space. A further sub-section of the chapter analyses the relationship between the individuals surveyed and the neighbourhoods they inhabit. This includes a discussion of possible selection effects. We address objective aspects such as the period of residence as well as subjective perceptions of the neighbourhood and its population.

Chapter 4 turns to core results of the project: We outline the social interactions between those without and those with a migration background. While previous research often focussed on a selected form of contact or interaction, we can present results for three different interactions: contacts in the neighbourhood, and weak as well as strong ties, both within and beyond the neighbourhood. As distinct from assumptions in the older literature,³ we assume that even the casual and loose encounter with others may have effects. We distinguish such contacts, as occurring in the neighbourhood, from the closer interaction with acquaintances and friends. We assume that such different types of interaction may not only have different meanings for the individuals but also underlie different logics regarding their establishment and maintenance. By investigating them separately, we can offer empirical evidence on the determinants of specifically intergroup interactions of a different type.

We show to what extent different levels of diversity in the neighbourhood are related to frequencies of intergroup interaction. Contrary to pessimistic assumptions in parts of literature, we can demonstrate that higher levels of diversity in the neighbourhood are associated with higher frequencies of intergroup interaction.

³ Granovetter (1973: 1361 note) commented on what he saw as ‘ties without substantial significance, such as a “nodding” relationship between people living on the same street, or the “tie” to the vendor from whom one customarily buys a morning newspaper.’

Chapter 5 explores the connections between neighbourhood features, intergroup interaction, and attitudes to diversity further in portraits of five selected neighbourhoods. We use both survey results as well as empirical material from qualitative fieldwork to explore the ways in which residents see their neighbourhoods, and how they experience social life and their interactions with co-residents of different backgrounds. We identify features of an intimate market society in two neighbourhoods where economic exchange and an attractive public space facilitate intergroup interaction. The suburban character of two other neighbourhoods is linked with a lifestyle that is less conducive to intergroup interaction.

In Chapter 6 we investigate perceptions of diversity and attitudes to others with data from our survey, specifically by way of the three-wave panel data. These data allow a more convincing analysis of causal mechanisms than work using correlations. We investigate what our interview-partners think about immigration-related diversity and how they see others perceived as belonging to particular groups. We discuss why diversity overall is overwhelmingly seen as a positive feature of cities, while some of its consequences are seen in a more critical light. Further, we can show that trust in foreigners and specific immigrant groups is high and unrelated to immigrant shares in the neighbourhood population. In contrast to assumptions in the public debate—and some findings in other countries—higher diversity does not have disintegrative consequences.

While the previous chapters focused on the impact of diversity on neighbourhood populations more generally, sometimes contrasting the non-immigrant and the immigrant parts of such populations, Chapter 7 focuses specifically on how immigrants experience and perceive diversity. Analyses are presented for different groups of the immigrant population in order to gain deeper insights into determinants of intergroup interaction. Based on qualitative interviews, we outline the subjective experience of neighbourhood social life from the immigrant perspective.

Chapter 8 concludes with a summary of major findings and points out consequences for theories about diversity and contact.

2

The Diversity and Contact Project (DivCon)

2.1 Study Design, Methods and Data¹

This study seeks to identify how immigration-related diversity impacts social interactions and selected attitudes of individuals. It was thus designed as a neighbourhood-level investigation. In order to represent ‘urban normality’ in Germany, we conducted the study in randomly selected neighbourhoods. As distinct from other studies, we do not focus on areas with the highest immigrant shares or with a history of conflicts. We conducted a three-wave panel survey in order to be able to show not just correlations between neighbourhood conditions, interactions, and attitudes but also to shed more light on causal relationships. We conducted explorations of all 50 areas and fieldwork in five areas to gather additional material on specific features of the areas and interpretations of diversity as well as intergroup interactions by residents.

¹A detailed technical report is available for the first wave of the quantitative survey, see Petermann et al. 2012.

Few existing studies in this field, in particular for Germany, have a design that allows for an assessment of the effects of the residential environment on individuals.² The main reason for this unsatisfactory situation is the unavailability of large data sets that would allow a random selection of neighbourhoods based on, for example, population composition and social status. No data set exists that includes such information across Germany for areas smaller than whole cities and districts. Census data that could be broken down to small areas or other large data sets providing relevant data for small areas across Germany do not exist.³ However, if we are interested in diversity as experienced in an immediate context of life, comparisons of nation states or of large and heterogeneous districts are of limited value.

Two further decisions on the scope of our study were taken: We investigate in West Germany only because we wanted to include cities with a longer-term experience of immigration. Furthermore, in the Eastern states the immigrant population is not only mostly recent but also very small: only 5 per cent of Germany's population with a migration background lives there (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010: Table 1). While the German Democratic Republic that existed from 1949 to 1990 conducted some foreign recruitment and allowed a limited immigration of refugees, numbers remained small, and permanent immigration was mostly prevented. Since 1990, immigrants have not been attracted in larger numbers.

We included cities with at least 50,000 inhabitants. Immigrant shares are higher in cities; here in particular diversity is a daily experience. Inclusion of smaller towns would have been difficult because the necessary statistical data are often not readily available. The 16 cities in which the study was conducted include two metropolitan cities (over 500,000), six large cities (100,000–500,000) and eight smaller cities (50,000–100,000) (Fig. 2.1).

²The European Social Survey, for instance, contains only subjective information about the ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods in which respondents reside. Data of the bi-annual German ALLBUS contain information on the type of context (*Gemeindegrößenklassen*).

³Since 1987, annual micro censuses have been conducted that encompass one per cent of households. Due to this limited scope, the data do not provide information for the neighbourhood level. In 2011, a 10 per cent census was conducted, but the data were not available in time for this study and do not allow representative analyses at the neighbourhood level. The GSOEP offers data that can be broken down to the relatively large postal districts (see Drever 2008). These areas are not identical with statistical areas.

The number of areas from each of these groups of cities represents the distribution of the German population across cities of different size (for details see Petermann et al. 2012: 9).

The Diversity and Contact Study (DivCon) compares a representative sample of urban areas with, on average, about 7500 inhabitants. Areas of this size represent social spaces big enough to embrace differences (for example age and employment status). Such units will provide sample sizes with sufficient numbers and variety. At the same time, such areas are small enough to represent the physical space individuals experience regularly on their way to work, while shopping, walking a dog, and so on. Furthermore, such relatively small areas are less likely to be heterogeneous than larger areas—such internal heterogeneity would make conclusions as to effects of environmental conditions on individuals less tenable (see Oberwittler and Wikström 2009).

The DivCon areas are sub-city units according to official definitions by the respective municipality. While it has to be acknowledged that the spaces relevant to individuals' daily lives and residents' perceptions of space are not necessarily identical with such official borders, there is no practical alternative to using the latter for a random sampling process that requires knowledge of immigrant shares (see also Sampson et al. 2002: 445; Oberwittler and Wikström 2009: 38). In the course of the study, we also collected information on residents' perceptions of the areas and their use of space. Furthermore, official area definitions are not unrelated to everyday life (see Oberwittler 2003: 145). Unlike in other states, German cities do not frequently redraw area borders to create units of equal size or population. Borders are often defined by railroads or major roads, or reflect historical divisions. By visiting each area (see below in this chapter), we addressed some of the problems associated with the use of statistical borders and could, for instance, check whether such borders artificially divided spaces of interaction. We comment in more detail on the spatial organisation of some of our neighbourhoods and on residents' perceptions of these spaces in Chapter 5.

The cities refer to the areas as *Stadtteile*, *Stadtbezirke*, or *Statistische Bezirke* (in one case the term *Sozialraum* is used). For the purpose of our study, units with less than 2000 inhabitants were either merged with a neighbouring area or excluded from the sample frame (for example an



Fig. 2.1 Cities in which the study was conducted

industrial area with very few residents). The population of the selected areas ranges from 2826 to about 13,000 (one outlier has 18,611 inhabitants); the median is 7155.

In order to ensure that the selected neighbourhoods include areas with lower and higher shares of immigrants in their populations a stratified sampling procedure was used. The comparison of the effects of such differences is at the core of this study, and a mere random sample may well have included only or mostly neighbourhoods with average immigrant shares. The stratification accounts for the fact that more neighbourhoods exist with lower than with higher shares of immigrants. For lack of other data,⁴ immigrant share had to be defined as the shares of foreign citizens. The respective range in the sample is from 2 to 46 per cent foreign citizens. Throughout the book, we will often refer to immigrants more generally and go beyond the data-inflicted restriction to foreigners. Our own survey allows identification of different aspects of migration background, such as foreign birth and naturalization, apart from foreign citizenship. Unlike for instance in Britain, it is not common in Germany to refer to ethnic minority background. Ethnic affiliations are not gathered in official data. Furthermore, the concept is not generally known, so that in our survey few respondents considered themselves a member of a minority.⁵ A number of tests we conducted show that it is acceptable to use share of foreigners as a measure of diversity. This measure for instance correlates highly with residents' perceptions of the diversity of their neighbourhood (see Sect. 3.3).

Socio-economic status⁶ also served as a frame for the stratification of the neighbourhood sample. In debates about trust and 'social cohesion'

⁴The federal and state statistical offices now make data on 'migration background', that is first and second generation immigrants, available but not throughout for smaller cities and generally not on the neighbourhood level. Larger cities sometimes provide their own statistics, occasionally also for districts within the city, but this is not done in a uniform way, and the number of cities providing such data is as yet not large enough.

⁵We asked 'Do you consider yourself part of an ethnic or religious minority?' Only 129 (5 per cent) respondents said that they belonged to a minority group. Only a dozen saw themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority; most of the responses referred to a religious minority which often meant a Catholic or Protestant minority background.

⁶This was defined as share of the unemployed of all inhabitants aged 15–64. This was the only measure available on the small area-level, unfortunately it is different from the one used by the German state and from the ILO definition.

it is often argued that outcomes are mistakenly related to ethnic diversity while in fact they are attributable to deprivation (for example Laurence 2011; see Gijsberts et al. 2012: 530, on the widespread problem of multicollinearity). The stratification procedure allows us to separate the effects of socio-economic deprivation from immigration-related diversity.

2.1.1 The Quantitative Survey

The study comprised a quantitative survey, conducted as a panel study in three waves. Interviews were conducted by telephone. In 2007, 92 per cent of the German population could be reached by landline (see www.bik-gmbh.de). Thus it seemed acceptable to lose those without phone or with only cellphone. Because not every household is listed in the phonebook, the sample was partly drawn from the telephone register (60 per cent) and partly from generated telephone numbers (40 per cent). All quantitative interviews were conducted by a survey company. Apart from German, six languages (according to the largest immigrant groups) were available.

For the first wave of the survey, telephone interviews were conducted from May to July 2010. The data set for the first wave comprises 50 interviews in each of the 50 neighbourhoods, resulting in 2506 interviews overall. For the second wave, interviews were conducted from May to August 2011 and for the third wave from May to August 2012. 1296 respondents completed an interview in wave two. This translates into a 58 per cent response rate out of 2243 people who agreed at the end of the first interview to be interviewed a second time. Of the 1196 respondents who agreed to a third interview, 891 actually completed it (76 per cent response rate). The dropouts include, in about equal shares, neutral dropouts (respondents either left the neighbourhood or can no longer be reached by telephone) and refusals.⁷

In order to ensure a high response rate in waves two and three and to update addresses, the survey company, in January 2011 and January 2012, sent letters and giveaways to respondents. Further, we partly used

⁷ For an analysis of panel attrition, see [Annex](#).

incentives (15 euros for a completed interview) to raise the response rates in waves two and three.⁸

In order to test the representativeness of the DivCon 2010 survey data, we compared key features with data from the official 2008 *Mikrozensus*⁹ for cities of the same size. We looked at representativeness with respect to gender, age, indicators of migration background, education, and income and with respect to combinations of gender, age, and nationality. The category most underrepresented in the sample (by 4 per cent) is German men aged 20–44. German women older than 45 years are the most overrepresented in the sample (by 7 per cent). As distinct from other surveys, people with migration background are represented according to their share in Germany's population (21 per cent of the respondents). Within the group, the foreign-born and foreign nationals are underrepresented. Our sample is biased in terms of socio-economic status. For example, those who finished school after 12 or 13 years of education with a higher school certificate are strongly overrepresented by 11 per cent compared to the microcensus data. Participants who left secondary school after eight years are heavily underrepresented in the survey (by 13 per cent). The data set contains sample weights to adjust for key variables of interest to make the sample population conform to the study population. The results of our analyses are overall representative for the adult population of West German cities of the relevant size (for more details see Petermann et al. 2012: 22–28).

The questionnaire (see [Annex](#)) includes a battery of questions on the frequency of different kinds of intergroup interactions, their social locations, and evaluation. We will cite questions where appropriate throughout this book. In the telephone survey, as in the personal semi-structured interviews in selected areas (see below), we approached the subject of immigration-related diversity cautiously. Thus the survey started with general questions

⁸In wave two, incentives were offered to respondents who either had not been reached by telephone or earlier in the field phase refused to be interviewed because of lack of time. In wave three we used incentives for respondents with a migration background, for respondents aged 40 or younger and for respondents who had received an incentive in wave two.

⁹The sample census covers 1 per cent of the total population in Germany (roughly 800,000 individuals). Participation is obligatory. It is carried out by the *Statistische Landesämter* and the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (Federal Statistical Office).

about the neighbourhood to find out how salient immigration was for the respondents themselves before we directly asked about immigration-related diversity. Survey questions refer to those ‘who are themselves not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany’ or, if the respondents have a migration background, to those ‘who are native Germans’.¹⁰ As pretests (cognitive test and test-run of entire questionnaire) showed, this phrasing is generally well-understood by respondents in Germany. The questionnaire also includes questions on contact with individuals of particular national or regional origin and different legal categories. Here we refrained from using the common term *Ausländer* (foreigners) because it is exclusive and may implicitly only refer to particular groups of immigrants.¹¹

We further gathered data that have been shown to relate to social interaction and to attitudes such as trust and xenophobia, such as education, age, gender, employment, job status, life satisfaction, household size, time spent in the neighbourhood, and features of the personality.

The survey data is matched with statistical data for the neighbourhoods. No central registry of statistical data at the neighbourhood level exists in Germany. Thus the neighbourhood level variables were all obtained from the 16 participating cities by the Max Planck Institute research team. While diversity of the neighbourhood (here measured as share of foreigners) is one of the key variables at the neighbourhood level, other variables were included mostly as controls (such as population density, share of foreigners, and of different nationalities, unemployment ratio). Throughout this book, statistical data for neighbourhoods and cities are for 2009 unless indicated otherwise.

2.1.2 Area Explorations

The project uses mixed methods. Apart from the survey, methods include systematic observations in the 50 areas of investigation as well as

¹⁰ Answers to questions referring to foreign birth, nationality, ethnicity, reflect the saliency of borders; we will learn about intergroup interactions the respondents are conscious of. In all likelihood, we—like other analyses based on common surveys—underestimate existing intergroup interactions.

¹¹ We use that term in some questions testing attitudes because these questions aim to reflect common perceptions.

qualitative field studies in five selected areas. The use of systematic direct observations in the 50 areas was inspired by the Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods project. Like the Chicago researchers, we believe that direct observation adds a fundamental component to statistics and information gathered through interviews (Raudenbusch and Sampson 1999).¹² The area explorations enabled us to assess the extent and ways in which immigration-related diversity is noticeable, major characteristics of the public space and the position of an area in the urban structure. Further, we wanted to rule out that social interactions in an area were shaped by other factors than those measured in the survey and with statistical data. Thus, major traffic routes may separate parts of an area from another.

No standard methodology is available for such an assessment (see more generally Riege and Schubert 2002). We thus developed and tested instruments for this purpose. This included tests of their objectivity. Thus we compared diversity counts by different researchers to establish whether judgments of visibly different individuals differed substantially. As this was not the case, we accepted the method.

Area explorations took place from June 2010 to May 2011 and lasted between three and six hours. They were conducted by one or two members of the research team.¹³ The teams carried a map on which transport connections, concentrations of shops, and major structures like industrial areas, housing estates, sets of garden plots had been marked.¹⁴ Explorations on foot (in some large areas by bike) covered structurally different parts of the areas, always (unless it did not exist) including the shopping street or area. Researchers took photographs to allow a team evaluation of the area. The overall evaluation was done jointly by a three-member team to ensure the use of uniform procedures and standards across the 50 areas.

¹²We developed our own methodology because we are not interested in the same issues (crime/disorder versus diversity) and devices like counting syringes on the pavement would not have made much sense in our neighbourhoods as you rarely find them. For a description of the methodology used for the Chicago project see Raudenbusch and Sampson 1999.

¹³Apart from the authors of this book, this included Christian Jacobs, Diana Aurisch, Friedrich Striewski, Thorsten Walbott.

¹⁴These features were established based on aerial maps and Internet research.

In order to assess levels of noticeable diversity in the 50 areas, we estimated the share of people whose appearance or speech suggested an immigrant background among those populating the streets in the areas (population diversity instrument).¹⁵ Counts were conducted at a busy location with a mixed crowd, if available a tube or tram-stop, otherwise a shopping area or a busy intersection. They covered at least 100 individuals (in very quiet areas where this could not be achieved in a reasonable timespan they instead lasted 30 minutes). Further, counts were conducted at busy times when different groups of the population, including those in employment, are potentially in the public space, mostly during the lunch hours.

Our business diversity instrument used counts of businesses or services in order to establish the share of those displaying signs of, or references to, immigration. These counts were conducted in the main shopping street (if that did not exist, businesses across the area were included, in some cases immediately adjacent to the area of investigation). A minimum of 30 units was included (the maximum was 40); in eight areas this could not be achieved. We focused on the street level of buildings and on store fronts (thus for example tiny signs at door bells were ignored). We particularly looked for businesses obviously targeting customers who do not speak German (things like foreign language signs/posters in a pharmacy window, advertising of counseling services), who maintain bonds with a country of origin (telephone shops, specific travel agents), or seek to buy specific products or services (Afro hairdresser, Polish grocery).

These two instruments were complemented by our researchers' additional observations in the area. Researchers noted for example the visible presence of a Turkish association, religious buildings, posters, multi-language signs for public services, flags in windows, and so on. The results were combined to assign the areas to three categories of high, medium, and low diversity. The categories are relative, that is, they indicate the position of an area in the spectrum represented by the 50 DivCon areas.

¹⁵ Obviously, this captures only the more visible parts of the immigrant population or those whose appearance we linked with a likelihood of immigrant background. We accept these restrictions because we assume that the population will also notice immigration in such a limited and distorted way.

Apart from the noticeable diversity, the area explorations aimed to evaluate characteristics of public space that might shape social interactions. The observations gathered here, together with the analysis of maps and aerial views informed the classification of the 50 areas according to five categories ranging from favourable to unfavourable public space. We assumed that pedestrian zones and concentrations of shops and gastronomy as well as spaces where people spend leisure time like parks and larger squares, play grounds, and accessible sports grounds, are potential sites enabling encounters in public space (see for example Schubert 2000; Selle 2010). Not only the existence and number of such locations matter here but also their variety since some spaces are relevant only for a particular group of the population. Concentrated shopping opportunities were accorded particular weight as we assumed—and found in our analyses—that economic exchange and consumption are associated with contact in the neighbourhood.

2.1.3 Fieldwork in Selected Areas

In five of the 50 areas, qualitative fieldwork—including individual and group interviews as well as observations in public and semi-public space—was conducted. This was carried out between October 2010 and May 2011 by five researchers whose work was coordinated at the Max Planck Institute. General guidelines and a number of joint workshops ensured a common approach in all five areas.

The core of our qualitative data is formed by 12–18 individual interviews with residents in each area. They include interviews with people of immigrant and non-immigrant background, of different age and different gender. Interview partners were found through associations and first contacts, by way of snow balling, chance meetings in the neighbourhood, and by contacting survey respondents. Interview partners were asked generally about the neighbourhood and its social life in order to find out about the saliency of interethnic relations—rather than focusing immediately on their occurrence and evaluation.

Joint walks around the neighbourhood and to its relevant locations with residents complemented our material on residents' perceptions of

public space and its social life. Further, three (in one case four) group interviews were conducted in each area. They always brought together people connected for example through membership in an association, a religious community, or as parents of children in a particular school or kindergarten.

For each area, expert interviews were conducted, typically with a city official in charge of planning, representatives of local schools and kindergartens, representatives of religious communities, and of associations active in the neighbourhood.

And, last but not least, observations in public space (for example playgrounds, parks), semi-public locations (cafe, pubs/bars, public/civil society services) and at public gatherings (carnival, religious service, Christmas bazaar of a primary school) provide insights on social interactions in the five areas.

2.2 The Respondents and the Neighbourhood

Before we proceed to analyze the influence of the neighbourhood context on individuals' social interactions and attitudes, we will consider key aspects of the relationship between our survey respondents and their neighbourhood. We first discuss to what extent they have been exposed to this environment: How much time do people spend in the neighbourhood where they reside? For how long have the individuals we interviewed for this study lived in their current neighbourhood? Second we consider why our respondents moved to their current neighbourhood and whether this is relevant for their attitude to diversity. Is self-selection, that is a conscious choice or avoidance of diversity, an issue?

2.2.1 Time Spent in the Neighbourhood

Residents of German cities spend a considerable part of their time in the neighbourhood where they reside. Of the respondents in our survey, 15 per cent work or go to school in the area where they live (that is 26 per

cent of those who are in employment or education). Many spend a considerable part of their leisure time there. Of all respondents, 52 per cent spend more than half and 33 per cent spend about half of their leisure time in the area where they live. Only 15 per cent spend less than half or no leisure time there. We did not find relevant differences between immigrants and non-immigrants. Neighbourhoods differ somewhat. Thus the share of those who spend less than half or no leisure time in the neighbourhood where they reside ranges from 4 per cent to 31 per cent. Higher immigrant shares are associated with less leisure time spent in the neighbourhood. However, the group of those who spend less than half or no leisure time in the area is only slightly larger (18 per cent) than the average in areas where the share of foreigners is 25 per cent or more. And even in areas with high shares of foreigners, residents on average spend about half or more of their leisure time there. Apparently the neighbourhood is a relevant spatial and social context for social interactions and the formation of attitudes.

A vast majority of the 2500 DivCon respondents moved to their current neighbourhood at some point in their lives. Only 10 per cent of the respondents were born in the neighbourhood or moved there in pre-school age. But even though about 90 per cent of our respondents moved to the area, many did so a long time ago. The average length of residence in the neighbourhood is 23 years and for most respondents varies around that mean. In 2010, when the first wave of our survey was conducted, roughly one fifth of those interviewed were living in the neighbourhood for up to five years,¹⁶ and one third for up to ten years; one fifth were living there for more than ten, but less than 21 years, and about half of the respondents were residing there for more than 20 years. The average length of residence of those with a migration background (18 years) is significantly shorter than that of the non-immigrants (25 years). Partly this is due to immigration itself, partly to the fact that the immigrant population is younger. Those born in Germany, but with a migration background, had on average resided in the area for 21 years when they were interviewed in 2010, that is two years less than the average of all respondents. Still,

¹⁶Robert Sampson (2012: 164) refers to the share of those resident for less than five years as measure of neighbourhood stability.

most respondents in this study had lived in the neighbourhood-context investigated here and had been subjected to conditions prevailing there for a fairly long time.

Turning to the city, we find that, not surprisingly, at 37 years, the average length of residence in the current city is higher than for the neighbourhood. 39 per cent of our respondents were born in their city. Across the 16 cities investigated here, the average length of residence varied substantially between 20 and 42 years. In the cities with higher shares of foreigners the average residence is a bit lower, or mobility a bit more pronounced.

Residential stability is often considered an important factor for the social life of a neighbourhood (Sampson 2012: 157, 161, 348; Schieman 2005: 1034–1035). It is plausible that where people come and go, social relations will be more superficial. Indeed, the average length of residence differs significantly across the 50 areas of this study.¹⁷ But with an average of 12 years residence in the least stable neighbourhood (and one of 37 years in the most stable) there is considerable stability throughout. The variation is not related to the share of foreigners, diversity does not go hand in hand with higher residential turnover at the neighbourhood level.

2.2.2 Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood

In parts of the literature, great emphasis is placed on self-selection, in our case the argument that the population of ethnically diverse and ethnically homogeneous neighbourhood is to a certain extent the product of a conscious preference for, or avoidance of, immigration-dense areas (van Ham et al. 2012; Hedman and van Ham 2012; for a more general discussion see Sampson 2012: Chap. 12). As a consequence, the more diverse areas might be populated by ‘diversity-seekers’ (Blokland and Eijk 2010) who hold positive attitudes about diversity and are open to interaction. More positive attitudes and more frequent intergroup interactions in the more diverse neighbourhoods would then to some extent be the product of the

¹⁷ The share of those who had lived in the neighbourhood for no more than five years ranges from 6 to 57 per cent.

self-selection of people into such neighbourhoods. Others, who dislike diversity, would according to this line of argument have left these areas. However, Völker et al. (2013: 144) conclude that ‘the recent literature is quite ambiguous about the effect of (changing) social neighbourhood characteristics on moving intentions and behaviour’ (see also, more generally, Clark and Dieleman 1996).

While in particular the phenomenon of white flight certainly exists—like the phenomenon of neighbourhoods that attract people because of their urbanity and diversity—it is debatable how many individuals and families actually move house for the specific reason of avoiding, or seeking, diversity and whether this group is large enough to significantly shape our results. Studies in Germany generally find that people mostly move because of the size and costs of accommodation or because the size of their household changes. Kemper (2008) analyzed data of the German Socio-Economic Panel for 2004 to 2006. Here all respondents who had moved house in the year before the interview were asked what reasons had motivated them. Up to three reasons could be mentioned. For West Germans, the main reasons for moving were related, first (62 per cent) to characteristics of the home (for example price, space, fittings, tenancy termination, ownership), and second (45 per cent) to household change and family formation. Job-related reasons (14 per cent) and material conditions of the area (14 per cent) were of much lower relevance. Other reasons—possibly including migration-related ones—were named by 16 per cent (see also Bleck and Wagner 2006 on moves out of cities).

The reasons that motivate people to move at all and the reasons for choosing a particular area to move in to (within the limited choices most people have) are not necessarily identical (You may decide to move because your current flat is too expensive and seek to move to an area you like because it is green and quiet.). The DivCon survey specifically asked respondents about the reasons that motivated them to move to the area where they now lived.¹⁸ In response to an open question, up to two reasons could be mentioned. Obviously, we only consider respondents not

¹⁸The survey question was: ‘Why did you choose to move to [INT.: emphasize] *this particular* neighbourhood back then? Please only name the most important or the two most important reasons.’

born in the area.¹⁹ The main reasons for moving to the neighbourhood were, first (51 per cent) related to characteristics of the home (such as its size and the rent or price), second (30 per cent) related to material conditions of the area (such as its green spaces or infrastructure), and third (23 per cent) to household change and family formation (Fig. 2.2). Job-related reasons (16 per cent) were of much lesser relevance. Only 8 per cent gave reasons for moving to the neighbourhood that referred to some aspect of its social structure or atmosphere. Respondents for instance said about the neighbourhood that it had a pleasant atmosphere and that the average age of residents suited themselves and their lifestyle. Another respondent said she or he had chosen this area because of its flair, the mixture of people and ways of coexistence. Only a small minority among our respondents named motives that, like the last statement, may include aspects of the immigration-related diversity of the neighbourhood (we also discuss this for the five featured neighbourhoods, see Chap. 5). Furthermore, the prevalence of such motivations is unrelated to the share of foreigners in the neighbourhood.²⁰ We compared the neighbourhoods with high share of foreigners (the top quartile) and the other neighbourhoods in this study and found that the distribution of motivations for moving there hardly differed.

Another result of our survey indicates that self-selection, at least regarding moves into more diverse areas, is probably not an influential feature. On average, inhabitants of the more diverse areas feel less comfortable there than those living in the more homogeneously native-German areas.²¹ We do not know whether this is related to the fact that these neighbourhoods are more diverse, but at least diversity does not make people feel more comfortable, something we would expect if they had consciously chosen such an environment. In the following chapter

¹⁹We also excluded respondents who were five years or younger when they moved to the neighbourhood.

²⁰Characteristics of respondents and their households—such as age, gender, education, occupational status, household size, and household income—are practically irrelevant for whether aspects of the social conditions or the atmosphere of the neighbourhood were mentioned as main reasons for moving or not.

²¹We asked: ‘All in all, how comfortable do you feel in your neighbourhood?’

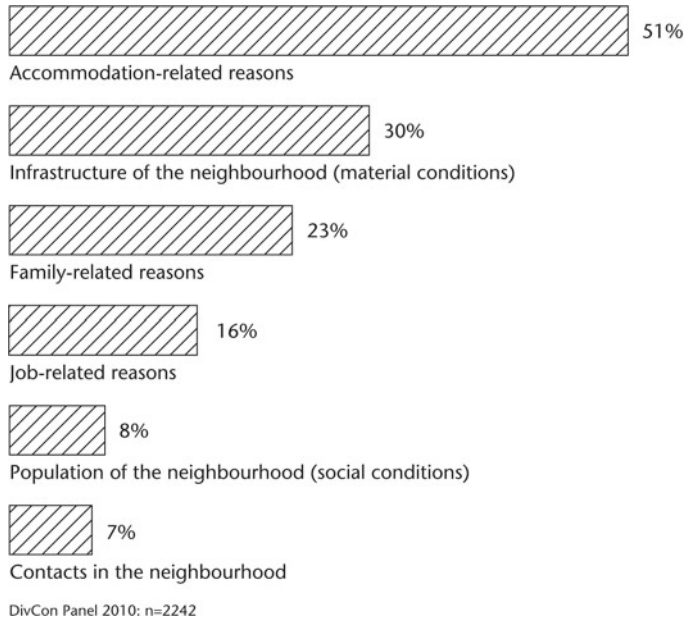


Fig. 2.2 Reasons for moving to the neighbourhood

(see Section 3.3), we will come back in more detail to the question of how residents evaluate the diversity in their residential environment. But before doing so, we will outline key characteristics of immigration-related diversity in Germany.

3

Diversity in Germany and Its Urban Neighbourhoods

3.1 Germany's Immigrant Population

Germany around 2010–2012, the period when the fieldwork for this study was carried out, was a country clearly marked by immigration. Its cities in particular are nowadays in many ways diverse settings. Their inhabitants are not only of different age, gender, and social status, they also pursue different life styles, adhere to differing values and norms, and may have origins in (and continuing links with) countries other than Germany.

Fifteen million of the 80 million residents have a migration background, which is about 19 per cent of the total population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013a). The concept of migration background aims to capture first and second-generation immigrants, it is thus distinct from categories such as the foreign-born, concepts focusing on phenotypical differences (visible minorities) and those based on subjective identifications such as ethnic minorities.¹ Individuals with a migration background—as defined

¹ This concept replaced the sole focus on foreign citizenship and reflects the recognition of permanent immigration and the incorporation of foreign immigrants into the citizenry.

in official statistics—include residents with foreign citizenship, the naturalized, ethnic German immigrants,² and the children of these groups.³

Although, before the Nazi regime, Germany did not have an entirely homogeneous population, those referred to as having a migration background are post-war immigrants or their descendants. Over nine million are foreign born; the majority of the immigrant population in the wider sense are thus themselves primary immigrants. Unlike the Netherlands, Britain, and France, Germany did not experience (post)-colonial migration movements after 1945 since it had lost its colonies after the first world war. From the mid-1950s and supported by a formalized recruitment system, several million so-called guest-workers from Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and, in small numbers from Tunisia, Morocco, and Korea were recruited as labourers in German factories and mines. When foreign recruitment was stopped in 1973, about four million foreign nationals lived in West Germany. The labour recruitment of the 1960s and 1970s and the ensuing immigration of family members and marriage partners remains one main source of immigration to Germany. Many of today's Germans with a migration background arrived as guest-workers or are the children of men and women who did so.

From about 1980, when the military coup in Turkey forced thousands to flee, foreigners increasingly arrived in Germany as refugees. In the 1980s and 1990s altogether about 2.8 million refugees arrived. Turkey, Poland, Iran, Sri Lanka and, since the 1990s, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, were main countries of refugee origin (Schönwälder 1999: 77). Only a small minority were actually granted asylum, and many refugees did not become permanent residents of Germany. And yet, a significant part of Germany's immigrant population originally arrived as refugees.

² This refers to the legal categories of *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*, individuals from former socialist countries deemed of German descent. Explicit reference to ethnic or racial minorities is not common in the German official and public discourse; statistics using such categories are unavailable.

³ According to the Federal Statistical Office, 'the population group with a migration background consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany. The migration status of a person is determined based on his/her own characteristics regarding immigration, naturalisation and citizenship and the relevant characteristics of his/her parents.' <https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/PersonsMigrationBackground/MigrationBackgroundMethods.html>, accessed 12 August 2014.

East Germany also allowed a very limited migration of foreign workers and accepted refugees for instance from Chile. However, only a very small number of them, including Vietnamese labour migrants and some foreign students, became permanent immigrants.

The third major source of post-1945 immigration was 'ethnic German' migration from Eastern Europe. This category includes migration caused by the redrawing of German borders and a policy of ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe, partly of citizens of the German Reich, but also of citizens of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Later on, West Germany continued to grant privileged access to immigrants considered of ethnic German descent and their families from the socialist East. In the 1990s, the breakdown of the borders sealing off Eastern Europe enabled hundreds of thousands to move west.⁴ Altogether, the ethnic German immigrants of the decades since 1950⁵ are estimated to number about 4.5 million.

The free movement of EU-citizens, student mobility, and, to a very limited extent, temporary work visas, are further sources of immigration to Germany. Currently, every year several hundred thousand foreigners enter Germany for longer stays while others leave the country (see Bundesministerium des Inneren 2013). Still, new immigration is more limited than in the early 1990s.

Of the past five decades, the 1990s saw the highest immigration figures, with almost eight million foreigners migrating to Germany (compared with 6.2 million in the 1970s). Thus Germany's immigrant population of around 2010 includes many long-term residents who arrived in the 1970s, but also a considerable share of immigrants who arrived about 15–20 years ago. Of the nine million primary immigrants currently living in Germany, 3.7 million immigrated between 1956 and 1989, 3.1 million in the 1990s, and 2.2 million since 2000 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013c: 8). Migration-related diversity is thus in many ways an established feature of (West) German urban life, but in the 1990s in particular its

⁴The move of these populations from German lands to regions further east may go back to the eighteenth century. Many of the 'ethnic German' immigrants did not speak German. See Klekowski von Koppenfels 2009; Joppke 2005.

⁵Official statistics include only immigrants who arrived since 1950. In the 2011 Census only those who arrived since 1956 were included.

extent and shape changed significantly with the arrival of new immigrant groups and a marked growth of the immigrant population.

Due to the absence of colonial migration and to policies limiting other migration from Asia and Africa, the overwhelming majority of Germany's immigrant population has European roots. Of the foreign born, 70 per cent were born in a European country (including Turkey). Of the 15 million first and second-generation immigrants, about half a million have an African background and about two and a half million originate from an Asian country. The latter include ethnic German immigrants from Asian parts of the former Soviet Union. Those from Turkey and the former Soviet Union are the largest national-origin groups with about three million each, followed by former Yugoslavia and Poland (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013a).

About nine million residents with a migration background are German citizens. This includes children of German citizens born as German citizens, children of foreigners born in Germany since 2000, immigrants from Eastern Europe who, as ethnic Germans, more-or-less automatically received German citizenship, and former foreign citizens who were naturalized—most of them since the 1990s (Worbs 2008; Schönwälder and Triadafilopoulos 2012).

3.2 Diversity in German Cities

Germany's immigrant population lives almost exclusively in the part of the country that was the old Federal Republic but is fairly widely distributed over that territory. Still, people with a migration background have a greater tendency than others to live in cities. More than half (54 per cent) of those with a migration background live in the cities with at least 50,000 inhabitants (the cities studied here), while of the total population 40 per cent live there (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011).

And yet, immigrant residential concentration in Germany is altogether far lower not only compared to the United States, but also compared to the United Kingdom (for more details and a discussion of possible reasons for differences see Schönwälder and Sohn 2009; Friedrichs and Triemer 2009; Friedrichs 2008). Most German cities—and not only a

few centres of immigration—have significant immigrant populations. Immigrant shares reach more than 40 per cent in the most diverse cities, while more homogeneously German towns may have only 15–20 per cent immigrants in their populations.⁶ As regards national origins, immigrant populations are usually fairly mixed.

Of the 12 cities with at least half a million inhabitants, two are included in this study. The study includes Germany's second-largest city, Hamburg (1.8 million inhabitants), which is a city that, not least due to its long-term status as an international port, has a long experience of immigration and ethnic diversity (see Eder and Vagt 2003). Frankfurt on Main, although much smaller, is often regarded as a global city on account of its status as a transport and financial hub (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009a). This city is also included in this study.

Six medium-range cities (100,000–500,000 inhabitants) are included in the study. Bochum, Krefeld, Leverkusen, Mannheim, and Ingolstadt all have a relevant industrial base and guestworker tradition, while Lübeck on the Baltic coast has a weaker industrial tradition and a relatively low share of immigrants.

In densely populated Germany, hardly any smaller town is far away from a larger urban conglomeration. With one exception, all DivCon cities are located in either an agglomeration (*Agglomerationsraum*) or an urbanized space (*verstädterter Raum*) according to a widely accepted classification (see the reporting system of the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development, BBSR, on www.bbsr.bund.de). Of the eight medium-range cities (50,000–100,000 inhabitants) in the study, Delmenhorst lies in the immediate vicinity of Bremen, and Dormagen is a 15–30 minutes commute from Cologne. We can assume that the diversity of the bigger cities is part of the regular experience of the small town residents who may often work there. Herten and Viersen are located in the metropolitan region Rhein-Ruhr. Even the smallest of our medium-range cities, Emden, has not only a port but also a university of applied science (*Fachhochschule*) that attracts international

⁶ Figures for all cities with at least 100,000 inhabitants were published based on the 2011 Census, see Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b, Table 6.2b. The lowest share for a West German city is 15.8 per cent, the highest share 48.9 per cent. In the large East German cities, shares are between 5.9 and 7.9 per cent.

students. Gießen and Konstanz, two further small towns, have universities. Schweinfurt, while located in a more rural region, is home to major industrial plants. American garrisons in Schweinfurt and Gießen may also have added to the experience of diversity in past decades.

The immigrant share in the population of the 16 cities included in this study ranges from about 15 to around 40 per cent. More precise figures are only available for foreign citizens. Their share ranges from 5 per cent in Emden to 25 per cent in Frankfurt. In the eight large cities in our sample, the immigrant population (again: first plus second generation) accounts for between 15.8 and 42.7 per cent of the overall population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b, Table 6.2b).

On average, foreign nationals represent about one half of those with a migration background. In individual cities their share may range from one third to two thirds of that group.⁷ With regard to the national origins of the immigrant populations, we have to refer to figures for foreign nationals.⁸ In 13 of our 16 cities, the Turkish nationals are the largest foreign nationality. Commonly they account for about one fifth of the foreign population. Only in one exceptional case (the small town of Herten) more than half of the foreign citizens are Turkish. The share of Turkish nationals among the city's population ranges from 0.6 per cent to 7.4 per cent. In three cases the former Yugoslavs taken together are a larger group (Emden, Konstanz, Leverkusen), in one city (Konstanz) the Italians are also more numerous than the Turks. Other large nationalities are the Greeks, Poles and Russians.⁹ In the two metropolitan cities of

⁷The ratio of foreigners to German citizens among those with a migration background is 1:0.78 for cities with at least 500,000 inhabitants, 1:1.1 for cities of 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, and 1:1.37 for the cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011: 40–41). These differences are mainly due to a larger share of ethnic German *Aussiedler* in the smaller towns.

⁸Of the 16 cities included in the DivCon survey, only Hamburg, Mannheim, and Konstanz have published estimates of national origin groups in their populations. Figures for foreign citizens are available for all cities. Those from Eastern Europe in particular are underrepresented when we rely on statistics for foreign nationals as they include many German citizens who came as *Aussiedler*. In Hamburg for instance, the group of those of Polish background is estimated to be more than three times larger than the group of Polish citizens.

⁹Here and wherever we refer to data for the cities investigated in this study, the data are official data provided by the cities as available in our DivCon dataset.

our sample, non-European groups are more prominent than in Germany as a whole. Thus in Hamburg, the Afghans are the fourth largest group among those with a migration background, and the Iranians as well as the Ghanaians are also relatively numerous (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013a). In Frankfurt the Moroccans are the sixth largest foreign nationality.

Altogether, co-existence of long-term-Germans and immigrants is common in at least the West German cities. Although a sizeable population, immigrants, that is the foreign born and their children, in 2010 constituted a minority of the population in all German cities and in most neighbourhoods, a feature we will turn to below. As regards national origins, the immigrant populations of German cities are typically mixed.

3.3 Urban Normality: The 50 Neighbourhoods of this Study (Co-authored by Christian Jacobs)

In this section, we proceed from the level of cities to that of neighbourhood and focus on the neighbourhoods investigated in this study. As explained above, the Diversity and Contact project aims to represent ‘urban normality’. Thus, the 50 urban neighbourhoods investigated in the DivCon project were selected in a stratified sampling process from thousands of neighbourhoods in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. Twenty-four of the DivCon areas are located in the two metropolises Frankfurt and Hamburg (Fig. 3.1), three areas were drawn in each of the mid-range cities Bochum, Ingolstadt, Krefeld, Leverkusen, Lübeck, and Mannheim, and one each in the smaller Emden, Delmenhorst, Dormagen, Gießen, Herten, Konstanz, Schweinfurt, and Viersen. In many respects, these areas represent the variety of physical and infrastructural characteristics and socio-demographic diversity typical of current urban life in Germany. Before we continue the characterization of immigration-related diversity, we outline, on the following pages, characteristics of the material environment and public space of the 50 selected neighbourhoods.

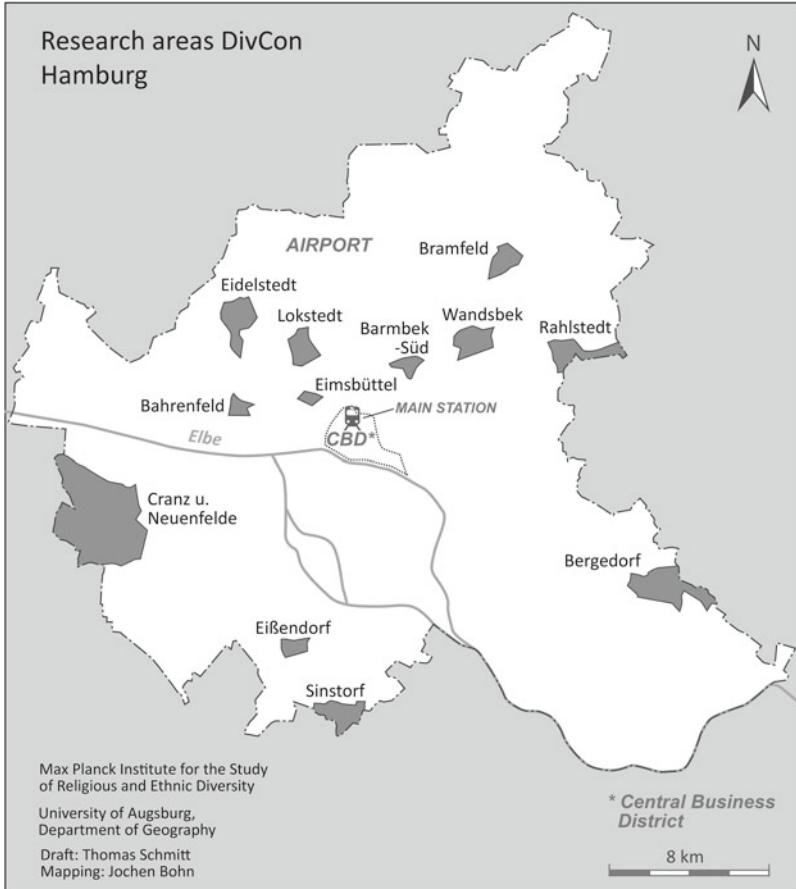


Fig. 3.1 The DivCon-areas in Hamburg and Frankfurt/Main (Note: In some cases, we use official area names for DivCon areas that represent only part of the statistical area)

3.3.1 The Material Environment: Neighbourhood Character and Public Space

The material or physical environment in a neighbourhood has an impact on its residents and their social lives. It provides contexts that may be more or less conducive to encounters between neighbours and co-residents of the area. The public space, apart from the workplace and clubs or associations, is a site where unplanned encounters between strangers may

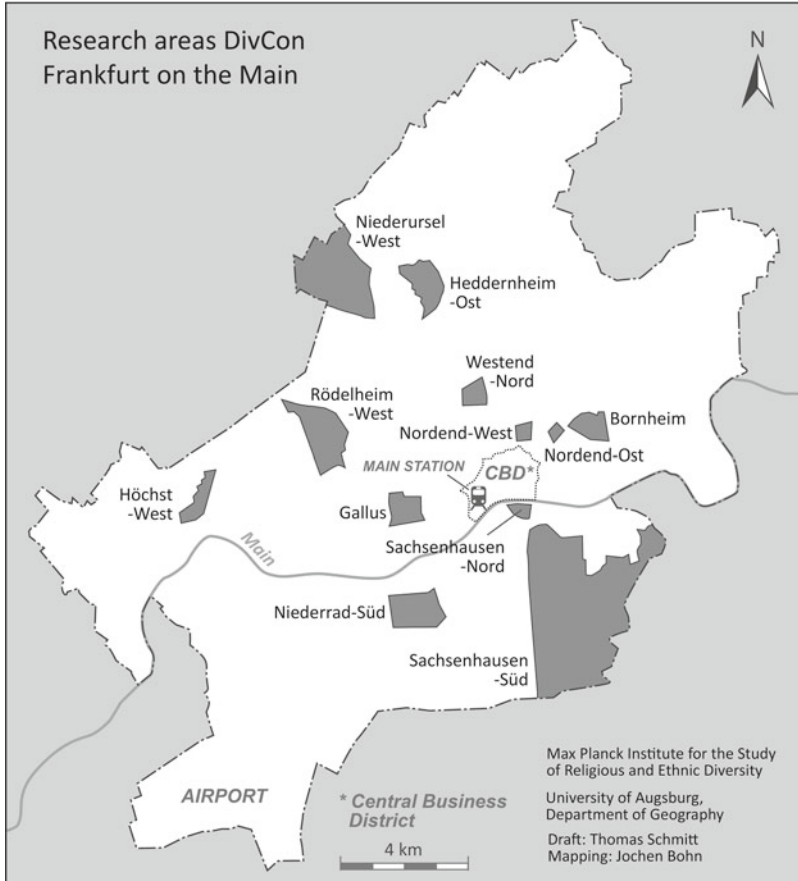


Fig. 3.1 (Continued)

happen. As has been emphasized in the literature, strangers encounter each other in public spaces. Co-residents of a neighbourhood may recognize others they encounter repeatedly, exchange greetings or have a conversation (see for example Valentine 2008; Wiesemann 2012; Wentz 2010; Madanipour 2003; Watson 2006). As one part of the area explorations of this project, the material environment of all 50 neighbourhoods was classified with regard to the characteristics of the built environment and the presence of contact opportunities in public space.

With regards to the type of buildings within the neighbourhoods, we mostly found heterogeneity. Most areas display a mix of single-household

and multi-household buildings, of one and multi-storey buildings. City life is not typically marked by narrow streets, lined by multi-story buildings. Rather, single houses with gardens are a fairly common feature.

Our areas fall into three types (for more details see Jacobs 2013). There is one group of areas located on the edges of the cities and dominated by single-household buildings. Often they border on farmland or open fields and meadows. Residential use dominates; there are few shops and services, but often industrial/commercial spaces/terrain/estates exist. Busses connect the areas with the inner city. Of the areas portrayed in more detail (see Chapter 5), Hamburg-Sinstorf belongs to this category.

A second group of areas is characterised by a mix of single and multi-household buildings, sometimes with the odd high-riser. Often smaller green spaces interrupt buildings, or buildings and streets. Residential and industrial or commercial uses co-exist. Limited shopping opportunities are available, usually concentrated in one street or a shopping centre. These areas often have a tube or tram stop connecting the area with the city centre. Of our focused areas, Henninger Turm in Frankfurt belongs to this group.

A third group consists of areas located in the inner city and marked by uninterrupted lines of multi-story buildings. A variety of shops and businesses is available, either concentrated or dispersed, but often along a pedestrian zone or major shopping street. In general, a tube or tram stop represents a busy location. In this third group of areas in particular, shopping, cultural and entertainment opportunities attract people who are not residents and create a more vivid and potentially more diverse street life. Of the areas portrayed in more detail (see Chapter 5), Lindenpark in Hamburg and Berger-Ost in Frankfurt belong to this category.

We should be cautious not to identify urban life with this third type of area or neighbourhood. While German urban areas are generally equipped with basic infrastructure and have a public-transport connection with the inner city and train station, they are often pretty quiet and may occasionally even seem rural. Consequently, the public space in such differing areas offers different opportunities for the encounter of residents (Photo 3.1).

So, how should we characterize the public space of the 50 neighbourhoods investigated in this project? Definitions of the public space vary, but accessibility is a core criterion. For our purposes, publicly accessible parts of buildings were not taken into consideration. For the clas-



Photo 3.1 Characteristic features of the three types of neighbourhood in this study



Photo 3.1 *(Continued)*

sification of the 50 DivCon areas, we considered squares, parks, green spaces, playgrounds, major public transport stops and stations, and in particular shopping streets as spaces enabling encounters between residents. Sites where shopping opportunities, including cafes, restaurants, and so on are concentrated attract customers and spectators. They offer opportunities for encounters or further interactions, possibly mediated by economic exchange or encouraged through the repeated encounter at the neighbourhood store or the market stall. Open markets and pedestrian zones can be sites where people stroll around, meet co-residents and have casual conversations (see Chapter 5 for further illustration). In the literature this particular role of the market in a wider sense is now frequently emphasized (see Schubert 2000: 57; Wehrheim 2009: 26; Madanipour 2003: 108). As already Goffman (1963: 17) pointed out: encounters with others happen in public spaces when there is a gathering and people conceive that they are close enough to see and be seen.

Of the 50 DivCon areas several do not have any sites encouraging encounters. There may be one shop or take-away, but no shopping area, public transport node, or park exists (category 1). Of our focused areas, Sinstorf in Hamburg falls within this category.

A second group of areas has at least one site that can serve as a focus of encounters in public space, such as a small shopping centre or a park. There is no variety of such sites. Of our focused areas, Henninger Turm in Frankfurt and Schinkenplatz in Krefeld fall within this category.

A third group of areas has different contact-sites, such as a public-transport node plus a park and so on, but none of these sites is a dominant feature of the public space.

A fourth group also has different contact-sites but, in this case, the infrastructure is more comprehensive.

A fifth group is formed by areas that have many and varied contact-sites and an urban life that attracts people beyond the neighbourhood residents. A major pedestrian and/or market area may attract people and allow them to spend time in public space. These are lively areas such as our focused areas Lindenpark in Hamburg and Berger-Ost in Frankfurt.

The analyses in Chapter 5 where we portray five areas will further illustrate how characteristics of the public space impact on social life within the neighbourhoods. The relevance of characteristics of the public space, as classified here, is investigated in statistical analyses with our survey data presented in the following chapters ('Contact opportunities in public space' for example in Tables 4.1 and 7.5; see also Jacobs 2013; Jacobs 2016).

3.3.2 Statistical Diversity

To what extent, and in what ways, are the 50 neighbourhoods marked by immigration-related diversity? Above, we already outlined key characteristics of immigration to Germany. We pointed out that, while immigrant shares vary, the immigrant population lives relatively widely distributed over the western part of Germany. Within cities, concentration is limited; it is unusual that a district within a city (*Stadtteil*) has more than 50 per

cent immigrants.¹⁰ Thus, in Frankfurt, 39 per cent of the inhabitants have a migration background. Of 47 *Stadtteile*, six have more than 50 per cent immigrants in their populations, and the highest share is 59 per cent (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2011: 38). Of Hamburg's population, 28 per cent have a migration background. Here, of 100 districts, in 2009 only five had a majority of inhabitants with a migration background (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010a, data for 31 Dec. 2009). Mannheim is a city of medium size (324,000 inhabitants as of 31 Dec. 2010) with a relatively high immigrant share of 38 per cent. In two of the 17 *Stadtbezirke*, a majority of the inhabitants have a migration background (56 and 60 per cent). Of the 76 smaller statistical areas, 18 have populations with at least 50 per cent immigrants (Stadt Mannheim 2011).¹¹

Variety with regard to share of immigrants was part of the design of the study, so it is no surprise that the 50 areas selected here vary with regard to the share of immigrants. In the 50 neighbourhoods, the share of foreign nationals ranges from 2.8 to 46.6 per cent.¹² If we divide the 50 areas into quartiles (in other words into four groups), we find that in the first quartile the share of foreigners is below eight per cent, in the medium half of our neighbourhoods (the second and third quartile), foreigners account for between 8 and 22 per cent of the population, and in the fourth quartile their share is more than 22 per cent. In three neighbourhoods, more than 30 per cent of the population are not German nationals.

The immigrant population (understood as composed of first and second generation immigrants) also includes German nationals. Among

¹⁰Where cities make figures for the population with a migration background available, they are generally based on the population registration, not on the micro census. Because of different data sources and different information contained in them, the definitions of the category *migration background* used by individual cities differ from that of the federal statistical office. City data do, for example, not contain comprehensive information on parents' place of birth, in other words data on second generation immigrants will be incomplete.

¹¹Estimates of the population with migration background based on the 2011 Census (see Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b, Table 6.2b) partly differ from those published by the cities themselves. Thus for Frankfurt a share of 42.7 per cent was calculated, for Hamburg 27.5 per cent, and for Mannheim 35.7 per cent. Census data are not broken down to the level of districts.

¹²For characteristics of our 50 neighbourhoods we generally rely on a data set compiled on the basis of statistics provided by the cities. Data are for 2009 where not indicated otherwise.

the DivCon neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners has about 60 per cent immigrants.¹³ However, additional information on shares of naturalized foreigners, the German-born children of immigrants, the foreign born, or religious affiliations, is not generally available for smaller areas.¹⁴ Thus, we do not have figures for the immigrant population of the selected neighbourhoods.¹⁵

The high diversity neighbourhoods in the DivCon study are rather dissimilar with regard to other characteristics. Areas in the top quartile of our sample, that is the top 12 areas in terms of share of foreigners, are located in Frankfurt on Main, Mannheim, and Leverkusen. Here, the share of foreigners ranges between 22.1 and 33.4 per cent, with one outlier at 46.6 per cent. Due in part to our sampling strategy, high shares of foreigners do not correlate with high shares of unemployed residents. If we look at the top quartile, that are the top 12 areas in terms of share of foreigners, we find that only five of them also have relatively high unemployment rates.¹⁶ Also, in terms of the shares of those in gainful employment (here: employees covered by the obligatory social insurance scheme¹⁷), the high diversity areas are rather different. One similarity they share is a low percentage of people over the age of 64 compared with the other areas. At the same time, the high-diversity areas are not full of children; in fact, they are pretty average in this respect. The 12 high diversity areas are, however, particularly densely populated. With about 9300 people per sqkm, the population density of these areas is more than

¹³This is an estimate based on available figures for the surrounding district. The Frankfurt Gallus district as a whole in 2008 had 43 per cent foreigners plus 14 per cent Germans with a migration background. Thus we can assume that in our area of Gallus where foreigners account for 46 per cent of the population the share of those with a migration background is around 60–65 per cent. See also Chap. 2, note 4.

¹⁴See Chap. 2.

¹⁵As regards the number of immigrants, not only foreign citizens, we only know that, in the German cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, foreign nationals, at the time of the first wave of our survey, accounted for more than half of the immigrant population, while in the smaller cities the majority of the immigrant population were German nationals (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011).

¹⁶Even if the average unemployment ratio of the top 12 neighbourhoods (6.9 per cent) is slightly larger than the average of all 50 areas (6.6 per cent), this difference is statistically not significant.

¹⁷This was the only available measure. It excludes the self-employed and part of the civil service (*Beamte*).

twice as high as the density of the remaining 38 areas (approximately 3700 people per sqkm).

In terms of national origins,¹⁸ the immigrant populations of urban neighbourhoods are usually mixed and not marked by a dominance of particular groups. This is a general feature of German urban neighbourhoods (see Schönwälder and Söhn 2009). In the neighbourhoods of this study, the Turkish nationals are often the largest group, but there are only five neighbourhoods where their share of the foreign nationals (not of the population!) exceeds 50 per cent. And there are only three neighbourhoods where the Turkish nationals account for more than 10 per cent of the overall population. Taken together, the former Yugoslavs are also a relatively large group; in six of our neighbourhoods they are the largest foreign nationality. There is one neighbourhood where the Polish nationals are the largest group and two neighbourhoods where all East Europeans together account for more than 30 per cent of the foreign nationals.

If we look at regional origin groups, we find that the three combined groups of West Europeans, East Europeans, and Asians plus Africans are roughly equally relevant in terms of relative shares of the foreign population. Shares in the second and third quartile are 14–27 per cent, 13–22 per cent, and 11–22 per cent respectively. For the Turkish nationals the respective range is 16–30 per cent, thus slightly higher.

Asian and African nationalities are not so numerous in German cities. Taken together, they account for between 3 and 53 per cent of the foreign populations in the 50 neighbourhoods, but a share exceeding 30 per cent is rather exceptional and occurs in only five neighbourhoods (four of them located in Hamburg). Nowhere does this group account for more than 10 per cent of the overall area population.

If we look specifically at the more visible immigrant groups, usually also those who are more likely to suffer from racist exclusion, we find that Turkish, Asian, and African nationals together in 12 neighbourhoods account for 10 per cent or more of the population (the maximum is 17.9 per cent). In 18 neighbourhoods their share is between 5 and under 10 per cent, in 20 neighbourhoods it is less than 5 per cent.

¹⁸ Information on legal status, length of stay and so on is not available.

A diversity index based on 12 national and regional-origin groups also points at a low concentration of individual groups. The values indicate that immigrants in German urban neighbourhoods usually come from more than one national or regional background. For our 50 areas, the average diversity index is 0.81 meaning there is a 81 per cent probability that two randomly chosen foreigners belong to two different groups out of Turks, Italians, Ex-Yugoslavs, Poles, Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, people from North-African countries and western Asia, Sub-Saharan Africans, Americans, East Asians, Australasians and a residual group of undecided cases, stateless people and those of unknown citizenship.¹⁹ The distribution across the 50 neighbourhoods is rather skewed. While 43 areas have a diversity index between 0.78 and 0.88, seven neighbourhoods are marked by low diversity (in other words low internal heterogeneity of the foreign population) including an outlier case of just 0.30. The relative size and the heterogeneity of the foreign population are not significantly correlated ($r=0.02$; $p=0.874$; $n=50$). This observation confirms a picture of neighbourhoods in German cities as fairly mixed—regardless of whether immigrants form a small or a large group.

3.3.3 Noticeable Diversity

The migration-related diversity of a neighbourhood can be determined by population statistics. But is this diversity necessarily apparent to residents? Some immigrants are more visible than others. Further, immigration may, but need not, transform the infrastructure and the street life of a neighbourhood. As this project aimed to assess effects of diversity on interactions and attitudes, we included both an assessment by the research team of the extent to which diversity was noticeable in the 50 areas of investigation as well as survey questions aiming to capture the subjective perceptions of residents.

In our own assessment (for the methodology see Chapter 2) we found that immigration-related diversity is noticeable in almost every area, but hardly ever dominant. Just about every German town now has its Asian

¹⁹ For reasons of data protection, cities do not provide exact numbers for each foreign nationality in small areas. We had to ask for grouped figures.

take away and its pizzeria. Döner places are common for example in the vicinity of train stations. Wine stores may specialize in Spanish or other wines and display flags or other references to foreign places in their windows. Fitness studios may offer courses in 'Asian' martial arts, and dancing studios may advertise 'oriental' dance practice. Such cases may be evidence of the globalized shopping patterns and interests of German customers and may reflect the presence of immigrants who engage in selling products from their countries or want to buy them.

And yet, on the level of residential neighbourhoods, we were surprised how little sign of their ethnic diversity the environment of the average urban neighbourhood displays. In German cities, shop signs are generally in German. It is rare that a commercial enterprise or doctor's surgery visibly caters to a multi-lingual clientele by offering their services in different languages. Among the most obvious signs of a presence of immigrants are newsagents displaying foreign-language papers and telephone shops offering cheap international calls. Most areas have at least one shop indicating the immigrant presence, like a Turkish greengrocer. Occasionally we found posters advertising ethnic culture, like the '19. Türk Film Festivali', or political activities of an immigrant group (Photo 3.2). Residents sometimes displayed flags in windows or front gardens, presumably of their country of origin, a practice particularly common during parts of our fieldwork as this was the time of the football world cup 2010. 'Ethnics catering to ethnics', like for example Afro hairdressers, are rare. Turkish men's cafés, usually labelled 'cultural associations', so common in many Berlin areas, exist in some of the areas investigated here, but by far not everywhere. Minority religious buildings and meeting places, apart from the established Catholic and Lutheran churches, exist, but only in some of the 50 areas (five areas have mosques, one an orthodox church, see pictures in Chapter 5). Occasionally we found notice boards of religious groups offering services to a non-German-speaking clientele. Altogether, some obvious sign of immigration-related diversity exists in almost any neighbourhood (Photos 3.3 and 3.4). The presence of immigrants in German urban neighbourhoods is most obviously noticeable through people who look different than the average German or who speak a different language. But it would clearly be wrong to take the much-publicized



Photo 3.2 Turkish culture in Mannheim's cultural life

immigrant neighbourhoods of Berlin or Duisburg as typical examples of an urban neighbourhood in Germany.

The 50 neighbourhoods differ significantly with regard to the extent to which an immigrant presence is apparent in their public life. In order to capture the existing variation, we classified the 50 areas according to three types of relatively high—medium—or low noticeable immigration-related diversity. The classification is based on a comparison of our 50 areas, not any absolute standard; it expresses the relative place of an area in the spectrum represented by the DivCon areas of investigation. It combines three measures explained in the methods section above.

Eight areas were classified as displaying a highly noticeable diversity. They include one area in Mannheim, one in Hamburg, and six in Frankfurt. Here, around one third of businesses may display some reference to immigration, and the people passing in the streets will clearly include many



Photo 3.3 Evidence of German-Turkish everyday life



Photo 3.4 Chicken helal: catering to a diverse clientele



Photo 3.6 Noticeable diversity even in more homogeneous areas

As illustrated by Fig. 3.2 noticeable and statistical diversity correlate.²⁰ Of the eight areas classified as of high noticeable diversity, six are in the top quartile according to share of foreigners. In the bottom quartile (that are areas with low shares of foreigners), ten of 12 areas were classified as low noticeable diversity. In three areas, low noticeable diversity goes along with medium-range shares of foreigners (14, 18, and 22 per cent). This may be due to the fact that foreign nationals live highly concentrated on the edge of the area. But altogether this comparison demonstrates that when we mainly use the statistical diversity in our further analyses, this also reflects the visibility of diversity to the residents of the neighbourhoods.

²⁰ $r=0.74$; $p=0.000$; $n=50$. However, the strong association between statistical and noticeable diversity holds only for share of foreigners. The correlation between the diversity index (measuring the heterogeneity of the foreign population) and noticeable diversity is statistically not significant ($r=0.09$; $p=0.520$; $n=50$).

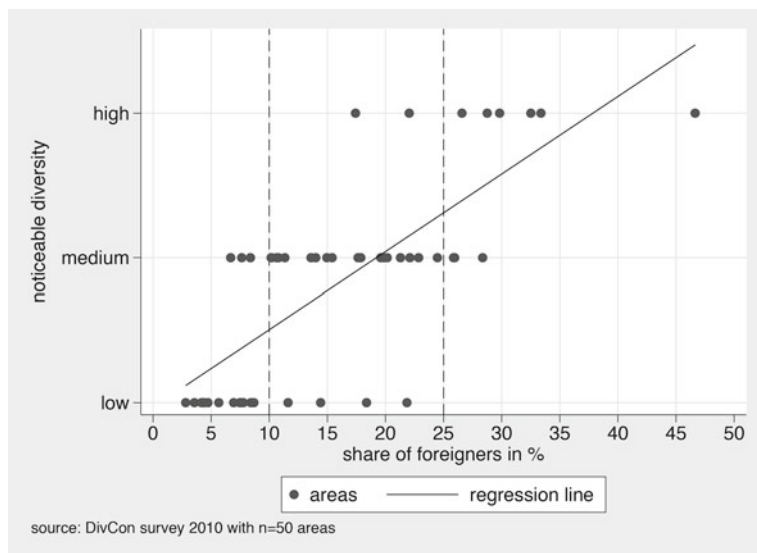


Fig. 3.2 Correlation of noticeable diversity and share of foreigners in 50 neighbourhoods (*Note:* The slope of the regression line does not change substantially if the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners is excluded from the analysis)

3.3.4 Perceived Diversity: How the Survey Respondents See Their Own Neighbourhood

In the previous sections, we outlined diversity characteristics of the 50 areas investigated in this study as reflected in official statistics and our own assessment of how noticeable this diversity is. We now turn to how residents of these areas perceive the neighbourhood's diversity. In the DivCon survey, we aimed to capture our respondents' perception of the neighbourhood populations not yet influenced by our specific interest in immigration. When we interview people about certain issues there is always the danger that by asking a particular question or by phrasing it in a particular way, we influence the responses. By asking about diversity, we remind our interview partners of a feature of society that may not have been salient to them. By asking about 'immigrants' or 'members of ethnic minorities' we define people in a specific way. There is no way to avoid

this problem altogether. Still, our survey aimed to get an impression of how people spontaneously think about diversity by asking a very general, open question at the beginning of the survey, before we had introduced the subject of immigration. The interviewers enquired ‘about the people in your neighbourhood. Would you say that the people are quite diverse or would you say that the people who live in your neighbourhood are very similar?’ Sixty-five per cent answered that they perceived the neighbourhood population as rather diverse, while 32 per cent perceived it as more or less homogeneous. We then asked what people had in mind when they referred to the neighbourhood population as homogeneous or diverse. Several aspects were mentioned that mainly fell into four categories: socio-economic, socio-demographic, lifestyle and beliefs, and immigration-related aspects. Very few people mentioned religion or some aspect of neighbourliness. Explanations included:

- “It is mixed, everything is there, from welfare cases to rich people.”
- “Well, I believe that nobody really has a lot of money.”
- “They all differ in age.”
- “In the past there were many old people here, today many young people live in the neighbourhood.”
- “Everything is there, right, left, petty bourgeois, young people, normal people.”

Of the 2214 respondents with valid answers, 51 per cent made statements that included references to immigration (Table 3.1). More often

Table 3.1 Perceptions of neighbourhood diversity

Dimensions	Coming up in x% of statements	As aspect of heterogeneity	As aspect of homogeneity
Immigration- related	51.4 %	44.9%	6.5%
Socio-economic	38.4 %	23.7%	14.6%
Socio- demographic	35.2 %	23.5%	11.7%
Lifestyle	29.0 %	19.6%	9.4%
Neighbourliness	9.9 %	1.5%	8.4%
Religion	1.8 %	1.4%	0.4%

Note: n=2214, multiple answers were possible

than for other dimensions of diversity they did this to underline heterogeneity. While one third of the references to socio-economic and to socio-demographic aspects served to underline the homogeneity of the neighbourhood population, this was the case only for one eighth of the migration-related statements. For example, one respondent pointed out that in her or his neighbourhood there were 'no migrants, they are almost exclusively Germans'.

Interview-partners often pointed to several aspects of diversity, for instance by mentioning that 'students, elderly people, all sorts of nationalities' lived in their neighbourhood. Others mentioned different nationalities as well as different age groups and family forms. Consequences of immigration seem to be perceived as one aspect of multi-dimensional diversity.

Immigration mostly came up as national backgrounds. Apart from nationalities, the terms *Ausländer* (foreigners) and *Multikulti*, or similar expressions, were used frequently. References to religion remained rare, as were references to race and physical features. Equally rare were references to legal status, such as to the presence of refugees. This may be due to the fact that in 2010, when the first wave of the survey was conducted, refugee immigration was not a much-debated public theme. Of nationalities, the Turks were frequently mentioned, as were Russians and Poles. Other respondents named the Lebanese, Vietnamese, Kosovo, Afghans, Greeks, and Italians. Americans or the immediate west European neighbours of Germany (that is the French or the Dutch) were hardly ever found worth mentioning.

Mostly such explanations of neighbourhood diversity or homogeneity were matter-of-fact. Less often they included an evaluation of the situation. Where this was the case, evaluations of immigration-related diversity included positive as well as negative ones. Thus respondents for instance explained:

"Very many foreigners, who rarely orient themselves towards German practices."

"They differ in age, nationality, and also in terms of income. You can live very well here."

Apparently, being conscious of diversity is not necessarily associated with holding negative opinions. This was also confirmed by the answers to

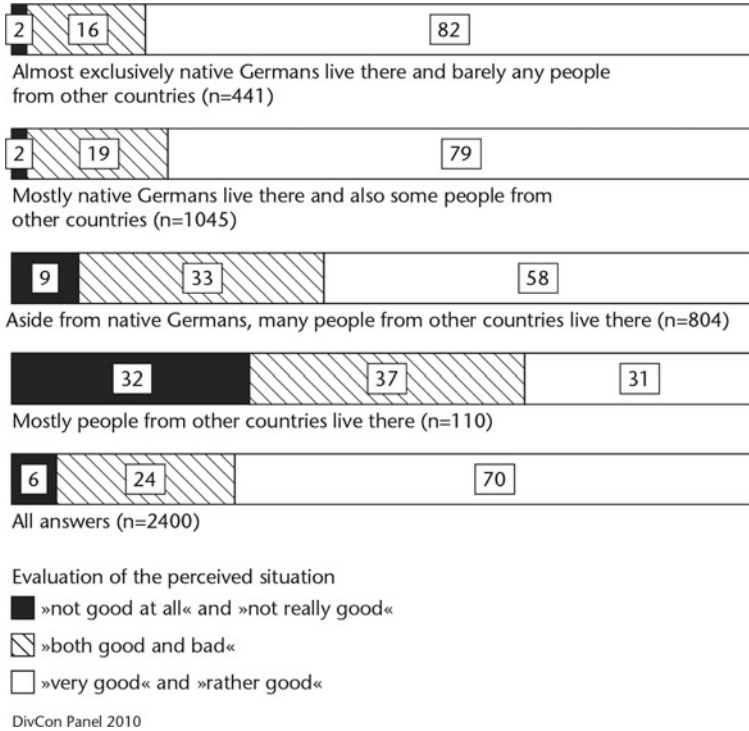


Fig. 3.3 Perception and evaluation of immigration-related diversity in the neighbourhood

two more direct questions about the diversity in the neighbourhood and its evaluation. Here we first asked people to place their neighbourhood in one of four different characterisations of immigration-related diversity.²¹ We then asked how they liked the situation.²² Again, the overwhelming majority (81 per cent) described their neighbourhoods as mixed.

As Fig. 3.3 illustrates, only among the small minority who described their neighbourhood as mostly inhabited by people from other countries

²¹ The average perception of the diversity of the neighbourhood by the neighbourhood’s residents strongly correlates with the share of foreigners ($r=0.81$; $p=0.000$; $n=50$) and with our own assessment of noticeable diversity ($r=0.67$; $p=0.000$; $n=50$).

²² ‘How do you personally feel about this situation?’

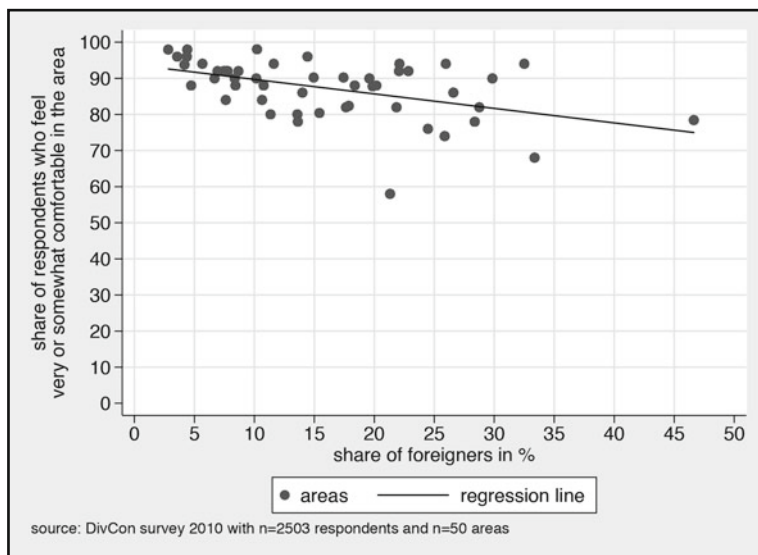


Fig. 3.4 Share of inhabitants feeling comfortable in the area by share of foreigners (*Note: The slope of the regression line does not change substantially if the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners is excluded from the analysis*)

(5 per cent of all respondents), a relatively large share of close to one third said they disliked this situation. Here the overestimation of the immigrant presence may already be an expression of hostility. As illustrated by the bottom bar in Fig. 3.3, among all respondents positive evaluations dominated. 70 per cent said they were happy with the given situation in their neighbourhood.

This general acceptance of the population composition of the neighbourhood should be seen as part of an overall positive evaluation of people's own situation there. In the DivCon survey, we asked: 'All in all, how comfortable do you feel in your neighbourhood?' Altogether, almost two thirds (64 per cent) said they feel very comfortable in their neighbourhood, and 24 per cent said they feel somewhat comfortable. One in ten respondents feels both uncomfortable and comfortable and practically nobody said they feel uncomfortable. The figures for immigrants are slightly more negative than those for non-immigrants but the differences

between the two groups are very small. Among the immigrants, an absolute majority feel very comfortable (58 per cent) and another 26 per cent feel somewhat comfortable. There are differences across the neighbourhoods. Inhabitants of the more diverse areas on average feel less comfortable there than those living in the more homogeneously native-German areas (Fig. 3.4). This may have various reasons and need not be due to the higher presence of immigrants. Thus the neighbourhoods with high immigrant share tend to be densely populated inner-city areas. Even in the neighbourhood where people feel least comfortable, a majority of 58 per cent said that they feel somewhat comfortable or very comfortable there. In the top neighbourhood, this share is 98 per cent.

The following chapter will turn to the analysis of survey results relating to intergroup interactions.

4

Interactions Across Boundaries in More and Less Diverse Contexts

4.1 Introduction

The relationship between diversity, understood as the composition of the population with regard to migration background and the frequency and character of interactions between residents is the key theme of this book. This chapter presents the empirical findings on this issue. As outlined in the introduction, different hypotheses concerning such interactions are voiced in current debates. Assumptions of conviviality contrast with those of conflict or disengagement. Generally, interactions are determined by opportunities and preferences. The ‘homophily principle’, that is the trend of individuals to associate with others who are like themselves, is regarded as ‘one of the most striking and robust’ (Kossinets and Watts 2009: 405) sociological findings. Individuals apparently prefer the company of others who have similar backgrounds, tastes, and lifestyles. To the extent that we assume migration background to be linked with symbolic boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 168), differing lifestyles, or norms, it is a likely dimension of homophily in social interactions. Indeed, ethnicity and ‘race’ are cited as key dimensions structuring interaction,

alongside social status, age, or education (McPherson et al. 2001: 420; Fuhse 2010: 183).

But, as Scott Feld argued already in 1982, individual preferences ‘can be overemphasized’. They ‘can only affect the choices of associates within limited sets of available alternatives’ (1982: 797; see also Huckfeldt 1983). Indeed, individuals are heavily constrained in their choices by the opportunities available in their environment. The neighbourhoods where people live are usually not inhabited by a cross section of the population but are socially segregated. Leisure-time activities are often age-specific, and so on. Thus, ‘the social structuring of activities tends to bring similar people into frequent contact with one another, and thereby encourages the development of relationships among them’ (Feld 1982: 797).

Immigration and immigrant background are in many ways systematically linked with opportunities and restrictions affecting interaction. Immigration is typically a historically uneven process. Those growing up in Europe in the 1960s were less likely to encounter immigrants in their immediate environments than those growing up in the 1990s. Some immigrants are legally restricted in their movements, or confined to asylum seeker hostels or even detainment centres and thus less likely to encounter others or to be encountered than other inhabitants of the region. In the countryside, there are still fewer immigrants than in cities—thus geography determines opportunities to form heterogeneous relationships. Educational institutions and work environments are selective. At universities for instance, where many long-lasting friendships are formed—or partners found—many students are now from other countries, but in Germany students with immigrant backgrounds are still vastly under-represented. In employment, opportunities for encounters between non-immigrants and immigrants differ across sectors and statuses. Those of immigrant background are, for example, more numerous in manufacturing than in the banking and insurance sector (Schönwälder 2007; Tucci 2011).

City and neighbourhood are important contexts for personal social interactions. Mewes (2009: 41) points out that, in Germany, according to the large family survey, almost half of an individual’s friends and acquaintances live within a distance of not more than 15 minutes from their home (similar results in Petermann 2002). Mixed neighbourhoods

in particular provide opportunities for interaction, while residential segregation restricts them.

This chapter presents and discusses data that illustrate to what extent residents of urban neighbourhoods in Germany take up the opportunity for intergroup interaction (see also Petermann & Schönwälder 2014). We describe the frequency of different kinds of interactions and analyze the conditions that favour intergroup interaction. Three different kinds of interactions were investigated: encounters in the neighbourhood, weak ties (relations with acquaintances), and strong ties (relations with friends and family members). We can thus offer a multifaceted picture of interactions, something we see as a particular strength of our study (for related results for some forms of interaction see Petermann 2011; Wagner et al. 2006). It is well known that interactions differ in their frequency, their intensity, their functions, and their sites. Nevertheless, not all relevant studies can draw on data that allow a differentiated picture. Network studies tend to ignore the looser interactions that for instance occur in the neighbourhood. Studies of ‘contact’ may in fact investigate different forms of interaction. Comparison is then difficult, possibly misleading, if one study uses data on neighbourhood encounters, and another uses data on close friends.

This chapter begins with a description of neighbourhood encounters and then turns to two forms of network ties. For all three forms of interaction we first outline the frequency of intergroup interactions, understood as interactions between those with and those without migration background. As explained in Chapter 2, whether respondents were categorized as with or without a migration background was decided by the research team, based on respondents’ answers to questions on citizenship, country of birth, and parents’ background. With regard to the backgrounds of the others they interact with, we rely on our respondents’ perceptions.

For all three forms of interaction, we separately present the data for all respondents, for those without migration background and for those with migration background. The latter group is treated as a unit; differentiated results for different immigrant categories are offered in Chapter 7. The description of the frequency of interaction is followed by analyses of their conditions, in particular the role of the neighbourhood context. While the impact of the living environment on the structure of personal

social interactions is at the centre of this chapter, the fourth section offers further analyses of the internal heterogeneity of the networks: We look at socio-demographic and cultural differences and the national origins of the immigrants our respondents have ties with. All analyses in this chapter are based on the first wave of the DivCon panel conducted in 2010.

4.2 Intergroup Contact in the Neighbourhood

The neighbourhood where people live provides different arenas for encounters with co-residents. Main arenas and social frameworks our respondents mentioned in qualitative interviews were the ‘market’, that is encounters as customers in a shop or cafe, the shared apartment building, streetlife, associations, and sometimes school or kindergarten and public transport (on the specifics of interactions in the neighbourhood see Völker and Flap 2007; van Eijk 2010: 237, 118–120, 133–146). Such encounters are further illustrated in the case studies presented in Chapter 5. We believe that the brief and unplanned encounters in the neighbourhood environment form an important part of the meeting of strangers and the lived experience of difference. To capture such everyday interactions, the DivCon survey uses a question about the frequency of talking with someone of a different background in the neighbourhood, if the respondent is a non-immigrant: ‘In your neighbourhood, how often do you talk to people who are themselves not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?’ Or, if the respondent has a migration background, ‘... how often do you talk to people who are native Germans?’¹

By asking about who respondents talk to, we intended to capture interactions above the level of a totally anonymous encounter. The potential impact of the mere co-existence of residents of different backgrounds, who of course also walk past each other in the streets without talking to

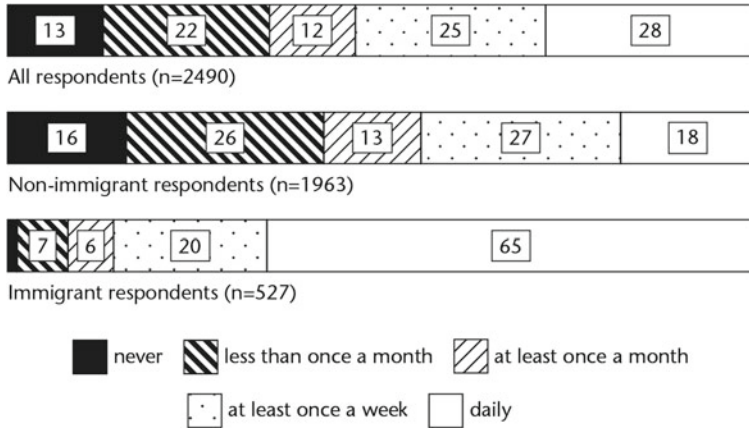
¹The question in the German-language questionnaire was: *Jetzt nochmal eine Frage zu Ihrem Wohnviertel. Wie oft unterhalten Sie sich in Ihrem Wohnviertel mit Menschen, die selbst oder deren Eltern nicht aus Deutschland stammen?* for respondents without migration background. Respondents with migration background were asked, *Wie oft unterhalten Sie sich in Ihrem Wohnviertel mit Menschen, die aus Deutschland stammen?*

each other, is captured in the core context factor of immigrant share in the population. The conversations respondents think of when answering the survey question may include a wide range of interactions, such as the one sentence about the weather they exchange with the newsagent, or a ten-minute conversation with the next-door neighbour. Our qualitative interviews illustrate the wide range of possible interactions, arenas, and social settings. Greetings and short conversations in a shared apartment building, in a shop or café, and between parents of children are frequently reported forms of interaction. As the following quotes (from our own interviews, see Chap. 5) illustrate, such interactions can be more superficial but may also involve some familiarity. For example, a Hamburg resident of Turkish background greets others in the streets who she knows as parents of other children in primary school. At the same time, she emphasizes that these are only acquaintances, not friends: ‘But we have many ... from primary school, where I have contact with the parents: so when you see each other—Hi, how are you?—but these are not deep friendships. They are fleeting acquaintances that come about because of the children’.

A female resident of Frankfurt reports how the regular encounter leads shopkeepers in the neighbourhood to acknowledge and greet her. ‘When I always take the same route, so that when people are there that have a shop, [they] eventually start to say hi and speak to you’. Such repeated interaction may lead to more familiarity. Thus a woman in a Hamburg neighbourhood describes the contact to the immigrant greengrocer as ‘super’. As a regular customer, she knows that his children are successful in school. ‘They are definitely a good example of successful migration. All of his kids go to highschool [*Gymnasium*]. The oldest will soon start to go to university’. In answering our survey question about talking to others in the neighbourhood respondents probably had such different interactions in mind, ranging from just saying hello to having a short conversation.

4.2.1 The Frequency of Intergroup Contact

As Fig. 4.1 illustrates, we find that among all respondents a majority (53 per cent) has at least weekly contact with those of other backgrounds,



DivCon Panel 2010

Fig. 4.1 Frequency of intergroup contact in the area

while about one third (35 per cent) rarely or never have contact with the other group in the neighbourhood. Intergroup interaction is apparently a common experience across German cities.

The opportunities for such interaction differ fundamentally for immigrants and non-immigrants respectively. Immigrants are usually a minority in German urban neighbourhoods, thus they in all likelihood encounter more non-immigrants than immigrants in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. Further, immigrants may have to interact with non-immigrant Germans holding particular positions such as a position of landlord, public servant, bank clerk, or school teacher. This further increases the likelihood of intergroup interaction on the part of the immigrant population. On the other hand, limited German language competences (e.g. of newly arrived or only temporary migrants), short-term residence, and ethnic preferences may restrict interaction. Non-immigrants as the long-term residents may feel less need to interact with newcomers and less pressure to overcome potential negative stereotypes. Because of such differences, we discuss immigrants and non-immigrants separately.

Of all residents with a migration background (those born in another country but Germany or as the children of immigrants), a huge majority

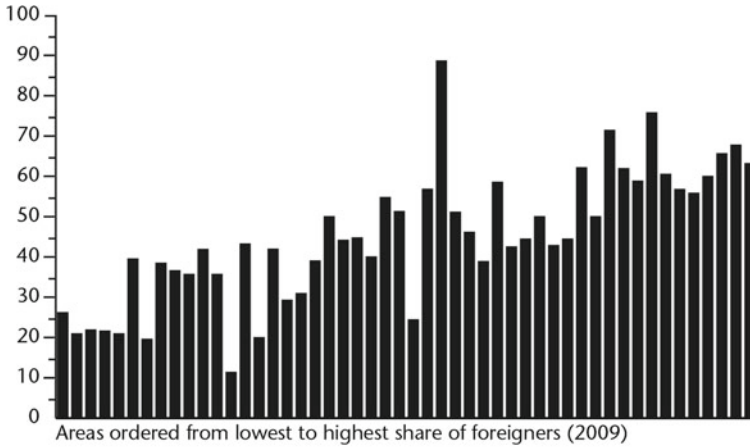
interact frequently with non-immigrants in their neighbourhoods. Sixty-five per cent of respondents report daily contact, a further 20 per cent report at least weekly contact. Given this relatively uniform picture, it is hardly surprising that we do not find effects of the neighbourhood population composition on the frequency of contact.² At the same time, it is remarkable that even where immigrants form a large group they do not prefer to interact with other immigrants or co-ethnics at the expense of interacting with long-term Germans. This runs counter to assumptions of a mainly inner-ethnic social life.

Of residents without migration background, 16 per cent never talk with immigrants in their neighbourhood, about 40 per cent have infrequent contact (at least once a month or less than once a month), but a larger group of 45 per cent have daily or weekly contact with people of immigrant backgrounds. The frequency of contact is not normally distributed (in a statistical sense) but splits the non-immigrant population into two groups: one with frequent and regular cross-group contact and another with very little or no contact.

4.2.2 Differences Between Neighbourhoods

The distribution of those who have frequent contact and those who do not differs considerably and significantly between neighbourhoods (Fig. 4.2). In some of them more than 60 per cent of the non-immigrant respondents state that they have daily or weekly contact in the neighbourhood, while in others only around 20 per cent do this. In principle this is not surprising. Our sample includes areas where only 3 per cent of residents have a foreign nationality. It is not very likely that in such a neighbourhood the, say, 7000 non-immigrant residents encounter one of the 200 immigrant residents on a daily basis or, the other way around, that every immigrant resident chats with 30 or more non-immigrant co-residents every day. Such interaction is much more likely where population shares are more balanced. At the same time, it is subject to controversy whether high immigrant shares indeed go along with frequent intergroup interac-

² $\tau_{ab} = -0.03$ n.s.



DivCon Panel 1010: n=1963 non-immigrant respondents and n=50 areas

Fig. 4.2 Shares of non-immigrant respondents with daily and weekly intergroup contact in the area by share of foreigners in the area

tion. People may well choose not to interact although the opportunity exists. It is well-established that social interaction is also determined by preferences and boundaries (see e.g. McPherson et al. 2001, Mollenhorst et al. 2008, Verbrugge 1977). Further, it is sometimes assumed that the presence of large immigrant groups will provoke fears and withdrawal, or even aggression (see Chap. 1 above).

Our results however show that the existence of opportunities does have positive effects. There is a significant moderate proportional correlation between frequency of out-group contact of non-immigrants and the share of foreigners.³ In the 13 neighbourhoods with the lowest shares of foreigners (under 8 per cent; lowest quartile) 28 per cent of the non-immigrant population have daily or weekly intergroup contact, while in the 13 neighbourhoods with the highest shares of foreigners (above 22 per cent; highest quartile) 62 per cent have frequent cross-group contact.

In a multivariate analysis of the frequency of cross-group contact in the neighbourhood of the non-immigrant population (see Table 4.1), the share of foreigners is an influential variable. Moreover, it is one of

³ $\tau_{u_0} = 0.20$.

the strongest correlations in the estimated model. The strong positive effect of the share of foreigners is significant even when contextual and individual factors are statistically controlled. Of the contextual factors, share of foreigners exerts the strongest influence. Thus our data for the non-immigrant population clearly show that a positive relationship exists between the share of foreigners in the neighbourhood and the frequency of intergroup contact: opportunity goes along with more frequent interaction. For non-migrants in particular, the area context matters, higher diversity levels go hand-in-hand with more frequent interactions.

Throughout this study, we mainly understand diversity levels as the share of immigrants (foreign nationals) in the population. To test whether the presence of the more visible minorities has a greater impact, we also analyzed whether the combined share of Turkish, African, and Asian nationals among the foreign population impacts on the intergroup contact frequency. It may be assumed that boundaries hindering interaction are harsher towards particular immigrant groups, like those who are physically distinct or come from Muslim backgrounds. However, no significant correlation was found.⁴ The national or ethnic backgrounds of the immigrants do not seem to matter for neighbourhood contacts. The four neighbourhoods with the highest shares of Turkish nationals have unremarkable intergroup contact patterns.

Additionally, we analyzed whether, as distinct from the combined share of the immigrant population, the composition of this population in terms of the relative size of the different national-origin groups matters. The term *diversity* is sometimes understood as heterogeneity, that is the presence of many small groups versus one or few large groups. Theoretically, intergroup interaction could be more frequent when groups are small and thus less threatening and less cohesive. However, our analysis shows that a diversity index that measures the mix of foreign nationalities in a neighbourhood is not in any significant way associated with the frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood (on different diversity indices see e.g. Uslaner 2012: 44–48, Budescu and Budescu 2012; our own measure is explained above in Chap. 2). Frequent cross-group

⁴ $\tau_{ab} = -0.02$.

Table 4.1 Multilevel ordinal regression on intergroup contact in the area

Variable	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>				
Share of foreigners (2009) ^a	0.043***	0.006	1.044	6.64
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009) ^a	-0.481	0.535	0.618	0.90
Population size in 1000 (2009) ^a	0.056***	0.016	1.058	3.39
Population density in 1000 (2009) ^a	0.023	0.015	1.024	1.58
Share of unemployed (2009) ^a	-0.006	0.022	0.994	0.28
Contact opportunities in public space ^a	0.151**	0.058	1.163	2.60
<i>Individual level</i>				
Length of residence in the neighbourhood in years ^a	0.003	0.003	1.003	0.86
Time spent in the neighbourhood ^a	0.141**	0.050	1.152	2.83
School, workplace or univers. in neighbourhood (1=yes)	0.543***	0.129	1.721	4.22
Extroverted personality scale ^a	0.183**	0.065	1.201	2.81
Empathy with foreigners scale ^a	0.382***	0.059	1.465	6.44
Identification with the nation ^a	-0.111*	0.054	0.895	2.04
Education in years ^a	-0.013	0.020	0.987	0.63
Occupational status ^a	0.096*	0.043	1.101	2.21
Monthly household income in 1000 Euro ^a	-0.055	0.036	0.946	1.53
Income missing (1=yes)	-0.165	0.120	0.848	1.37
Unemployed (1=yes)	0.573	0.294	1.773	1.95
Age ^a	0.035*	0.017	1.035	2.09
Age squared ^a	-0.000**	0.000	1.000	3.02
Gender (1=female)	-0.106	0.090	0.899	1.18
Household size ^a	0.189***	0.056	1.209	3.37
Household with children (1=yes)	-0.037	0.157	0.964	0.24
Intergroup partnership (1=yes)	0.407*	0.203	1.502	2.01
<i>Intercepts</i>				
Threshold 1	-1.967***	0.098		
Threshold 2	-0.409***	0.084		
Threshold 3	0.209*	0.084		
Threshold 4	1.705***	0.095		
<i>Model statistics</i>				
N _{individuals} /N _{neighbourhoods}	1796/50			
Log-likelihood	-2638.367			
Likelihood-ratio-test against null model:				
χ^2 (d.f.)	256.47*** (23)			
Variance at level 2 (standard error)	0.031 (0.025)			
Intraclass correlation	0.009			

^aMean centered, * $p < 0.5$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

contact of non-immigrants is encouraged by a larger size of the immigrant population, regardless of its internal diversity.

We controlled for several further neighbourhood conditions. Two characteristics of the neighbourhood are also relevant for cross-group interactions: population size and contact opportunities in public space. Size and heterogeneity of populations are classic indicators of urbanism (Wirth 1938). Apparently, the co-existence of large, heterogeneous populations in limited space promotes interaction between immigrants and natives.

Moreover, contact opportunities in public space apparently encourage cross-group encounters. As explained in Chapter 2, we classified the 50 neighbourhoods of investigation according to the extent to which their public space furthers interaction. The multilevel analysis demonstrates that such differences indeed have an impact on the frequency of intergroup interaction (see Table 4.1). This is also confirmed by the case studies presented in the following chapter where we also further discuss what mechanisms may be at work.

Surprisingly, intergroup contacts are not less frequent in neighbourhoods with higher unemployment rates. This finding runs counter to common assumptions; it is often assumed that social deprivation depresses interaction in general and furthers perceptions of competition and thus conflict (see e.g. Letki 2008; Laurence 2011). The fact that our findings differ may to some extent be a consequence of our sampling design that stratifies neighbourhoods according to shares of foreigners and unemployment ratios. We thus deliberately reduced the combined occurrence of high immigrant shares and high unemployment rates (Petermann et al. 2012). Still, we find no evidence that the social status of a neighbourhood is associated with less frequent encounters—deprivation does not seem to lead to withdrawal.

Frequency of contact to immigrants does depend on opportunities for contact in a wider sense. Not surprisingly, those who are more exposed to the neighbourhood because they spend more leisure time there or because their workplace is located there, have even more frequent cross-group contact in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, length of residency turns out to be insignificant. Apparently, loose neighbourhood encounters do not require several years of residence.

Finally, it is likely that individual characteristics, such as attitudes to others as well as forms of life, influence contact rates. We investigated to what extent contacts were selected according to preferences, that are, in this case, negative or positive attitudes to immigrants, as assumed by the homophily thesis. This widely accepted thesis states that individuals prefer the company of others who are like them (see e.g. McPherson et al. 2001). We used a scale of four items measuring how far respondents are willing to take the perspective of 'foreigners'.⁵ The phrasing reflects common usage in Germany of the term '*Ausländer*/foreigners' for immigrants more generally. Empathy with foreigners should go along with more frequent contact to immigrants. Another variable measures in-group identification with the nation, that is a contrasting orientation, which should negatively affect contact with those of other national backgrounds. Our findings show the assumed correlations. Empathy with foreigners is significantly positively related to frequency of out-group contact whereas national identification has a negative effect. As empathy with foreigners has one of the strongest effects in the regression model, we interpret this in the sense that—apart from opportunities—preferences play a strong role in determining the frequency of intergroup contact.

People with higher occupational status more frequently interact across immigration-related group boundaries, but education and income do not affect cross-group encounters. A common explanation in the literature refers to the attractiveness of those of higher status to others who may seek interaction with respected co-residents (Lin 1982, 2001; Erickson 2004: 30).

Age is also an important factor for intergroup interactions. The frequency of contact slightly increases with age in a younger age group and then decreases in particular among older people. Again, this finding is in accord with common assumptions. The elderly tend to reduce their interactions with strangers and may become less mobile (Künemund and Hollstein 2005). Further, the younger generation tends to hold more positive attitudes towards immigrants (Blohm and Wasmer 2008). Differences between age groups may be a result of cohort effects (e.g. older birth cohorts grew up in times when there were hardly any foreigners living

⁵ Respondents were asked, for instance, whether they agree or disagree with the statement 'I generally don't care about the problems of foreigners.'

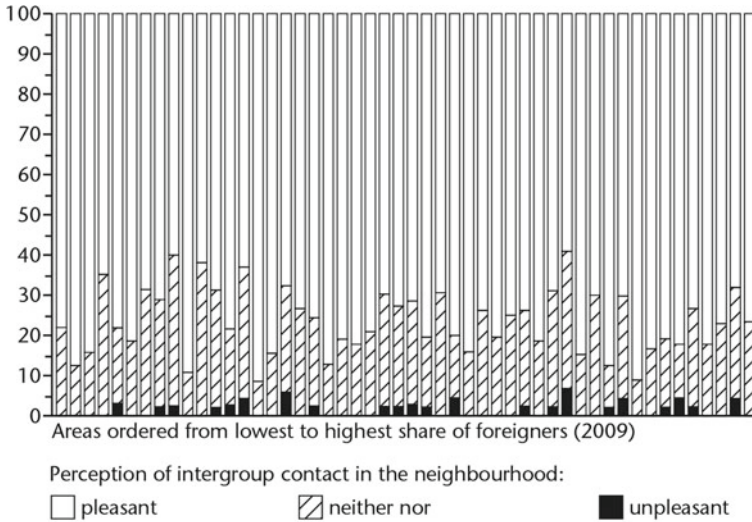
in Germany, limiting the opportunity to get acquainted with foreigners and presumably resulting in stronger negative attitudes towards them) as well as age effects (e.g. as a result of social and political conservatism that increases with age), as Coenders and Scheepers (2008) suggest.

Obviously, interaction may be mediated by other people. Thus, features of the social context of the individuals, such as in our analysis a larger household size and having a partner with migration background, affect frequency of cross-group contact positively. An extroverted personality also stimulates contact.

Analyses with a number of data sources, including DivCon data, have further demonstrated that the context impacting intergroup contact is also constituted by the prevailing behaviour and attitudes of co-residents. Thus, living in a context where co-residents interact frequently across group boundaries, encourages intergroup contact of individuals (see Christ et al. 2014).

4.2.3 Evaluations of Neighbourhood Contact

How do our respondents experience their neighbourhood interactions with those of other backgrounds? Brief interactions might be pleasant or unpleasant, or even confrontational. People have limited influence on who they encounter in the neighbourhood while they select their friends and to an extent also their acquaintances. In order to assess the quality of the neighbourhood encounters, the DivCon survey asked respondents to evaluate their neighbourhood contacts. Here we again use the complete sample of all survey respondents. Somewhat surprisingly, hardly anyone described these interactions as 'very' or 'somewhat unpleasant'. A vast majority of all respondents with intergroup contacts felt positively about these contacts (76 per cent). Twenty-two per cent expressed mixed feelings (or did not state feelings) but hardly anyone described the contacts as unpleasant. We found significant differences between immigrants and non-immigrants; immigrants express more positive evaluations of their cross-group contacts. This is remarkable given that they may experience discrimination in such interactions.



DivCon Panel 2010: n=2142 respondents in n=50 areas

Fig. 4.3 Evaluation of intergroup contact in the area by share of foreigners

In every one of the 50 areas, positive evaluations dominate (see Fig. 4.3). Noticeable differences exist with regard to the share of the undecided who find the contacts neither pleasant nor unpleasant (between 8 and 37 per cent). However, the variation of this category across the 50 areas is not related to any factor investigated in this study, in particular it is unrelated to the share of foreigners.

4.3 Within and Beyond the Neighbourhood: Weak and Strong Ties

An exchange of a few words in the neighbourhood is of course only one possible form of social interaction and may contain superficial as well as more intimate interactions. Consequently, this study also investigated network relations beyond the neighbourhood and aimed to assess the

relevance of the neighbourhood environment for the establishment and maintenance of intergroup ties.

The distinction between weak and strong ties is well-established, especially in sociological research, and goes back to Granovetter's 1973 article, which is still the most influential source on this distinction.⁶ There is an extensive literature on the importance of different ties, for instance with respect to the social capital represented by such ties and their role in easing access to particular resources (e.g. Petermann 2014; Lin 2001). The latter is a particular function of weak ties, while strong ties are more important for providing e.g. emotional support. There is less research on the emergence of ties and on how different forms of interaction are interrelated.

To distinguish the two forms of ties, we used the common criteria of intimacy and regularity (Marsden and Campbell 1984). For strong ties, survey questions referred to 'people you feel very close to. By "very close" we mean people with whom you discuss important personal matters, to whom you have frequent personal contact and who are there for you when you need their help.' For weak ties, respondents were asked about 'acquaintances to whom you have rather loose contact. I am talking about acquaintances with whom you occasionally meet up or speak on the phone, but not close friends with whom you speak about very personal things'. As distinct from intergroup contact, as measured in our survey, questions on weak and strong ties did not specifically refer to ties in the neighbourhood.

4.3.1 Network Size and Share of Intergroup Ties

It is reasonable to assume that the number of people respondents feel very close to is limited and that they know who they are thinking of. We therefore asked for the exact number of strong ties. Indeed, strong-tie networks turned out to be quite small: 45 per cent gave a number of up to five friends, and altogether 80 per cent said they had up to ten friends. Less than 2 per cent refused to answer, and just 1 per cent are isolated

⁶In parts of the literature other categories are used, thus for instance Talja Blokland distinguishes transactions, connections, interdependencies and bonds (2003: 13).

without any close tie. Responses of more than 20 strong ties, in one case even 750 (5 per cent) were considered invalid answers.⁷ On average the remaining 2360 respondents had 7.4 strong ties.

As distinct from friends, we assumed that people are not necessarily aware of the precise number of their weak ties. These typically include colleagues, other members of an association, other parents of children, and so on. Their number is usually larger and the relationships of lesser importance. Weak ties were therefore measured in five categories. The lowest number of 'up to ten people' was chosen by 36 per cent of our respondents, while 31 per cent said they had up to 20 acquaintances. Altogether, two thirds do not have more than 20 weak ties. The frequency rapidly drops in the successive categories: 20 per cent said they had 21–40 weak ties, 7 per cent stated they had up to 80, and 5 per cent they had more than 80 weak ties. Just 1 per cent refused to answer. There is a significant and substantial proportional correlation between the number of strong and weak ties⁸; those with a large number of friends also tend to have more acquaintances.

Intergroup ties are very common. Seventy-nine per cent of the survey respondents have immigrants or non-immigrants respectively among their friends and acquaintances. Twenty-one per cent, or one fifth of the survey respondents, do not have a single friend or acquaintance from the other group.

As can be expected, intergroup acquaintances are more common than intergroup friends. The closer the interaction, the smaller is the share of those having such interactions with someone of a different background. Following the homophily thesis (see e.g. McPherson et al. 2001: 418), this is not surprising—at least if we assume that migration background constitutes a relevant dimension of the similarity people seek in their close associates. However, we also found that the boundary of ethnicity and immigrant background is frequently overcome or irrelevant. More than 50 per cent of all respondents stated that they have at least one friend from the other group. A much greater share of all respondents

⁷A larger fraction of these answers give quite low numbers of weak ties supporting the view that these answers are presumably wrong.

⁸ $\tau_{uv} = 0.30$

(about three quarters) have acquaintances from the other group, that is weak intergroup ties.

The different forms of intergroup interaction are related to each other (Table 4.2). More frequent intergroup contact corresponds with more intergroup network ties. The correlations are moderate and statistically significant. Of the people with daily intergroup contact in the neighbourhood, 89 per cent have at least one intergroup acquaintance, and 75 per cent have at least one intergroup friend. In contrast, among respondents who never talk to people from the other group in their neighbourhood, only 41 per cent have at least one intergroup acquaintance and only 18 per cent have at least one intergroup friend.

If we turn to the association between having intergroup acquaintances and having intergroup friends, we find that it is even more pronounced than the correlations between intergroup contact in the neighbourhood and intergroup network ties. Among the people with intergroup weak ties 62 per cent also have intergroup strong ties, while among the people without intergroup weak ties only 20 per cent have intergroup strong ties.

The finding that positive associations exist between the three measures of intergroup interactions is in line with interpretations in the literature of the friendship formation process as a process in which contact opportunities help transform some strangers into acquaintances, while opportunities and preferences turn some acquaintances into friends (Verbrugge 1977). This general argument seems to be true for intergroup ties as well. The somewhat weaker correlations between intergroup contact in the neighbourhood and intergroup ties compared to the strong relationship between intergroup weak and strong ties can be explained within this theoretical framework: neighbourhoods are one among several opportunity contexts that help transform some strangers into acquaintances. Intergroup ties are also formed in other contexts. For example, working together and joint activities, e.g. in an association or initiative, provide opportunities for intergroup contact and acquaintanceship. In the next section, we will come back to the relevance of different contexts for the existence of intergroup ties.

Table 4.2 Correlations between intergroup interactions

	2)	3)
1. Intergroup contact frequency	$\tau_{ab}=0.347$ $p=0.000$ $n=2449$	$\tau_{ab}=0.350$ $p=0.000$ $n=2410$
2. Intergroup ties as share of weak ties		$\tau_{ab}=0.484$ $p=0.000$ $n=2390$
3. Intergroup ties as share of strong ties		

τ_{ab} Kendall's τ_{ab} , p empirical significance, n number of observations

As in the previous section on neighbourhood contacts, we discuss the intergroup ties of the non-immigrant and the immigrant respondents separately. Figure 4.4 shows the shares of intergroup ties among the weak and strong ties of non-immigrant Germans. A majority of personal networks consist predominantly of homophilous (or within-group) ties. Given that the non-immigrants represent the majority of the population, this is not surprising. And yet, 68 per cent have acquaintances with a migration background. And about 42 per cent have at least one friend whose immigration history they are aware of. About 13 per cent even state that half or more of their friends are immigrants or the children of immigrants. If we take friends and acquaintances together, 75 per cent have immigrants among them, while 25 per cent of the non-immigrant respondents do not have any friend or acquaintance with an immigrant background.

The general picture is also confirmed by other studies. Semyonov and Glikman (2009: 700) report results of the European Social Survey according to which about half of the German population report friendship contacts with immigrants. According to ALLBUS 2006 data,⁹ 59.3 per cent of Germans report contact with 'foreigners' as friends or acquaintances. The different phrasing of the question (foreigners versus people of immigrant background, see Reuband 1989) may explain why the reported level of interaction is lower than in the DivCon survey. Still, here as well, the results show a majority of Germans as having intergroup ties. Rippl

⁹Here for people living in cities of at least 50,000 inhabitants in the Western states including Berlin (comparable to the population of the DivCon panel), own calculations.

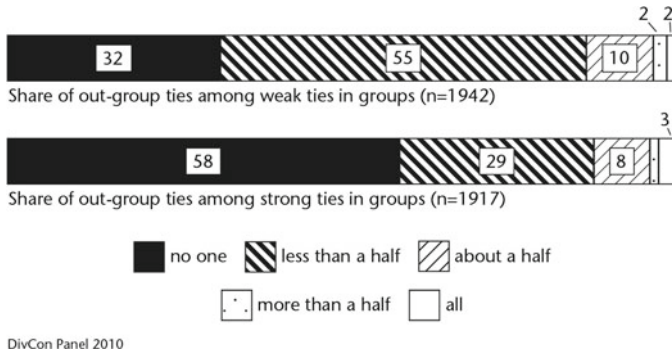


Fig. 4.4 Non-immigrants' intergroup ties as share of weak and strong ties. (Note: Numbers of intergroup ties have been re-calculated as share of the friendship network to allow the direct comparison of weak and strong ties)

(2008: 502) has demonstrated that such interaction has increased over time and that private contexts have become more important than work contexts.

For inhabitants of German cities, having interactions with people of different backgrounds is the norm, not an exception. Apparently, a preference for social similarity is either not the only principle governing such interactions, or the similarity individuals seek in their friends and acquaintances is not always defined along the lines of ethnicity or national origin. However, a trend towards homogeneity (in all likelihood produced by preference as well as opportunity) plays a significant role at the dyad level of strong tie networks as a majority of non-immigrants do not have immigrant friends.

For immigrants it is much more common to have non-immigrants among their acquaintances and friends than the other way around: More than 90 per cent have intergroup acquaintances, and more than 80 per cent have one or more friends among the non-immigrant Germans (Fig. 4.5). Remarkably, one third state that all their friends are non-immigrants, and 70 per cent state that half or more of their friends are non-immigrants. The multivariate analyses presented below further confirm that migration background goes along with a greater likelihood to have intergroup ties. Given the relative size of the non-immigrant and

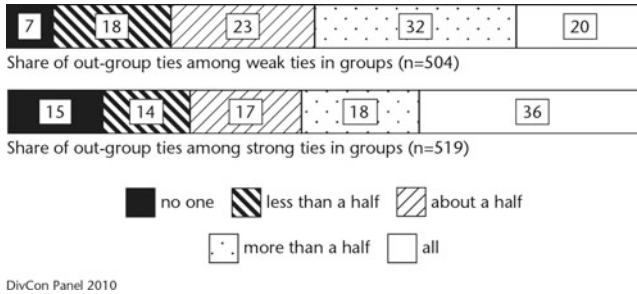


Fig. 4.5 Immigrants’ intergroup ties as share of weak and strong ties. (Note: Numbers of intergroup ties have been re-calculated as share of the friendship network to allow the direct comparison of weak and strong ties)

the immigrant populations in German cities, it is no surprise that the smaller group has more ties to members of the larger group than the other way around. Still, ethnic preferences and hostility (as well as segregated social spaces) may also restrict such interaction. Thus the literature often describes situations in which intergroup interactions do not mirror the numerical composition of the population. In our study, that is in German urban neighbourhoods investigated in 2010, the number of ties extending group boundaries is large enough to underline that separation is not the predominant logic—although we also find that such boundaries do exist and have an impact on social interactions. The multivariate analyses we turn to in the next section shed further light on the determinants of intergroup interactions.

4.3.2 The Relevance of the Neighbourhood Context

In what ways are the weak and strong ties influenced by differences in the neighbourhood context? Here we have to take into account that network ties—as distinct from more superficial social contacts—develop over longer periods of time, thus may not be linked to the current neighbourhood environment. Further, they are established in various opportunity contexts that may not be located in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is only one ‘focus of activity’ (Feld 1981), and not necessarily the most important one.

The DivCon survey included several questions on the relevance of the neighbourhood context for intergroup interactions. Respondents were asked how many of their intergroup acquaintances or friends they had met in the neighbourhood. The survey further included a more general question on the sites where intergroup ties had been established. This latter question included as one option a former neighbourhood. The distribution of the answers to these questions is illustrated by Fig. 4.6.

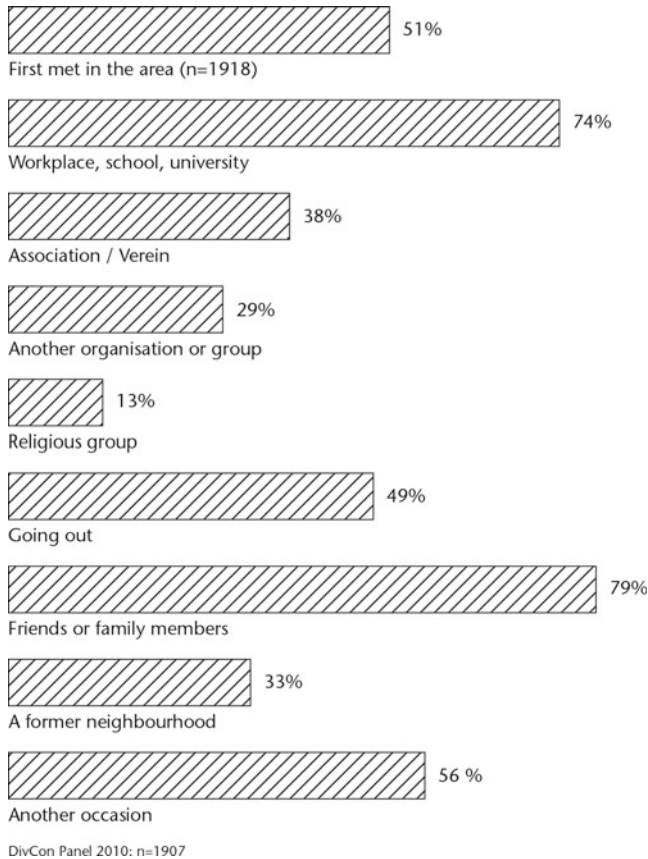


Fig. 4.6 Contexts in which intergroup ties were established

The survey further included a question on the number of intergroup acquaintances or friends currently living in the same neighbourhood.

As the survey results demonstrate, the neighbourhood is a relevant arena for the establishment of intergroup relations. About half of the respondents (51 per cent) said that they had first met at least one of their cross-group friends and acquaintances in their current neighbourhood. A former neighbourhood was mentioned by 33 per cent. Equally, about half of our respondents with intergroup ties had cross-group friends or acquaintances living in the same neighbourhood. With regard to intergroup ties, the neighbourhood is a more relevant spatial context for immigrants than it is for non-immigrants. They are not only more likely to establish such ties there; significantly more immigrants (66 per cent) than non-immigrants (50 per cent) also have at least one such acquaintance or friend currently living close.

Altogether, we found minor differences between areas: the more diverse, the more cross-group ties were established in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods differ significantly with regard to the number of cross-group acquaintances and friends living in the same neighbourhood, but these differences can only to a minor degree¹⁰ be explained by the shares of foreigners in the neighbourhood.

Friends and family—a ‘nonfocus source’ in Feld’s terms (1982: 799)—are the most important intermediary of intergroup ties. This is not peculiar to intergroup ties, rather the transitivity principle is observed for all ties (Mewes 2009: 37). The workplace and educational institutions came out as almost equally important which is not surprising given that they provide an institutional context for repeated, often daily encounters. For 14 per cent of our respondents (and 26 per cent of those who are in employment or education), workplace or school are located in the neighbourhood, meaning that institutional and spatial contexts of interaction overlap. Formal associations and informal groups are of lesser importance than the already mentioned frameworks of intergroup encounters, they may be located within and outside of the neighbourhood. Thus, while the neighbourhood is not the only important context for the

¹⁰ $\tau_{ab} = 0.06$

establishment and maintenance of intergroup ties, it is clearly important, and characteristics of the neighbourhood environment may well impact on the networks of their residents and the frequency of intergroup ties.

We are particularly interested in whether the immigration-related diversity of a neighbourhood has an impact on features of intergroup interaction. First, we investigated whether the size of networks is influenced by the population composition of the neighbourhood. In the literature it is sometimes assumed that personal networks of friends and acquaintances shrink with increasing heterogeneity of the social environment (see e.g. Putnam 2007). Our data does not support this assumption. Inhabitants of more and less diverse areas have similar numbers of strong and weak ties.¹¹ Although the relationship between the number of strong ties and the share of foreigners in the neighbourhood is statistically significant, it is very weak and the least important factor of all significant coefficients in the regression model.¹² These findings for the German context clearly refute concerns of diversity causing social isolation and alienation.

Second, we turn to the relevance of intergroup ties across neighbourhoods with smaller and larger immigrant populations. In a previous section of this chapter we already investigated to what extent neighbourhood contact, that is the looser encounter in the neighbourhood, is influenced by the diversity of the neighbourhood population. Now we investigate whether or not neighbourhood diversity impacts intergroup ties, specifically on whether residents have intergroup friends or acquaintances. We focus on the existence of such ties (not for instance their number) as we hypothesize that a single or first cross-group tie marks an important threshold for people's attitudes and behavior—it outranks any other additional cross-group tie.¹³ Bivariate analyses of the influence of share of foreigners on the existence of intergroup ties in weak and in strong tie

¹¹ In two multivariate analyses on network size (not shown), the regression coefficients between network size and share of foreigners are -0.05 (sig.) for strong ties and 0.00 (n.s.) for weak ties.

¹² It takes a 21 percentage points larger share of foreigners at the neighbourhood level to reduce the strong tie network by one tie.

¹³ In another publication Petermann and Schönwälder (2014) investigated neighbourhood effects on the shares of intergroup ties among all ties. Differences in neighbourhood diversity turned out to have no impact.

networks reveal a slight positive, but very weak, relationship.¹⁴ In the 13 neighbourhoods with the lowest shares of foreigners (this is the quartile with under 8 per cent foreigners), 42 per cent have at least one intergroup friend, while in the 13 neighbourhoods with the highest shares of foreigners (the quartile with a share of foreigners above 22 per cent) 60 per cent have at least one intergroup friend. With regard to acquaintances, the difference between the most homogeneous and the most diverse neighbourhoods is not as large as for friends, 69 per cent and 77 per cent respectively have intergroup acquaintances. Still, in particular the existence of intergroup friendship ties is clearly associated with higher shares of foreigners in the neighbourhood.

But surprisingly, multivariate analyses show that immigrant shares in the neighbourhood population have no causal influence on the existence of an intergroup acquaintance or friend in the networks (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4). Other contextual factors on the neighbourhood level¹⁵ equally do not affect the existence of intergroup ties in respondents' networks. Are characteristics of the city more important? Given that the social lives of individuals in present-day German cities are not restricted to the relatively small areas we define as neighbourhood, this may well be the case. Friends and acquaintances are often found outside of the immediate residential environment. Surprisingly, even the size of the immigrant population in the city is without impact on the existence of ties with immigrants. This may mean that even where immigrant shares are low, enough immigrants are around to allow non-immigrants to establish ties with them.

Thus the multivariate results reveal that weak bivariate correlations between neighbourhood diversity and the existence of intergroup ties point to differences in the social reality, but do not indicate a causal link between neighbourhood diversity and the existence of intergroup ties. Variation in intergroup exposure is very minor in a statistical sense at the neighbourhood level compared to the individual level.¹⁶ Given this

¹⁴ Weak ties: $\tau_{ib} = 0.06$, sig; strong ties: $\tau_{ib} = 0.10$.

¹⁵ We investigated potential effects of the heterogeneity of the foreign population, of the unemployment ratio, and of population size and density.

¹⁶ The intraclass correlations for intergroup exposure in network ties are very low ($p = 0.01$ for weak ties resp. $p = 0.04$ for strong ties in the null models).

Table 4.3 Multilevel logit regressions on the existence of intergroup weak ties

Variable	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>								
Share of foreigners (2009) ^a	0.004	(0.008)	1.004	0.54				
Share of foreigners (2009) [*]	-0.024	(0.023)	0.976	1.08				
Migration background ^a								
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009) ^a	0.040	(0.616)	1.000	0.06				
Population size in 1000 (2009) ^a	-0.001	(0.019)	0.999	0.07				
Population density in 1000 (2009) ^a	-0.005	(0.016)	0.995	0.32				
Share of unemployed (2009) ^a	-0.003	(0.025)	0.997	0.10				
<i>City level</i>								
Share of foreigners (2009) ^a					0.012	0.015	1.012	0.76
Share of foreigners (2009) [*]					-0.054	0.036	0.947	1.52
Migration background ^a								
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009) ^a					0.223	1.821	1.250	0.12
Population size in 1000 (2009) ^a					0.000	0.000	1.000	0.11
Population density in 1000 (2009) ^a					-0.028	0.168	0.972	0.17
Share of unemployed (2009) ^a					0.011	0.054	1.011	0.20
<i>Individual level</i>								
Extroverted personality scale	-0.045	(0.086)	0.956	0.53	-0.045	(0.086)	0.956	0.52
Empathy with foreigners scale	0.278 ^{***}	(0.076)	1.321	3.64	0.280 ^{***}	(0.077)	1.323	3.65
Identification with the nation	-0.163 [*]	(0.072)	0.850	2.26	-0.162 [*]	(0.072)	0.851	2.26
Education in years ^a	0.081 ^{**}	(0.028)	1.084	2.92	0.080 ^{**}	(0.027)	1.083	2.91
Occupational status ^a	0.123 [*]	(0.058)	1.131	2.13	0.125 [*]	(0.058)	1.133	2.16
Monthly household income in 1000 Euro ^a	0.049	(0.056)	1.051	0.88	0.048	(0.056)	1.049	0.85

(continued)

Table 4.3 (continued)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t
Income missing (1 = yes)	-0.031	(0.157)	0.970	0.19	-0.031	(0.157)	0.970	0.2
Unemployed (1 = yes)	0.158	(0.415)	1.171	0.38	0.139	(0.417)	1.149	0.33
Age ^a	-0.016	(0.023)	0.985	0.69	-0.016	(0.023)	0.984	0.71
Age squared ^a	-0.000	(0.000)	1.000	0.60	-0.000	(0.000)	1.000	0.57
Gender (1 = female)	-0.050	(0.122)	0.951	0.41	-0.047	(0.123)	0.954	0.38
Household size ^a	-0.076	(0.075)	0.926	1.02	-0.069	(0.074)	0.934	0.93
Household with children (1 = yes)	0.385	(0.230)	1.470	1.67	0.374	(0.230)	1.454	1.63
Intergroup partnership (1 = yes)	0.905**	(0.323)	2.473	2.81	0.905**	(0.322)	2.472	2.81
Number of strong ties in groups ^a	-0.004	(0.057)	0.996	0.08	-0.004	(0.057)	0.996	0.08
Number of weak ties ^a	0.723***	(0.071)	2.060	10.22	0.727***	(0.071)	2.069	10.27
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood ^a	0.374***	(0.046)	1.453	8.04	0.368***	(0.046)	1.445	8.01
Migration background	1.916***	(0.476)	6.794	4.02	2.364***	(0.645)	10.628	3.67
Intercept	1.022***	(0.133)			0.931***	(0.160)		
<i>Model statistics</i>								
N _{individuals} /N _{neighbourhoods}	2223/50				2223/50			
Log-likelihood	-932.436				-931.754			
Wald test against null model: χ^2 (d.f.)	426.719*** (24)				427.600*** (24)			
Standard deviation at level 2 (standard error)	0.010 (0.092)				0.006 (0.089)			
Intraclass correlation	0.000				0.000			

^aMean centered, * $p < 0.5$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

limited variation between areas, it is difficult to find relevant factors at the neighbourhood level that impact on the existence of intergroup ties in individual's networks.

Between individuals we find more variation. Within our samples of 50 individuals per neighbourhood, we find differences regarding attitudes that favour intergroup interactions (here: empathy with foreigners and national identification) and regarding features of their social lives. The more diverse neighbourhoods are inhabited by more individuals with, for instance, larger networks and more positive attitudes towards foreigners. These characteristics go along with more intergroup interaction.¹⁷

In summary, intergroup ties are more likely for inhabitants of more diverse neighbourhoods. We could not show that this is an effect of the higher diversity. Still, more widespread intergroup ties are a feature of the social reality in the more diverse neighbourhoods. We assume that the more diverse neighbourhoods are to a greater extent inhabited by individuals who are more open to such intergroup interactions. For the more superficial encounters, however, we found that the diversity of the neighbourhood population has a causal influence on the frequency of intergroup contact.

And yet, the environment of the cities is not without influence on the structure of personal social networks in Germany. Above we pointed out that the size of the immigrant population in a city does not seem to impact the existence of ties between non-immigrants and immigrants. We also investigated to what extent different national-origin groups are present in the networks. Asked about the countries their friends and acquaintances originate from, our interview partners mainly named ten countries (apart from Germany). With Turkey at the top, followed by Italy, Poland, and Russia/the Soviet Union, this list reflects the history and reality of immigration to Germany.¹⁸ Furthermore, differences in the

¹⁷Larger networks boost the existence of cross-group weak and strong ties, and looser forms of interaction further stronger forms. Immigrant respondents and respondents with intergroup partners are more likely to have ties across group boundaries. Higher educational levels and higher occupational status enhance the likelihood of an intergroup tie among weak ties. However, social status is irrelevant for the existence of strong intergroup ties.

¹⁸Further countries among the top ten are France, Spain, the US, (former) Yugoslavia, the UK and Greece.

Table 4.4 Multilevel logit regressions on the existence of intergroup strong ties

Variable	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>								
Share of foreigners (2009) ^a	0.011	(0.007)	1.011	1.55				
Share of foreigners (2009) [*] migration background ^a	-0.016	(0.017)	0.984	-0.92				
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009) ^a	0.842	(0.547)	2.321	1.54				
Population size in 1000 (2009) ^a	0.008	(0.017)	1.008	0.45				
Population density in 1000 (2009) ^a	0.025	(0.013)	1.025	1.85				
Share of unemployed (2009) ^a	-0.006	(0.024)	0.994	-0.26				
<i>City level</i>								
Share of foreigners (2009) ^a					0.005	(0.014)	1.005	0.32
Share of foreigners (2009) [*] migration background ^a					-0.030	(0.027)	0.970	-1.14
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009) ^a					2.610	(1.631)	13.600	1.60
Population size in 1000 (2009) ^a					0.000	(0.000)	1.000	-0.57
Population density in 1000 (2009) ^a					0.113	(0.159)	1.119	0.71
Share of unemployed (2009) ^a					-0.078	(0.051)	0.925	-1.55
<i>Individual level</i>								
Extroverted personality scale ^a	0.135	(0.082)	1.144	-1.64	0.138	(0.082)	1.148	1.69
Empathy with foreigners scale ^a	0.316 ^{***}	(0.074)	1.371	-4.27	0.319 ^{***}	(0.074)	1.375	4.32
Identification with the nation ^a	-0.186 ^{**}	(0.066)	0.830	-2.84	-0.202 ^{**}	(0.065)	0.817	-3.08
Education in years ^a	0.032	(0.025)	1.032	-1.27	0.038	(0.025)	1.039	1.55
Occupational status ^a	0.071	(0.054)	1.074	-1.31	0.070	(0.054)	1.072	1.29

Monthly household income in 1000 Euro ^a	-0.028	(0.043)	0.972	-0.65	-0.028	(0.043)	0.972	-0.66
Income missing (1=yes)	-0.118	(0.150)	0.888	-0.79	-0.129	(0.150)	0.879	-0.86
Unemployed (1=yes)	-0.511	(0.310)	0.600	-1.65	-0.508	(0.311)	0.602	-1.63
Age ^a	-0.021	(0.020)	0.979	-1.06	-0.020	(0.020)	0.980	-1.02
Age squared ^a	0.000	(0.000)	1.000	-0.35	0.000	(0.000)	1.000	0.28
Gender (1=female)	-0.030	(0.111)	0.971	-0.27	-0.027	(0.112)	0.974	-0.24
Household size ^a	-0.045	(0.066)	0.956	-0.69	-0.064	(0.065)	0.938	-0.98
Household with children (1=yes)	-0.112	(0.183)	0.894	-0.61	-0.096	(0.183)	0.909	-0.52
Intergroup partnership (1=yes)	1.290***	(0.246)	3.634	-5.25	1.253***	(0.246)	3.502	5.10
Number of strong ties in groups ^a	0.475***	(0.054)	1.609	-8.82	0.475***	(0.054)	1.608	8.79
Number of weak ties ^a	0.137*	(0.053)	1.147	-2.56	0.139**	(0.053)	1.149	2.60
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood ^a	0.281***	(0.044)	1.324	-6.43	0.287***	(0.043)	1.332	6.63
Share of out-group ties among weak ties ^a	0.681***	(0.067)	1.976	-10.10	0.681***	(0.068)	1.975	10.08
Migration background	1.171**	(0.361)	3.226	-3.24	1.408**	(0.476)	4.087	2.96
Intercept	-0.19	(0.114)			-0.241	(0.133)		

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t	Coefficient	Std. err.	Odds ratio	t
<i>Model statistics</i>								
Individuals/Neighbourhoods	2183/50				2183/50			
Log-likelihood	-1079.105				-1079.317			
Wald test against null model: χ^2 (d.f.)	480.012*** (25)				481.487*** (25)			
Standard deviation at level 2 (standard error)	0.044 (0.325)				0.053 (0.271)			
Intraclass correlation	0.001 (0.009)				0.001 (0.009)			

^aMean centered, * $p < 0.5$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

composition of the immigrant population in the 16 cities investigated in this study are broadly reflected in the composition of networks. For example, in Mannheim where 2.6 per cent of the population hold the Italian nationality, more respondents have someone of Italian background in their network than in Bochum where 0.4 per cent of the population hold the Italian nationality (for details see Petermann and Schönwälder 2013). So characteristics of the immigrant population in a city do impact characteristics of individual networks.

4.4 The Heterogeneity of Networks

So far, we have investigated the extent to which social interactions of individuals include interactions with people of a different national background. Obviously, a circle of people individuals interact with can in many other ways remain within group boundaries or cut across them. Networks may be homogeneous or heterogeneous in terms of gender, age, social background, and so on. Below, we briefly investigate to what extent the networks of the respondents to the DivCon survey are in further ways characterised by similarity or difference and ask how this is related to immigration-related diversity. As common in the literature, composition of personal networks is operationalized as heterophily,¹⁹ or differences between the respondent (ego) and the people she or he interacts with (alters). We chose to ask about differences in two socio-structural characteristics (social class and age) and two cultural traits (political views and religious belief). Missing values considerably differ between these two groups: respondents were to a far greater extent confident about the social class and age group of their friends and acquaintances (2 per cent missing values) than they were about their religious and political convictions (11 per cent and 17 per cent respectively). When a significant share of respondents cannot specify characteristics of network members or refuse to do so, this may be interpreted as ignorance. Cultural traits (like religious beliefs) are less obvious than socio-structural characteristics

¹⁹Heterophily and homophily are generally understood as the results of both opportunities and preferences.

(like age). A lack of knowledge also indicates that certain characteristics are less important for establishing and maintaining social ties than others; apparently people do not feel the need to find out.

Heterophily is measured by five categories. We asked survey respondents to estimate the share of network members that differed from themselves, with answers ranging from 'none or very few', via 'about a half' to 'almost all'. Here 'none or very few' indicate that almost all ego-alter-ties are homogeneous. Among those who gave a valid answer,²⁰ 55 per cent said that no or very few friends and acquaintances were of a different social class than the respondent, 46 per cent say so for religious beliefs, 36 per cent for age and 33 per cent for political views. Thus, across dimensions, the extent to which networks are homogeneous differs. At most, 55 per cent of the respondents' personal networks are strictly homogeneous. Ego-alter-ties are most homogeneous with regard to social class and less so with regard to political views. Immigrant networks are somewhat more heterogeneous with regard to social class, but otherwise not distinct from the non-immigrant networks.

Regarding religious beliefs, networks are often homogeneous. Forty-six per cent regard their networks as almost entirely homophilous. This is the second highest value among the four aspects of network composition. What people regard as similar or different is subjective. People may well consider other Christians as having similar religious beliefs or as having different beliefs if they distinguish between e.g. Protestants and Catholics. There are no significant differences between the 50 neighbourhoods in this study. Hence, immigration-related diversity is not a major factor for network homogeneity based on religion.

How are the four dimensions of network heterogeneity discussed above related to immigration-related diversity in networks? Correlations between the two measures of migration background heterophily (weak and strong ties) and the four other measures of heterophily are positive, mostly significant but modest in size,²¹ indicating that various dimensions of differentiation intersect rather than consolidate in personal networks.

²⁰ Here we exclude those who refused to answer or said they did not know.

²¹ tau_b's range from 0.03 to 0.14.

If we analyse whether those with and those without intergroup-ties also have heterogeneous or homogeneous networks in other respects, we find that, indeed, those who do not have any immigration-related intergroup tie also tend to have socially, politically, religiously, and demographically homogeneous networks. Table 4.5 illustrates this: For example, among those without immigration-related intergroup ties, 63 per cent say that none or very few of their acquaintances and friends have religious beliefs that differ from their own (right column). In contrast, among those with intergroup ties only 41 per cent say this.

Our dataset also contains more detailed information about the national heterogeneity of networks. Interview partners in the survey with intergroup ties were asked from what countries these friends and acquaintances originated. Altogether they named 166 countries and regions, but ten countries clearly dominated: Turkey, Italy, Poland, Russia (or the former Soviet Union), France, Spain, USA, former Yugoslavia, the UK, and Greece. Altogether, more than half of the survey respondents have ties to people from at least two different countries. Forty per cent named two to four countries, 20 per cent five or more (for a detailed analysis see Petermann and Schönwälder 2013). This is a considerable diversity.

Immigrants have the more heterogeneous networks, on average they named three countries apart from Germany from which friends or acquaintances originate. Generational differences are also important. Those born since the 1970s have more nationally heterogeneous networks. We interpret this as an effect of both the greater openness of younger people and the increasing diversity of the population of German cities which for the younger generations increased the opportunities to form intergroup ties over the life course.

Altogether, residents of German cities perceive their social networks as in many ways diverse—although in terms of class in particular they are often seen as homogeneous. The ways in which networks are more homogeneous or more heterogeneous are interrelated. Having ties with someone of a different migration background is associated with having ties with people that also differ in other respects from the individuals themselves.

Table 4.5 The heterogeneity of networks

	All (%)	With intergroup tie (%)	Without intergroup tie (%)
Social class	55	52	62
Age	36	34	42
Political views	33	30	44
Religious beliefs	46	41	63

Note: The table shows the share of those who say they have ‘none or very few’ friends or acquaintances whose characteristics or beliefs differ from their own. The lower the percentage, the more heterogeneous are the networks in that respect.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, we could show that frequent interaction occurs between residents of German urban neighbourhoods who have or do not have migration backgrounds. This is true for all three forms of interaction investigated in this chapter: neighbourhood contact, weak ties, and strong ties. Throughout, those with immigrant backgrounds have even more intergroup interactions than those without.

In the neighbourhood, close to half of the non-immigrant Germans talk with fellow-residents of other backgrounds on a daily or weekly basis. Here we have to take into account that the sample includes many neighbourhoods with very few immigrant residents. Throughout, such interactions are experienced as pleasant by the individuals.

We found clear differences between neighbourhoods. To a considerable extent such differences are related to the share of foreigners among the neighbourhood population, demonstrating that opportunities for contact matter. We found no indication of any negative effects of high diversity on neighbourhood contact.

For intergroup ties, that is the more intensive interaction with acquaintances and friends, the relationship with the neighbourhood and city environment is more complex. Again we found that interaction is frequent: only about one fifth of all respondents do not have intergroup ties. In contrast, two fifths of the non-immigrant Germans have at least one friend with a migration background. Our respondents described the neighbourhood as one context in which such intergroup ties are

established. Further, in the more diverse neighbourhoods, more residents have intergroup friendships. But the two phenomena do not seem to be causally related in a direct way. While higher immigrant shares are a factor that leads to more frequent neighbourhood contact, they do not lead to a wider occurrence of intergroup friendships. In Germany at least it may not be unreservedly true that 'residential context [...] structures friendship choices', as Susan Welch and co-authors suggest for the US (Welch et al. 2001: 5). Apparently, the opportunity context of the neighbourhood is less important for the structure of networks than for the more superficial contacts. The observed differences underline that it is indeed important to distinguish between different forms of interaction. Further research should aim to deepen insights into their distinct logics.

5

Five Stories of Neighbourhood, Social Life, and Diversity

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of intergroup interactions and diversity narratives in five of the 50 DivCon areas. The five focused areas were selected because they deviate from (and in one case represent) the general pattern regarding the link between the share of foreigners and the frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood. Two areas show an exceptional frequency of such contact, while in two other areas such contacts are less frequent than one would expect based on the share of foreigners. The fifth area is representative of the overall pattern (see Fig. 5.1). We refer to these areas by their official names when their borders are identical with those of our areas of investigation (Hamburg Sinstorf, Krefeld Schinkenplatz). Where this is not the case, we use our own names (Frankfurt Berger-Ost, Frankfurt Henninger Turm, Hamburg Lindenpark).

In all five areas, we conducted fieldwork in addition to the telephone survey. We thus aimed to achieve additional insights that would strengthen our understanding of how peculiarities in different neighbourhoods might influence the occurrence of intergroup interactions and their interpretation by residents. This chapter focusses on such local

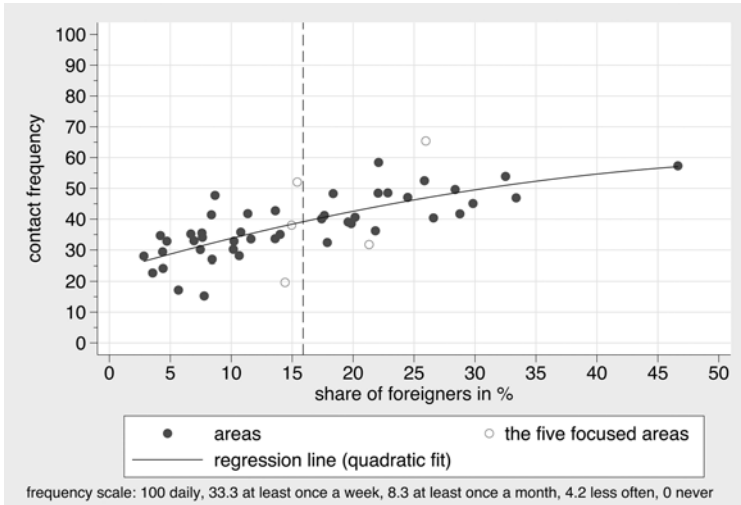


Fig. 5.1 Frequency of intergroup contact by share of foreigners, the five focused areas (Note: The dots represent the 50 areas. Contact frequency is shown as area average, the answers have been converted to a scale from 0 to 100)

peculiarities while a fuller explanation of intergroup interaction is provided by the book as a whole.

We combine the results of the fieldwork and of the DivCon survey (first wave, 2010) in the following portraits. Qualitative fieldwork was conducted between October 2010 and May 2011. Further methodological detail is provided in Sect. 2.1 above. The following five portraits each consist of four sections and a preliminary conclusion: We begin with a description of the neighbourhood's location in the city, general socio-demographic characteristics and the opportunities for contact in the public space.

We then describe how residents view their neighbourhood. This includes motives for living there, positive and negative features of the neighbourhood, and sometimes a diversity narrative, which is an image of the area as marked by its migration-related diversity.

We then proceed to a description of social life and, in particular, intergroup interactions of the neighbourhood's residents. Here we refer to the analytic concept of 'local sociability style' (*lokaler Gesellungsstil*). The concept of sociability style initially had no spatial reference. It was introduced by Vester (1997) for the purpose of analyzing the changing structure of inequality in Germany. Vester defined sociability styles as 'modes of interacting with

relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers' (Vester 1997: 191, own translation). Influenced by Bourdieu, he understood sociability styles as practices of distinction and as a sub-dimension of habitus (Vester 1997: 195). As we do not focus on social inequality here but on differences between neighbourhoods our use of the concept is more limited (see Hennig and Kohl 2011: 136, for a similar use of the concept). It captures particular patterns of initiating and cultivating interpersonal contacts and of negotiating the relation of social closeness and social distance in the public and semi-public life of urban neighbourhoods.¹ As an analytical concept, local sociability style is not meant to include every form of contact and interaction occurring in a given locality. It aims to capture an influential feature of social life in the neighbourhood that reflects both the infrastructural opportunity context as well as the role of the residential environment in many inhabitants' lives.

We identified one particular sociability style we refer to as 'intimate market sociability'. This kind of sociability relies on a certain density of retail and eating establishments in the neighbourhood. Contact is mediated by economic exchange; at the same time, partners in this economic exchange are sometimes perceived as almost friends—the repeated encounter acquires a quasi-intimate character. In emphasizing the importance of economic exchange—and not simply encounters in public space—our analysis is in accordance with findings of Wehrheim (2009) in Germany, Anderson (2011) in the USA, and Hall (2013) in Australia. Anderson argues that sites where food and drinks are served, usually engender an ambiance of social closeness if not hospitality, which transcends the formal hurdles for mutual engagement (Anderson 2011: 31–71; see also Oldenburg 1989, 2000; Lofland 1989: 233).

Two neighbourhoods located in the inner cities of Frankfurt and Hamburg, both of an urban character,—Berger-Ost and Lindenpark—exemplify this sociability style. Both display a high level of intergroup interaction. We believe that this is not just a coincidence but causally related: We suggest that the 'intimate-market-sociability style' encourages intergroup interaction.

Two other neighbourhoods—Henninger Turm in Frankfurt and Sinstorf in Hamburg—are marked by a 'suburban sociability style'. With this term we capture a pattern of limited interaction in an environment

¹ The focus on different qualities of closeness and distance in social contact goes back to sociological classics who understood the varied forms of 'proximity and distance' (Simmel 1992: 765) or the polymorphic balance of 'involvement and detachment' (Elias 2007) as universal features of sociality.

that offers less opportunities for casual encounters than do many inner-city-areas. For residents of such areas, the neighbourhood where they live may not be the centre of their social lives; it may be the location of leisure time spent in private, in the house and garden.² Here, intergroup interaction is average in one case, and rather low in the other.

The fifth neighbourhood in focus—Krefeld-Schinkenplatz—does not fit either of the two sociability styles. While it is an inner-city neighbourhood, conditions for intergroup encounters are not favorable. We interpret this neighbourhood as a special case where deprivation and a negative perception of the neighbourhood on the part of many residents are crucial influences.

In the following five portraits, three sets of factors are identified as impacting on intergroup interactions (a partly similar conceptualization has been suggested by van Eijk 2010: 55):

First, the neighbourhood is described as an opportunity context that shapes interactions via its population composition, but also the socio-physical opportunities to encounter co-residents (in a pedestrian zone, an association....).

Second, contact frequencies in the neighbourhood differ because neighbourhoods differ in their role for the social lives of residents. In some cases, the neighbourhood tends to be a location of retreat to private spaces while a more interactive social life takes place in other spaces. Other neighbourhoods are to a greater extent locations of both retreat and a more public/semi-public social life.

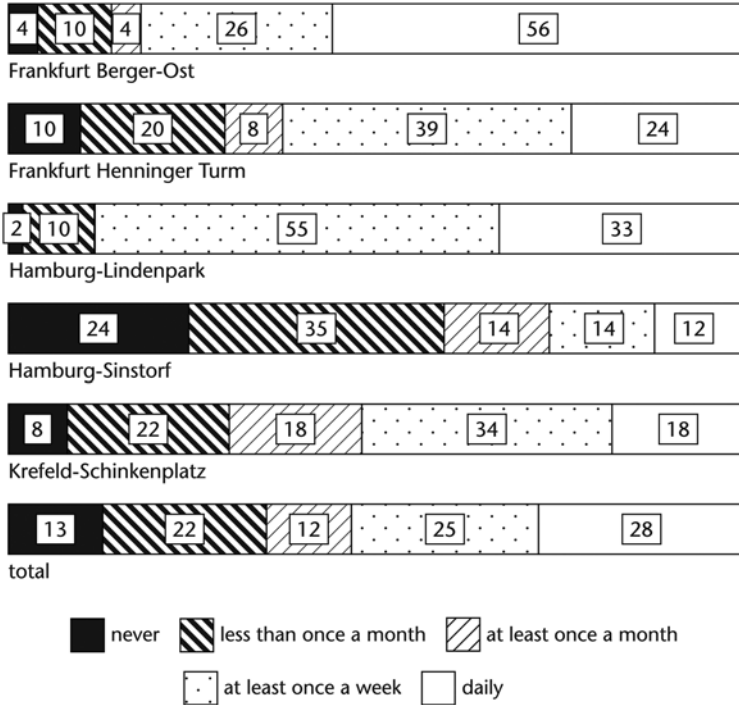
Third, neighbourhood interaction is influenced by the neighbourhood as a narrative, by its residents' perception of it. In two neighbourhoods in particular, we found a neighbourhood narrative that incorporates an image of immigration and immigrants as shaping the neighbourhood. As empirical evidence and theoretical insights of network sociology suggest, such narratives are one factor that contributes to shaping people's openness to intergroup interaction (Fuhse 2012: 645–649; Tilly 2005: 43–51).³

²We do not claim that all suburban areas are marked by such a style. But see also Schäfers (2006: 101) who argues that 'The low communication density and decline in practices or behaviors oriented towards the general public are characteristic of settlements in suburban areas'. Mark Clapson (2003: 16) maintains that suburban life can mean different things in different national and local contexts. See also Menzl (2007) and Baumgartner (1988).

³Schröder et al. (2000: 195) also observed 'that the evaluation and perception of the social space by residents has effects'; Friedrichs/Oberwittler (2007: 462) emphasize the relationship between ties in the neighbourhood and emotional bonds to the neighbourhood.

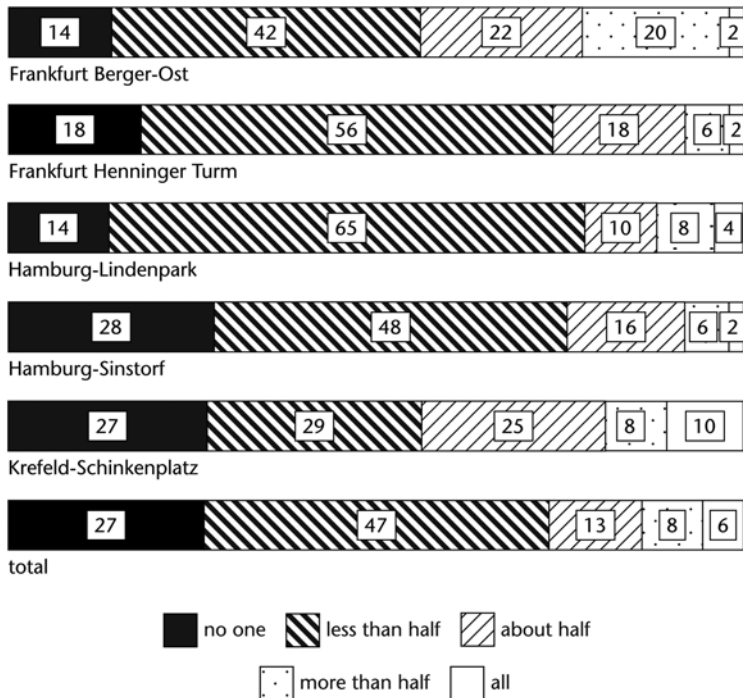
Table 5.1 The immigrant populations of the neighbourhoods (selected groups of foreign nationals as share of all foreign nationals in per cent, 2009)

Nationalities and regions	Frankfurt		Frankfurt		Frankfurt		Frankfurt		All 50	
	Berger-Ost	Turm	Henninger	Lindenpark	SinStorf	SinStorf	SinStorf	SinStorf	SinStorf	neighbourhoods
Turkish	14	12	21	9	39	25				
(Ex)Yugoslav	18	16	12	19	10	13				
Western European	34	29	35	10	21	21				
Eastern European	12	18	11	18	17	18				
North African and Middle East	4	5	5	36	5	7				
Sub-Saharan African	2	2	3	3	3	3				
American	7	6	7	1	1	3				
Asian	10	10	6	4	4	8				
Foreign nationals as per cent of population	26	15	15	14	21	16				



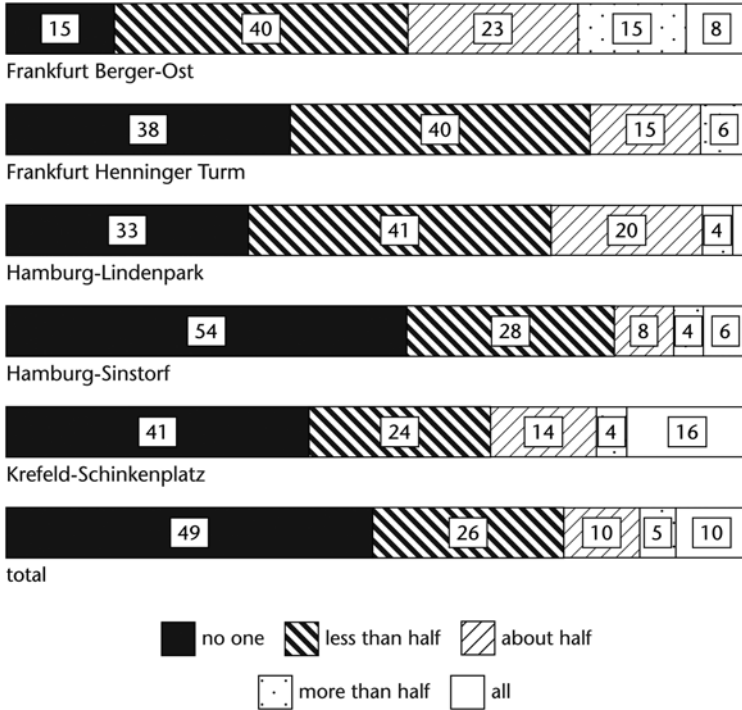
DivCon Panel 2010: n=2490

Fig. 5.2 Frequency of contact in the neighbourhood between those with and without immigrant backgrounds (*Note:* The survey question was, ‘In your neighbourhood, how often do you talk to people who are themselves not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?’) (or: ‘people who are native Germans’)



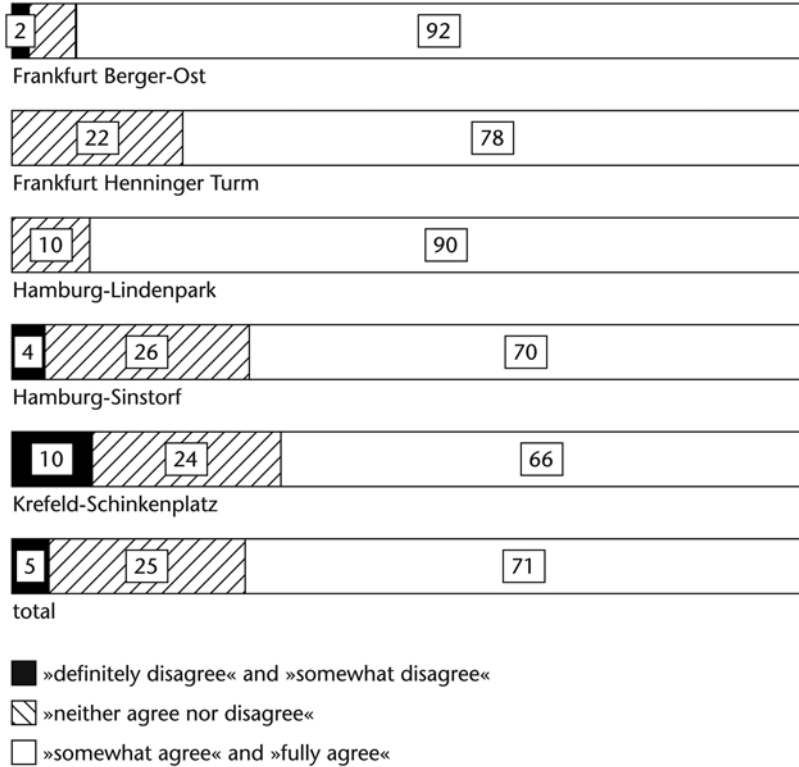
DivCon Panel 2010: n=2461

Fig. 5.3 Weak ties between non-immigrants and immigrants (Note: Respondents were asked how many of their loose acquaintances were not native Germans, or, respectively, were native Germans)



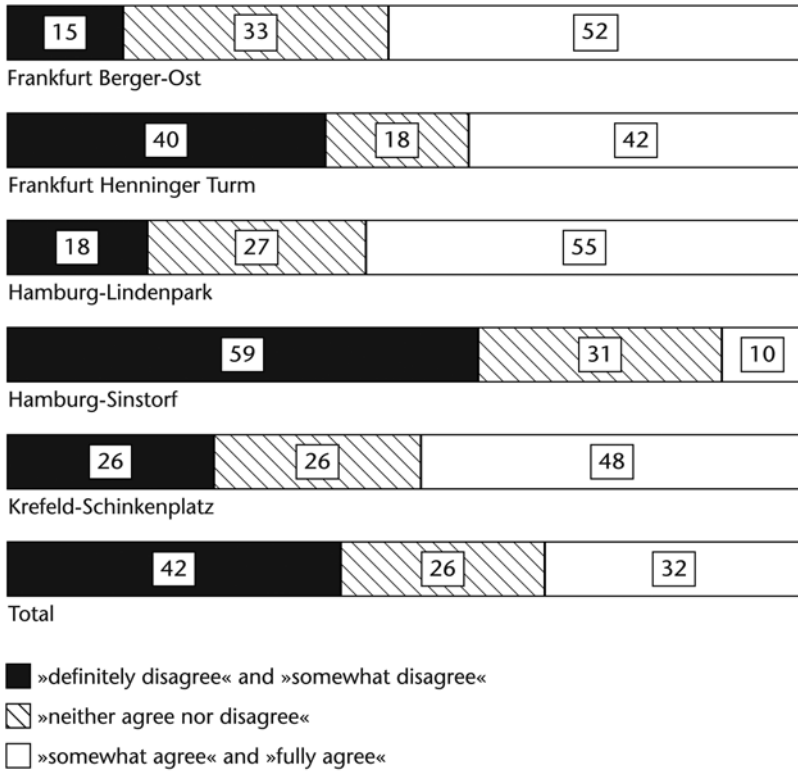
DivCon Panel 2010: n=2461

Fig. 5.4 Strong ties between non-immigrants and immigrants (Note: Respondents were asked how many of the people they feel very close to were not native Germans, or, respectively, were native Germans)



DivCon Panel 2010: n=2496

Fig. 5.5 Diversity enriches (Note: the survey question was, 'It is enriching for a city when the people come from different backgrounds and cultures')



DivCon Panel 2010: n=2471

Fig. 5.6 A right to build mosques? (Note: The survey question was, 'The Muslims living in Germany should have the right to build mosques, including in your own neighbourhood')

5.2 ‘A Good Mixture’: Frequent Intergroup Interactions in a Popular Inner-City Neighbourhood (Frankfurt Berger-Ost)

The following section portrays a neighbourhood in Frankfurt am Main. Among the 50 DivCon areas, this neighbourhood stands out for its extraordinarily high level of intergroup interaction and the positive attitudes of its residents towards various aspects of migration-related diversity. Here, diversity has become a reference point for a local image that centres on the perceived ‘good mixture’ prevailing in the area.⁴

With a population of 690,000 residents, Frankfurt am Main is the fifth biggest city in Germany. The prospering city is situated in the centre of Germany on the river Main. As a hub of international finance and trade and of air- and railway transport, it attracts international employees, tourists, and other migrants (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009a).

The Frankfurt neighbourhood portrayed here—Berger-Ost—is a small inner-city area of 2920 inhabitants. It is part of the *Stadtteil* Nordend-Ost⁵ just outside the Alleenring, a ring road surrounding the inner city, and has two underground stops. It takes only four stops on the tube to get to the city centre, which for cyclists and even pedestrians is not beyond reach. It takes two more stops to arrive at the central railway-station.

5.2.1 Socio-Demographic Features

The social demography of the area shows pronounced migration-related diversity. At 26 per cent, the share of foreigners exceeds both the mean of the 50 neighbourhoods in this study and the corresponding shares in the four neighbourhoods portrayed below.⁶ Within Frankfurt, however, this area is not particularly diverse. One third of the area’s residents have a migration background (Stadt Frankfurt, data provided directly to the

⁴ Compare Ellen Berrey’s (2005) study of a Chicago neighbourhood that shows several similar features.

⁵ Residents often see the area as part of Bornheim, officially the adjacent district.

⁶ Where not indicated otherwise, statistical data are from a database compiled for this project on the basis of the official statistics of the cities for the year 2009.

authors). This is a slightly lower share than in Frankfurt overall (38 per cent in 2009 according to city statistics, see Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009c: 38). About one third of foreigners are West Europeans. Migrants stemming from former Yugoslavia are also relatively numerous (18 per cent), while the share of Turkish nationals is relatively low (14 per cent) (Table 5.1).

In contrast to what one might assume in light of these data, the demographic diversity of the area is not reflected by a pronounced visibility of migration-related diversity. One finds shop and restaurant names as well as door plates that indicate the presence of foreign-born residents. Among others, a stationary shop named *Bayar*, an *Ashtanga-Yoga-Center* and the massage studio *Suksabai* may indicate an immigrant presence. But these could be found in many urban contexts. There is no particular piece of architecture that visibly symbolizes the presence of immigrant groups. Neither a mosque nor a temple stands out from the usual inner-city-landscape. Also with regard to people in public, diversity is not particularly noticeable. We have classified the area as of medium noticeable diversity.

In terms of socio-demographic status, a relatively large proportion of the area's population is of working age (76.9 per cent versus 69.7 per cent in the city) whereas both the share of residents under 18 (11.5 per cent in the area versus 13.4 per cent in the whole city) and the share of residents older than 65 are lower than the respective levels in the entire city (11.6 per cent in the area versus 16.9 per cent in Frankfurt as a whole) (DivCon city-data⁷). The 25-to-45-year old residents account for 48.4 per cent of the population, while in the city as a whole their share is only 34 per cent. Within the area the share of residents who have to resort to welfare payments is smaller than the respective share in the city altogether (8.7 per cent versus 12.6 per cent) (Bolz et al. 2011: 183). These data and additionally the relatively low unemployment rate of 5.1 per cent (all 50 neighbourhoods: 6.6 per cent) indicate that this neighbourhood is inhabited by residents who are not nearly as well-off as the average Henninger Turm resident, but in a much better position than residents in Krefeld-Schinkenplatz. These areas will be portrayed below.

⁷This refers to a database created on the basis of official data provided by the cities. See Annex for further explanation.

A look at the election returns in Nordend-Ost, which is the district our area is part of (in the 2009 Bundestag elections), provides additional details: this area is a stronghold of the Green Party whose share at 28.5 per cent was more than twice as high as in the city overall. The socialist Left also performed better than in the city (11.7 per cent). Although the Social Democrats won a smaller share of the vote than in Frankfurt overall (20.3 per cent), this is clearly a left-leaning district (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009b: 30–31).

5.2.2 Physical Structures and Contact Opportunities

The public space of this area offers good conditions for initiating and cultivating social relations between residents. It is a densely-populated residential area characterized by multi-story buildings (Photos 5.1 and 5.2). The area has 2920 inhabitants. Life revolves around the Berger Straße, a well-known shopping street, which, in contrast to Frankfurt's most impor-



Photo 5.1 A typical residential street in Berger-Ost



Photo 5.2 A large playground adjacent to the area

tant inner city-shopping street, has maintained its character as a site with a relatively high diversity of small and specialized shops. Most important, an open-air market is held twice a week along the pedestrian street that cuts through the area. The relatively wide range of goods offered in shops and at the weekly market is not only oriented towards local supplies but also to people from the adjacent neighbourhoods. Some representative buildings from around 1900 survived World War II. These, and also a variety of local cafés, restaurants and the weekly market, not only contribute to what residents perceive as an attractive ambiance but also serve as an advantageous social infrastructure for daily encounters (Photos 5.3 and 5.4). Furthermore, the Günthersburgpark, which lies just outside of the area but is highly frequented by its residents, offers additional opportunities for spontaneous encounters between residents.

Another noteworthy feature of local social life is the number of civic associations. If we compare the local network of civic associations that covers the area and its surrounding neighbourhoods



Photo 5.3 The pedestrian zone and the market along Berger Straße are busy locations

(*Vereinsring Bornheim e. V.*) with the corresponding network that covers the Henninger Turm area (*Vereinsring Sachsenhausen e. V.*), it becomes obvious that associations located within and around the Berger-Ost area frequently show a commitment to multiculturalism and improved opportunities for immigrants, and thus represent positive attitudes towards diversity. Among others, we find the Spanish Parents' Association (*Spanischer Elternverein Frankfurt-Ost 1979 e. V.*), which supports the school careers of children belonging to that ethnic minority. There is also an association dedicated to neighbourhood assistance (*Nachbarschaftshilfe Bornheim e.V.*), which is located within the area that understands itself as an arena for intercultural contact between children of different origin. Another association supports the labour market integration of young people of different ethnic or cultural origin (*berami berufliche Integration e.V.*⁸).

⁸ <http://www.berami.de/index.php?p=1>; accessed on 9 December 2013



Photo 5.4 The pedestrian zone and the market along Berger Straße are busy locations

5.2.3 The Neighbourhood as Perceived by its Residents

Residents' universally agree in the positive appreciation of their neighbourhood. The positive image of the neighbourhood is captured both in the qualitative interviews and in answers to an open question in our survey on the personal reasons for moving to the Berger-Ost area. Apart from the common references to the availability of an affordable flat, respondents referred to the atmosphere, the quality of living, and the attractiveness of the area. Explicit references to the multicultural character were almost absent; they may be implicit when people referred to a good mixture or the lively neighbourhood.

In explaining what they like about the neighbourhood, residents not only stressed features like the wide array of supplies for everyday needs within immediate reach, or the fact that the neighbourhood is well embedded in Frankfurt's transport system, but they also referred to more subtle features. The neighbourhood seems to offer a certain familiarity with

co-residents and sites combined with the arena of urban heterogeneity. Residents furthermore appreciate the local culture of easy socializing with other people in the neighbourhood.

Asked about the inhabitants of their neighbourhood, roughly four out of five survey respondents referred to migration-related aspects, such as the presence of different nationalities or of *Ausländer* (foreigners). A clear majority of survey respondents described their neighbourhood as being inhabited by long-term Germans as well as significant numbers of immigrants (38 of 49 respondents). Thus, in spite of the relatively modest share of immigrants in the area as compared to Frankfurt as a whole, many residents perceive it as being shaped by the presence of immigrants. Overwhelmingly, they also said that they like this situation. A core feature of portrayals of the neighbourhood is the image of the 'good mixture' that is prevalent here. This came up in many interviews and it is also used in the local marketing discourse. Apparently it is a widely shared image in and of this part of Frankfurt.⁹

What exactly is meant by the phrase *good mixture*? The local trade association (*Gewerbeverein Bornheim-Mitte*) treats the diversity of products and of cultural backgrounds as two sides of the same coin. The following quote from the association's webpage that was accompanied by a photo showing a group of different skin colors enjoying drinks together, exemplifies this:

Home design and household goods, caipi [caipirinha] and Äppler [the typical regional apple wine], organic and vegan food, fair trade, and the market: The mixture is the extraordinary feature of the upper Berger Straße in Bornheim. (<http://www.bornheim-frankfurt.de>, accessed in October 2012)

For residents, a *good mixture* can mean different things. Frequently interviewees voiced that they liked the local mix of old and young, poor and wealthy, and immigrated and non-immigrated residents. Some residents appreciate the presence of co-residents who, from their perspective, do not fit into the mainstream patterns of urban lifestyles and thus rep-

⁹ See for instance Nordmeyer (2000): 19, a history of the area, where it is also portrayed as marked by diversity.

resent otherness. These may include punks, beggars, and those perceived as behaving or being dressed in an unusual way. In the following quote from an interview, three kinds of diversities are narratively combined into what is seen as the local mixture: (a) the manifold variety of goods, (b) social diversity in general (for example sexual orientation and age) and (c) migration-related diversity.

So, what I especially liked, is that this weekly market here runs on Saturdays. The fact that there are many cafés and shops here, the small cinema, [...] and that is just altogether really a nice mixture, I find, amongst the people here There are the traditional Frankfurters, the many foreigners, there are gays and there are...—whatever—younger people, older people, so pretty nice.... I also find the diversity of products that you can find at the market quite nice, the stalls, foreign stalls, the traditional Frankfurters with their stalls and, like I said, this for me, symbolizes the mixture quite nicely that exists here.

The pronounced appreciation of migration-related diversity is particularly tangible when residents (not only the non-migrants) compare their neighbourhood with other neighbourhoods in Frankfurt (and elsewhere) that they perceive as being more homogeneous or characterized by manifest social conflicts. It is also apparent when residents, be they migrants or non-migrants, describe the particular atmosphere or the Mediterranean flair of the neighbourhood during summer: 'If I walk a little further, there are—now I don't know where they come from—many foreigners. And even during summer they meet down there at these park benches. And I find this a quite nice detail. This really has a southern flair.'

But it is not only a possibly nostalgic reference to one's own origin or an expression of the longing to see distant places that makes residents appreciate the local mix. The phrase of the good mixture also includes an evaluation of the immigrant presence, which remains vague. Some residents commented on the absence of spatial segregation, others on the social backgrounds of immigrants.

There is also not a foreigners' corner or a Germans' corner [...]. That is what makes it so good. This is also exactly what has not occurred. If we can

preserve that, this mixture. That is the secret, why it works so well, because exactly this is happening. There are no enclaves, there are no divisions.

From the perspective especially of non-migrants, a perceived higher social status of residents also contributes to the quality of the neighbourhood's mixture. The assumed equality of status or even the apprehension of a higher status of some migrants can counterbalance an otherwise often bad image of groups who form the target of the widespread Islamophobia in Germany (see Kühnel and Leibold 2007). 'Of course you occasionally see Muslims. But the interesting thing is that when you get close enough, you can hear: gosh, they are speaking English with their child. You often hear French, or Italian, too. You hear Spanish. And then, that is of course is a very high-quality mix—if you can put it that way [...] when I do not only hear Arabic or Turkish.'

The image of a 'good mixture' as communicated within the focused area may mean different things to different people. It includes an appreciation of diversity, but sometimes it may also mean 'not too much mixture'. In our interviews, the notions were present that immigrants do not predominate in the area and that residents of long-term German and of immigrant backgrounds share an elevated educational and social status. As it becomes clear in the last quote—the image of a good mixture may sometimes be a cover for the desire to not have neighbours of lower socio-economic status in the area.¹⁰ In other cases it may signify a general appreciation of living with diversity.

5.2.4 Enacting Local Diversity

Given the area's well developed opportunities for encounters, the positive evaluation of the neighbourhood by its residents and, above all, their self-image as being open to otherness, it is not astonishing that the frequency of intergroup contacts in the area is exceptionally high. More than half of its residents (56 per cent) said they have intergroup

¹⁰ However, as Ellen Berrey (2005) argued in her study of a Chicago neighbourhood, even a positive local diversity discourse may push the concerns of poorer residents to the background.

contact on a daily basis; whereas the respective figures of the other focus areas are below this level. Strong intergroup ties (friendship and family-related ties) are also more common among the area's residents than among all survey respondents. Forty-six per cent of the respondents stated that about half or more of their friends had a different migration background; in the survey total the respective share was only 24 per cent. A similar pattern is apparent in the data concerning weak ties (acquaintances). In the focus area, 44 per cent (26 per cent in all 50 areas) of the residents stated that half or more of their acquaintances had a different background than the respondents themselves (see Figs. 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4).

A relatively large number of residents have intergroup ties with acquaintances and family members that evolved in the focus area itself. In all 50 survey areas only 17.5 per cent of the respondents have built about half or more of their intergroup network within the neighbourhood whereas in the focus area the respective share is 43.4 per cent.

High rates of intergroup interaction go along with an exceptionally positive attitude to immigration-related diversity (72 per cent fully agree or somewhat agree that diversity is enriching for a city). Residents did not report incidences of racism and discrimination in our interviews.

We believe that the relatively frequent intergroup interactions in Frankfurt-Berger-Ost can be explained with reference to a particular 'local sociability style'. This is all the more plausible as the neighbourhood plays an important part in the lives of its residents. They often live and work there as well as spend a considerable part of their leisure time in the neighbourhood. The sociability style we find in this particular area can be described as 'intimate market sociability'. As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, one typical feature of this style is that both ego and alter interact not as mutually anonymous opposite numbers who participate in a transient strategic situation or in a situation where everyone aims to avoid a collision when crossing paths. They rather interact as familiar co-residents with some transitional emotional impact but without any further emotional or moral commitment. This sociability style relies on a certain density and quality of commercial institutions

(the market place with its stalls, diverse shops, cafés, and restaurants) and attractive places.

Intimate market sociability also relies on the interplay of repetition and recognition. It is particularly the repetition of transient encounters between client and vendor at diverse public and semi-public spaces of the area that causes cognitive acts and sometimes social interactions of recognition. And it is this repeated recognition which produces familiarity (see also Hall 2013: 57, Wehrheim 2009: 108). The co-resident thus turns from complete stranger into a ‘familiar stranger’ (Milgram 2010) who can then be categorized in a quite intimate way, although actual interactions may still be restricted to the most rudimentary form.¹¹

She is a woman at the cash desk [of the supermarket] who is always unfriendly. It took two years until she greeted me in a friendly way. [...] And I recently saw her in the street—a stunningly beautiful woman. She was really dressed-up. And then you think, ‘Where do you know her from?’. ‘She sits behind the cash register at Aldi.’ But then, dressed somehow different [...]. Things like this just do happen relatively often.

Sometimes the market-related setting of repetition and recognition takes vendors and clients into a situation that goes beyond mere cognitive recognition and turns into actual social recognition. As a focused interaction such social recognition involves personal engagement and sometimes results in a situational friendship. Thus the familiar co-resident can turn into a situational friend.

Attila is also a good example. Attila is the flower vendor over there. He has such a menacing name and he has these flowers [...] At the most, I buy flowers in his shop maybe twice a month. But he always says hello to me. I also say hello to him when we see each other. [...] And now, recently, I was

¹¹ Lofland (1998: 53–59) distinguishes four types of interaction-based relations of residents moving in urban public space while conceiving one another as strangers: fleeting, routinized, quasi-primary, and secondary-intimate relationships. These four types are defined by an increasing impact of emotions and moral commitments. Based on our data we can assume that repetition and recognition can be seen as a mechanism that may principally produce a shift from the first type to the latter types of relation. But in contrast to what Lofland states, our data suggest that already routinized relationships can be emotional although sometimes unilateral.

with my sister and my children at XY. And who was sitting there? Atilla! Also with his wife and his children [...]. And only because of this contact, that I occasionally buy flowers there, we got into a conversation. It was not like: oh, over there is the xyz, no, he was extremely pleased to see me. [...] I really like that kind of thing.

Like Attila, the individuals involved in the exchanges enabled by market-relationships are often residents with immigrant backgrounds. In Berger-Ost, intergroup interactions came up in interviews as mediated by economic exchange, as interactions with shop keepers or cafe owners, as stories of the husband's regular chat with the Iranian newsagent, and so on.

Apart from the entanglement of social roles, which are inherent to both commercial settings and social roles of friendship or hospitality, a further key element of intimate market sociability is the manner in which residents approach their social environment. When they move around in the neighbourhood they are open to observe with fondness whatever appears as social diversity. In this sense, migration-related diversity becomes a kind of walkable picture that can be enjoyed by adopting an attitude in the manner of a *flâneur*—by residents with and without migration-backgrounds alike. Thus a resident with immigrant background told us: 'It is really fun to stroll around on the Berger Strasse, to watch people. Because this is really a totally colourful mixture, young and old, and black, and white, and green. You can find everything.' (laughing)

This openness toward otherness is not restricted to the realm of observing. Residents are also open to spontaneous and direct interactions in the neighbourhood. The purpose is to get pleasurably connected without getting unpleasantly captivated. The transiency is guaranteed by the simple fact that the resident is on his or her way, 'strolling along Berger Straße, you always meet somebody in the summer. It offers various opportunities to get into contact without arranging to meet.'

When talking about local intergroup contacts, not all residents raise personally experienced stories. The way some interviewees touch the topic frequently is rather inadvertently, thus underlining the normality of intergroup contact. As one resident, himself an immigrant, puts it, inter-

group contact can be part of 'transitional encounters in the bakery, with the till girl in the two supermarkets and on the market place'. It is this casualness and normalcy of intergroup contact that is perhaps the most important effect of the intimate market sociability. Thus the intimate market sociability suspends symbolic boundaries that residents living in other neighbourhoods would not cross that easily. Thus a female resident of native German origin told us that once, in a local supermarket, she was able to talk with a Muslim woman wearing a chador. The frame of supermarket sociability and the scripted roles of customers exchanging information about special offers allowed her to ignore the perhaps most contested symbol of Muslim religiosity in Germany. This could also happen in other neighbourhoods. But we assume that once a certain density of market settings has been established, and once intimate market sociability has become a characteristic of residents' routine interactions, such situational boundary-crossings and intergroup contacts become much more probable.

5.2.5 Preliminary Conclusion

In Frankfurt-Berger-Ost, non-immigrants and immigrants practice an 'intimate market-sociability'. The local sociability style around the Berger Straße and the underlying practices, narrations, and perceptions can altogether be seen as social mechanisms that engender normality in contexts of migration-related diversity. It produces normality and unity at the same time. The interaction-based nexus of repetition and recognition helps people get familiar with something different. Furthermore, the local intimate market-sociability brings a certain degree of perceived hospitality and intimacy into interactions of economic exchange, thus helping to generate mutual confidence about contact.¹² The perceived unity of the local not only consists of the genuine commonality of people, things, and events as being altogether different, but relies on the particular *flaneur-style* observation of innu-

¹²This is similar to what Michael Keith describes a 'double interplay between closeness and distance, strange and familiar' (Keith 2008: 193–194).

merable details perceived as embedded into an all-encompassing social atmosphere.

Because of the locally produced normalcy and the social and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood, the conditions for getting into intergroup contact are relatively favourable within the focused area. This helps explain a frequency of intergroup-contact that exceeds frequencies in other areas with a similar share of immigrants. In all probability, the relatively secure social status of most residents and the positive attitude of residents to their neighbourhood, as characterized by its 'good mixture' and diversity, contribute to an openness to interaction (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).

5.3 Neglected Diversity on the Edge of the Multicultural Metropolis (Frankfurt-Henninger Turm)

This section turns to another neighbourhood in Frankfurt, albeit rather different from the one described in the previous section. The neighbourhood has an average level of intergroup contact, although residents often emphasize the absence of immigration here. It represents an example of sub-urban life. The *Henninger Turm* area is part of Sachsenhausen, a district of Frankfurt located across the river Main from the city centre. While the district includes well-known nightlife areas, where apple wine is served, and an area with several museums, the neighbourhood (8900 inhabitants) investigated here lies further south on the edge of the city, between a railway track and the forest. Still, the city centre and busier areas of Sachsenhausen are close, and the area is well connected by public transport.

5.3.1 Socio-Demographic Features

While among the 50 DivCon areas Henninger Turm has an average level of diversity, the share of immigrants there is low in comparison with the city as a whole. In Frankfurt in 2009 38.3 per cent of the inhabitants had

a migration background, but in Henninger Turm this applied to only 22 per cent of the population (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2010b: 19). Fifteen per cent of the area's population did not hold German citizenship. The immigrant population was not dominated by any specific national group. Among foreign nationals, West Europeans made up about one third, and there was a relatively large number of former Yugoslavs.

Diversity is noticeable to a limited extent. Indeed, one of the oldest mosques in Germany is located in the area, albeit not in a very prominent location. Another mosque is run by a Pakistani community. An Alevi-Kurdish association holds larger meetings and events in the area. A sign at a Christian church indicates its use by a Polish-speaking congregation. A range of different restaurants illustrates the international character of the city—rather than the specific diversity of the area. Thus, apart from Italian and Greek places, Japanese, Indian, Thai, and Portuguese are represented (Photos 5.5 and 5.6).



Photo 5.5 As visible to those passing by, a local church is used by a Polish congregation



Photo 5.6 Habibi lounge: commonplace diversity in the Henninger-Turm area

Henninger Turm has an older population than the city as a whole. The share of people under 18 years of age is slightly lower than in the city as a whole (13.6 per cent to 15.8 per cent), while the share of those above 64 is markedly higher (23.8 per cent to 16.9 per cent). The area's population is well situated economically. Based on our survey respondents, the average income here is about 30 per cent higher than the average for all 50 areas and by far the highest of all five focused areas. Unemployment and welfare dependency are low (Bolz et al. 2011: 210). According to an analysis of the city, this is an upscale and superior residential area (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2010a: 25–26). Housing estates lie across the busy Darmstädter Landstraße, apparently a clear divide. 'Evil' (*das Böse*) begins on the other side of the street, a resident told us.

Politically, the neighbourhood population is more conservative than the city. Both the Christian Democrats as well as the Liberals, in the 2009 federal election, received higher shares of the vote than in Frankfurt overall (each +6 per cent) (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009b, 30–31).

5.3.2 Physical Structures and Contact Opportunities

The neighbourhood has a mainly residential function. Still, the physical environment is rather diverse. The northern part is densely built-up, and larger parts are (or were) used for industrial purposes. The Henninger (later Binding) Brewery was located here (but it closed down before our study began), and its tower was, until 2013, a landmark of the city. A major chocolate firm has its offices in the area. In other parts, single-family and multi-family houses are predominant. A big cemetery and garden plots separate the residential areas in the neighbourhood. Altogether, it is unlikely that the neighbourhood attracts people from outside apart from those who commute to work there (Photos 5.7 and 5.8).

The public space offers limited opportunities for casual encounters. Shopping opportunities are concentrated in the adjacent neighbourhood around two local train stations, and in the more central parts of Sachsenhausen. In a more quiet residential part of the neighbourhood, a



Photo 5.7 Typical streets in the northern



Photo 5.8 and southern parts of the area

garden centre serves as a focal point of social interaction, partly because it also sells foodstuffs for daily needs. As one of our interview partners recalls, this communication centre helped him to recruit customers. And a lonely mother visited the garden centre almost every day as the one place where she could at least exchange a few words with other people. Still, particularly in its northern parts, this is an urban neighbourhood with some infrastructure, including bakeries, a pharmacy, post office, hair dresser, and so on. Several restaurants offer a range of international cuisine.

A park is located in the area (Seehofpark) and another with a playground on the edge of the adjacent forest (Goetheturm). Residents frequently mention the parks as sites of recreation, but to a lesser extent as sites of interaction with other residents. Altogether the area does not offer the infrastructure necessary to encourage socialization around economic exchange—as in the ‘intimate local market society’. This is an area where suburban lifestyles prevail.

5.3.3 The Neighbourhood as Perceived by Its Residents

Residents appreciate the proximity of the forest and the relative peace of the area. Responding to our survey question about reasons for moving to the neighbourhood, many residents mentioned that the area was green, close to the *Stadtwald*, a large forest, and relatively quiet. Occasionally people also mentioned that it was close to the city centre.

In the qualitative interviews, people agreed that this is a residential area that does not offer much in terms of entertainment and socializing. A woman who moved there about seven years ago and currently stays at home with a child, describes the character of the neighbourhood as follows:

There is not much more here than houses. There are two churches, a garden centre, and, down at the Mühlberg, a grocery store [...]. There are no nice cafés, where you can go after a walk in the evening. There are only a few restaurants [...]. There is nothing else up here, as far as I know. And that means: most people, as I have come to understand, go somewhere else and then they return [...]. You live here and when you need anything else, you have to go somewhere else.

While this interview partner is quite negative about this limited social life and feels excluded as a relatively new resident and as an immigrant, other interview partners are more positive about the things she describes. Survey respondents do spend a significant part of their leisure time in the neighbourhood, and the qualitative interviews suggest that this may often mean in their house and garden. One interview partner explains that she lives in the neighbourhood because she likes the distance from busier parts of town: ‘Because nature can be reached quickly. We wanted [to live] a bit outside and have tranquillity and not hustle and bustle like down in Sachsenhausen.’

Henninger Turm also stands out among the 50 DivCon areas in that a relatively large number of residents (43 out of 51) perceives the area as homogeneous, that is mainly inhabited by native Germans. In describing the people in the neighbourhood, only 15 out of 51 survey respondents

referred to immigration or ethnic plurality. Ten of those claimed that no or few foreigners lived there. Sometimes this was linked with a reference to the upper middle-class composition of the population. Survey respondents for instance commented:

Mostly Germans live in our neighbourhood. I find that relatively pleasant. It is predominantly upper middle class Germans, and the only district in Frankfurt with a low percentage of foreigners. Likely CDU voters, much older people, and no foreigners...

Similar perceptions came up in several of the qualitative interviews. Those of non-immigrant and of immigrant background agreed that this was not a diverse area, both with respect to immigration as well as to social status, 'It is more of a neighbourhood for members of the middle class people and mainly German co-citizens', a self-employed immigrant stated.

Given that 15 per cent of the area's inhabitants are foreign citizens, and around one fifth immigrants or immigrant children, these are striking perceptions. They may reflect that in Frankfurt altogether, the immigrant share is very high and that in comparison with other districts, the population in Henninger Turm is relatively German. Also, residents seem to refer to the absence of particular immigrants when they claim that no foreigners live in the neighbourhood, namely immigrants of lower socio-economic status and those linked with problems.

Here, there are mainly people who do not qualify as real migrants [...]. Yes, it is a relatively expensive area to live in. The very people who do not earn much money, who work in some factory, they do not live here. Families from Hungary live here, that for example are self-employed or work in places like banks [...] or are doctors, pharmacists, lawyers. They can just as well have a foreign language background or so, but this is not what is identified as the typical migrant.

Residents commented on the absence of concentrated social problems—as existing elsewhere—or a foreigner problem. Asked about co-existence in the neighbourhood, where she has now spent about 20 years, one female resident responds:

Very good. That is actually not a difference here. I mean, we also do not have [...] (laughs slightly) we have very few Turkish neighbours, or anything like that. Morocco, or so, is also not represented. We don't have this tendency. We are more prone to have French or English people or that kind of thing. I directly have a neighbour that comes from Congo. She is fully integrated here.

A resident who runs a much-frequented store and is a somewhat public figure refers to the 'ideal world' (*heile Welt*) up here.

'It is, like, kind of an ideal world up here. I would say, we have here like, the better-off, bigger houses, fewer people per house. Everybody has a car. Anyway, there are very few foreigners, I would just say.

Our immigrant respondents have a neutral relationship to the neighbourhood, in general they do not offer a particular narrative.

The presence of two mosques in the area does not elicit any particular statements on its diversity—much in contrast to Krefeld-Schinkenplatz, as outlined below. The use of a photograph of one mosque as a talking point in the qualitative interviews provoked one harsh negative and a number of more positive and cautiously reserved statements. One respondent, an architect, remarked that the mosque had a well-designed information board, and that he likes the fact that at least a small minaret is present. Another resident has visited at least twice during open days and points out that the community is open-minded (Photo 5.9).

5.3.4 Enacting Local Diversity

Given that residents often describe the area as inhabited by Germans, it is somewhat surprising that they also report a significant level of intergroup interaction in the neighbourhood. Sixty-three per cent have such interactions on a daily or at least weekly basis, a level that is higher than among all survey respondents and is in line with other areas with a similar number of foreigners. Thirty per cent report that they have such intergroup talks in the neighbourhood very rarely or not at all (less often than once a month), which is five per cent below the survey overall. Compared with



Photo 5.9 One of the two mosques in the Henninger Turm area

the other focused neighbourhoods, Henninger Turm takes a middle position with regard to intergroup contact.

Turning to ties in and beyond the neighbourhood, 62 per cent state that they have at least one friend of a different background (+11 per cent compared with the whole survey), and 82 per cent have acquaintances (+9 per cent). The share of those who have a larger number of intergroup friends or acquaintances (about half or more) corresponds with that among all survey respondents.

Other than in Frankfurt's Berger-Ost, residents here do not talk about intergroup interactions in shops or cafes or at market stalls, the area is not marked by a sociability style shaped by market relations. Still, the (partly middle and upper class) inhabitants of the area include several who have international contacts, travel, or work in an international environment. Several interview partners have friends with different national backgrounds and a migration biography. Thus a young academic who works for a bank, in an international environment, remembers that as a youth probably one

third of his friends had a different national background, something he regards as common in Frankfurt. Now he has friends from Iran and Senegal.

Some interview partners were or are employers of immigrants or their landlord. The former and now retired owner of a gardening business employed immigrants since the 1950s, and he presently rents buildings to immigrants of Turkish background. Apparently these work and business relationships did not lead to friendships but at least to loose encounters he describes as pleasant. Another man who runs a restaurant in a different part of Frankfurt emphasizes his positive experience and partly friendship bonds with cooks of Pakistani and Turkish background. He describes how much he enjoys exchanging a couple of jokes or anecdotes when he meets a former cook of Turkish background: ‘That gets your heart going’, ‘that is integration, then’.

In some cases, the neighbourhood played a role for the establishment of such closer ties (a former neighbour, with other parents), but it does not, in any neighbourhood-specific way, shape the interactions or their interpretation.

Other than in the Krefeld neighbourhood portrayed below, interview partners do not bemoan an absence of interaction or the loss of a better past. The non-migrants in particular seem content with their social situation. They do not expect the neighbourhood to provide the social contacts they need. Hardly anyone among our interview partners has a vivid social life that focusses on the neighbourhood. Some are busy in their jobs and prefer to retreat in their limited leisure time. Others go out in the city centre or enjoy the international atmosphere among the crowd spending leisure time on the banks of the river Main. The social lives of residents of the Henninger Turm area, as exemplified by our interview-partners, represent a mode of life that combines aspects of inner-city and suburban life. Some interview partners invest time in activities of a Christian congregation or an association. Here, socializing and organized activities may overlap. The odd immigrant member—of the Catholic Church or the hunting association—is mentioned, but we could not identify any association that plays a major role as facilitator of intergroup interaction. Unlike Frankfurt’s Berger-Ost or the Lindenpark area in Hamburg, associations dedicated to an intercultural encounter do not play a prominent role in the life of the neighbourhood. Encounters

between non-immigrants and immigrants in the neighbourhood occur on a casual basis.

As many interview partners believe that the neighbourhood is on the whole free of immigrants, it was difficult to elicit statements on inter-group interaction. Asked specifically, some referred to neighbouring allotment gardens as a site of encounters: 'No direct and constant contact, but you know each other and say hello to each other'. Another resident talks about relations with neighbours of different national background: 'Our housemates downstairs are foreigners. He is Greek, she is Yugoslavian. It has always been a good relationship, and it will continue to be a good relationship. Altogether, I have never experienced problems up here, or anything that I think was negative. It is the same co-existence as the German with the German.'

Others hold a more distanced attitude. Thus a woman in her late sixties says about the few immigrants who in her view live in the neighbourhood: 'you notice them and that's it'.

'Yes, ok. You just see them. You can see that they are not German, but that's it then. And I wouldn't know why I should say hello to them. For example, some Turk lives over there. And another one I think down there. And they are, after all, young people. I don't have to be the first one to say hello'.

The same woman proudly describes the friendship she and her husband have with a younger German-Turkish couple they refer to as their children. This couple, however, in her view not only emphasizes that they are German, they also strive to behave like Germans: 'They attach great importance to the fact that they are German and live here, and then this is not really a major issue for them [...]. That is what distinguishes them, they live as we Germans live. They are not noticeable. Noticeable by somehow being violent or dealing hashish. That is the big difference with them, or altogether.'

The immigrant interviewees more commonly noted a lack of interaction. A woman who has lived at her present address since the 1970s has no closer relations there. She knows people from seeing them but that's it. Even within the house where she lives, the doors to the individual flats still constitute a boundary that neighbours do not cross. 'But we

always talk at the front door or up in the attic. They talk to me when I hang up my laundry. But that's it, we don't drink coffee together or anything like that. [They] have not just come over [to my apartment] yet.'

Another woman comments that, among the parents at the playground, no-one ever sought a conversation with her. While similar stories are told by several interview partners of Turkish origin in different neighbourhoods, another Henninger Turm resident (of British background) insists that this neighbourhood has a particularly cold atmosphere.

In spite of the neglected presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood and in spite of some harsh statements in the qualitative interviews, residents did not display particularly hostile views towards immigrants or diversity in the DivCon survey. Rather, a high share emphasized the benefits of diversity; no-one explicitly disagreed with this view. Acceptance of the right of Muslims to have mosques where they live was slightly higher than in the survey total as were other attitudes to foreigners.

We met residents who strongly support multiculturalism and a right to live a life of one's own choice. 'Frankfurt, multi-culti. [.....] that's what I love about Frankfurt', a firefighter emphasized. Another resident insisted that integration should not be an issue in a city like Frankfurt: 'We cannot allow stupidity to reign. When Ethiopians are here, they belong here.'

In the qualitative interviews, some older residents nevertheless used a language that is nowadays seen as derogatory. Some voiced rather harsh demands for the adjustment of immigrants. A younger woman, employed in a major international company opined that 'decent behaviour' was crucial for her attitude to others. She did not care about nationality, but rejected 'wrapped-up broads' (*vermummte Weiber*), adjustment was not too much to ask for.

5.3.5 Preliminary Conclusion

Our analysis of intergroup interactions and diversity perceptions in one part of Frankfurt's Sachsenhausen district produced a mixed picture: Its infrastructure does not encourage the casual encounters that are fostered by livelier inner-city neighbourhoods with plenty of opportunities to go

out or wander around. On the other hand, we found a population that is very much part of the international city of Frankfurt in which interaction across borders of nationality or ethnic background is part of everyday reality. Still, the neighbourhood itself is not a major site of such interaction. This is not due to open hostility to those present or harsh residential segregation within the neighbourhood, but to lack of interest. For some non-immigrant residents, immigrant co-residents just do not exist. Immigrants in this case often means the allegedly problematic type of immigrant, those ascribed with deviant or asocial behaviour. The image of the neighbourhood, for many residents, is different from multiethnic, diverse Frankfurt in its ethnic homogeneity and elevated social status. For others, even if they may not share a distanced attitude to at least poorer immigrants, a suburban lifestyle is not conducive to interaction in the neighbourhood. Residents partly practice a suburban lifestyle in which the neighbourhood is the site of retreat and recreation. At the same time, they may enjoy the more urban life that the city centre provides. This is a neighbourhood shaped by its location within, but also on the edges, of the international city of Frankfurt.

5.4 Urban Normality: Unspectacular Coexistence in an Inner-City Area (Hamburg Lindenpark)

This section portrays a neighbourhood in Hamburg. This is an inner-city neighbourhood in which residents are aware of migration-related diversity but do not perceive it as a local feature that deserves special attention. Intergroup interaction is extremely frequent here, and residents like the urban life and its diversity.

The thriving Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (1,734,000 inhabitants) is Germany's second-biggest city, situated in Northern Germany. The area we call *Lindenpark* is part of the Stadtteil Eimsbüttel located in the district that is also called Eimsbüttel. It has 9596 inhabitants. Lindenpark lies on the edge of the inner city and is well connected to the city centre via subway, buses and streets.

5.4.1 Socio-Demographic Features

The Lindenpark area is clearly diverse, but the immigration-related diversity is not particularly pronounced. According to official statistics, 21 per cent of the residents in the larger *Stadtteil* Eimsbüttel have a migration background (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010a).¹³ The share of foreigners in the Lindenpark area is, at 15.4 per cent, higher than in the surrounding *Stadtteil* Eimsbüttel and also slightly higher than in Hamburg overall where it was 14 per cent in 2009. Thus, it is acceptable to assume that about a quarter of the residents of the area are of immigrant background. Among those of foreign citizenship, more than one third have West European passports—a relatively large share—and 21 per cent hold the Turkish nationality. At 12 per cent, those from the states of former Yugoslavia are also a sizeable group.

Diversity is not particularly visible in the area. While for instance Greek as well as Kurdish-German associations are located in the area, and a café exists where men of Turkish background meet, the presence of ethnic minorities is not readily apparent to those walking the streets and looking at buildings, shops, or service providers. We classified the area as being of medium noticeable diversity (see Sect. 3.3).

As in many other inner-city neighbourhoods, a relatively large proportion of the area's population is of working age. Only a relatively small percentage of residents outside this age range live in the area. Individuals under 18 account for 12.1 per cent of the population here, but 15.5 per cent in Hamburg. The share of individuals over 64 is exceptionally low at 9.7 per cent in this neighbourhood, as opposed to 19.1 per cent in Hamburg.

In terms of socio-economic status, the area is marked by relatively low unemployment and modest average income. An unemployment rate of 6.2 per cent roughly corresponds to the average for all 50 DivCon areas. At the same time, the average income in the area is modest compared with the Hamburg average and also in comparison with other DivCon

¹³This is an estimate based on the population register for 31 December 2009.

areas.¹⁴ The fact that only 2.1 per cent of all flats qualify as social (subsidized, rent-controlled) housing (*Sozialwohnungen*), also points to a relative absence of poor people in this area (in all of Hamburg, these flats account for almost 11 per cent of all flats, Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010b: 89). The city of Hamburg considers this as a ‘normal residential area’ (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 2009).

If one looks at the focused area with respect to election returns (the 2009 federal election) and compares results with those of the other four neighbourhoods in focus, one particular feature stands out: A high share of voters voted for centre-left parties (SPD: 24.7 per cent, Grüne: 29.7 per cent, Linke: 18.1 per cent, Piraten: 5.1 per cent) whereas Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, who collectively represented the centre-right spectrum of all parties in the federal parliament, received only 21 per cent of the vote, but 41 per cent in Hamburg as a whole (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2009) (Photos 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, and 5.13).

5.4.2 Physical Structures and Contact Opportunities

This is a residential area with multi-story buildings and some small commercial zones. In the whole *Stadtteil*, only 1.1 per cent of flats are situated in single or double family houses (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010b: 91). Although its housing structure is of high density, the area is very green and in some parts relatively undisturbed by transit traffic. Tree lines alongside streets and bicycle lanes, a green corridor for pedestrians, cyclists and children, and a big park adjacent to the area all contribute to the local green feeling.

At the same time, this is a busy inner-city area with many shops, restaurants and cafes. The public space offers good conditions for initiating

¹⁴The city of Hamburg provides figures on the annual income per tax-payer for 2004. At the time, average incomes in the larger *Stadtteil* Eimsbüttel were about ten per cent lower than in Hamburg overall (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010b: 89). At the same time, the share of those on benefits was also much lower than in the city as a whole. The DivCon survey includes information on the household income of respondents.



Photo 5.10 Typical streets in the Hamburg Lindenpark area



Photo 5.11 Typical streets in the Hamburg Lindenpark area



Photo 5.12 Streets with shops and cafes provide opportunities for encounters



Photo 5.13 Streetlife around a cafe

and cultivating social relations between residents. Encounters may take place in the local shops, which not only offer everyday products but may also to some extent serve as scenery for some flaneur-style-consumerism. Equally important is the range of restaurants and cafés.

Lindenpark also has a vivid civic life, more than 20 associations that are active in the area may offer opportunities for intergroup interaction; some are explicitly dedicated to intercultural purposes. Residents mention FC Sternschanze, a large sports club. Although not located within the area (but in its immediate environment), it attracts both children and teenagers with and without a migration background living in the focus area. Intergroup-ties between footballers and their respective parents may emerge in this context. Another local arena for intergroup contact is an open youth club which, according to a social worker employed there, is visited by local youths of Turkish and—to a smaller degree—ethnically German backgrounds. The club also runs a group for mothers of different national backgrounds.

Two institutions represent activities directly targeting an immigrant clientele. The *Interkulturelle Begegnungsstätte* (Centre for Intercultural Encounter), among other activities offers counselling for local migrants and integration courses. Its clientele is mostly female immigrants. Another centre, located in a neighbouring district, is mentioned by residents, the *FLAKS e.V., Zentrum für Frauen in Altona* (Centre for Women in Altona), that focuses on counselling for recently arrived female immigrants. The effect of the activities of the two latter organisations on local intergroup interactions is difficult to evaluate. We assume that, beyond direct contacts between counsellors and those visiting the organisations, the existence of such associations and centres may contribute to a perception of a normality of the presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood.

5.4.3 The Neighbourhood as Perceived by Its Residents

Residents widely agree on the character of the neighbourhood. With one exception, all our interview-partners liked living here. They described

the area as well connected and lively while also green and quiet. A lot can be done on foot. There exist plenty of good quality activities for children. As the following quote illustrates, interview partners often liked an urban way of life, ‘We live here intentionally. We did not move out with the children, as some people do. We like the mixture here. [...] For one thing of course the centrality, but above all, the mix of people.’ Or: ‘Others like to work in the garden and we like going for a coffee.’

These urbanites may be flâneurs who like the diversity of shops, and unconventional appearance or behaviour may be seen as part of such diversity and urbanity. ‘Well, I am happy every time I go out onto the street, and there just directly across from us is Gloria [a café], where there is always something going on. When any little shops open up or all the other things that you can discover. I am happy about this time and again.’

Terms like *mixture*, *colourful*, *flair*, *lively*, were used to describe the neighbourhood or to explain why residents moved to the area. They referred to different aspects: the shops and restaurants, the socio-demographic composition of the population and occasionally the ethnic diversity. A retired teacher, who has lived in his flat for almost 40 years, appreciates the colourful character of the area as it has emerged in the past 15 years. For him, the area has become more attractive: ‘And multiculti is not a swearword to me, like it is for many others. And because that is the case—from the architecture to the social structure—that is why I feel so comfortable. That is the point.’

Asked about the residents of their neighbourhood, more than 30 of the survey respondents (a relatively large part), referred to migration-related aspects such as the presence of different nationalities or cultures, or of foreigners. About two thirds of survey respondents described their neighbourhood as being inhabited by long-term Germans as well as significant numbers of immigrants. A significant minority perceived the share of immigrants as low. Regardless of these differing judgments, they overwhelmingly also said they liked this situation.

In the qualitative interviews, people did not necessarily, of their own accord, talk about ethnic diversity. It seems that diversity is such a normal feature of life that often does not need to be mentioned. This is equally

true of respondents with and without migration background. Unlike in other featured areas, where the neighbourhood narrative is also a diversity narrative, this neighbourhood narrative does not involve a specific interpretation of migration-related diversity.

When residents described their area in our qualitative interviews, this often involved a story of an area that had so far not been harmed by gentrification. One resident put it succinctly when, after criticizing the perceived gentrification trends, she noted, 'But we hope that the caravan has passed on in ten years'. Here, the rents are still affordable. The area is not seen as being at the forefront of a positive urban trend, like the Berger-Ost area. Still, many residents described the recent development of the neighbourhood as altogether a change for the positive.

5.4.4 Enacting Local Diversity

The level of intergroup contacts in the area is higher than it is in other areas with similar shares of immigrants. Almost 90 per cent of the respondents said they have intergroup contact at least once a week, whereas the number stands at only 52 per cent across all 50 areas. The contact frequency is among the highest of all 50 DivCon areas.

Looking at intergroup ties, we see for the weak ties (acquaintances) as well as the strong ties (friends and family) that the share of those without such intergroup ties is relatively small (14 per cent and 33 per cent). More people have such ties than in other neighbourhoods. At the same time, the share of those with a particularly large number of weak or strong intergroup ties (about half or more of the acquaintances and friends) is not particularly large among our Lindenpark respondents. Further, as a location where intergroup friends or acquaintances were met, or where they now live, the neighbourhood is not of exceptional importance. Here, the area clearly differs from the Frankfurt Berger-Ost area.

Residents repeatedly talked about the fact that people know each other in the area and that, while going about daily affairs, they commonly meet many familiar faces. They did not necessarily comment on the migration backgrounds of these co-residents. Thus one woman, herself of immigrant background and a resident in the neighbourhood since the late

1970s, explains, ‘I grew up here, I feel safe here, because I have so many people that I know [...]. It is very important to me when I am out on the street, and: ‘hello’ here, ‘hello’ there. That is very important to me, it gives me the feeling of security [...]. Because I also worked at the school for ten years, I know a lot of people. That gives me the feeling of warmth and security [*Nestwärme*].’ But the same woman also refers to the limits of intergroup interaction, although she emphasizes the changes over time. In her childhood in the 1970s, housing was segregated and playgrounds were strictly either Turkish or German. This is no longer the case. Today playgrounds are shared and parents say hello to each other, but interaction beyond mutual greetings still does not occur. ‘This is how it is nowadays: when I now go to the playground with my child: “Hello, how are you”, but it’s just not more than that. [...] so, people are friendly, polite, even when you don’t know each other, you say “hello”. They also say “hello”. But when I was a kid, it was harsher.’

The Lindenpark, a park in the area, is mentioned frequently as a space where parents take their children to the playground or where adults play boccia. It remains unclear, however, whether intergroup interaction takes place. As one immigrant interview partner observes: ‘Even though we all speak German very well, I still notice that when you are in the park you sit separately. That, for example, has not changed yet, the Germans and the foreign people sit apart.’

Several interview partners reflected on borderlines. They for instance pointed to privately owned flats as inhabited by non-immigrants and streets where rental housing is located as inhabited by larger numbers of immigrants. A retired teacher who likes to attend literary readings remarked that on those occasions, ‘we are among ourselves’, an effect of educational disadvantage as he believes.

Still, such perceptions of dividing lines co-exist with reports of casual intergroup interaction, and most interview partners also mentioned a friend of a different national background. Such interactions are not linked to only one or two specific spatial or social location(s). One resident has met many acquaintances, including some with African backgrounds, through her children and the football club. Housing does not come up often—several German interview partners live in multi-party houses inhabited only by non-immigrants. Those of immigrant background, however, have

intergroup contacts with immediate neighbours—one woman mentions, for instance, the old lady her family helps with her shopping, another the couple that came to congratulate her on the birth of her child. Some have contacts through work, for instance at a kindergarten.

While it is not the only stage for intergroup contact, the local economy is an important arena for this. Thus we interviewed a Yoga-teacher whose intergroup contacts are mainly with the staff of cafes or restaurants. In his classes, people are middle-class and mostly non-immigrant Germans. But through his interest in music and his professional background, he has friends from Bolivia and India. A woman of Turkish background, who tends to keep to herself, points to a local bakery as being important for her daily life and considers the staff her friends.

Similar to Berger-Ost, the local market economy enables a particular sociability style that we termed intimate market sociability. The example of a retired teacher illustrates once again how such interactions are often marked by a perceived familiarity, if not a situational friendship, between the interacting residents. He has lived in the neighbourhood since 1972 and regrets that he does not have many intergroup contacts. All the more important is his relationship to his newsagent. 'My newsagent, my Iranian news agent[...] you can also talk with him about the situation in Iran and about much more....[But] when we are alone, we sometimes also talk about private issues. I know when he travels to Iran and I ask him about that and so on.'

Whereas hitherto we have limited our analysis of local intimate market sociability to customers, we now proceed to the role of businesspeople, that is those on 'the other side' of the economic exchange. Mr. Zlatar (alias name) runs a cafe within the area. While it is usually the non-immigrant residents who remark on their interaction with 'their' greengrocer or newsagent of a different national background, he represents the less common example of an immigrant who experiences economic transactions as furthering intergroup interaction.

Mr Zlatar spends most of his time in his cafe. As our fieldworker observed, lots of people passing by greet him, and he is well-known in the neighbourhood. Apart from a Bosnian family network, his social life centres on the cafe. The entanglement of family and profession, of work and leisure time is not only due to a lack of time but rather embedded in an encompassing concept that serves as both as model for a way of life and as

a business model. His concept relies on two fundamental pillars, the pillars on which the hotel and catering industry is built: first, the rules of hospitality, which are intimately linked with family and kinship-life (see Pitt-Rivers 2012) and second, rules (and social roles) of the market-economy. In other words, he relies on the fact that those employed in the hotel and catering industry typically act as if they were hosts, and those who are actually clients expect to be treated as guests and sometimes as situational friends. ‘Meanwhile I know everybody here. I am not shy. So everybody is forced to talk with me [laughing]. Of course that is exaggerated. ... But I am always in the mood for having fun, or for a joke. That’s my job.’

Urban sociology categorizes residents like Mr. Zlatar as patrons. Patrons function as a sort a social hub for local interactions and networks. A patron ‘is so at “home” in the setting that in any interaction [...] he proceeds from a position of strength’ (Lofland 1973: 123). As a patron, Mr. Zlatar balances what he conceives as southern-European or Mediterranean cordiality with the instrumental rationality of a businessman. It does not matter whether this southern-European cordiality is authentic or only part of a coquetry, because clichés can be very effective when they are played out well. Thus, Mr Zlatar explained how he employs his Mediterranean friendliness to make the reserved Germans open up to him. The German, he explains, ‘opens up when you knock [on the door] with a certain cordiality and a friendliness. And then we [the Mediterranean people] have won’. To illustrate this interaction, he tells the story of a regular customer.

I have a lady that buys two buns daily here, and then she leaves. And a few days ago she said: ‘Xavier, my husband and I had our golden wedding anniversary’. ‘Oh, that is great’.—‘Yes, but my husband is seriously ill and I wanted to have a big celebration. And in the end we were alone.’ And then her chin started shaking. She had tears in her eyes and then she was gone. Then I said to my staff member: ‘Listen, let’s order a cake for Silke with ‘Congratulations on your Golden Anniversary’ on it, with nice hearts and such. And we will give it to her from the café. On the next day [...] I saw her leaving her house, [I] called my staff member and said ‘stop her, I am on my way. [He] stopped [her]. She was a bit confused and wondered ‘What does Xavier want from me?’ I of course said—as I gave her the cake—I said: ‘This is from my wife, my daughter, my staff member, myself,

for your golden anniversary.’ She burst into tears. ‘May I hug you?’ she asked. That cannot be taken for granted, that you hug somebody that you do not know. ‘May I?’, ‘Of course you may. What of it?’ But that is not normal here—to hug. Where I come from, everybody [gives] everyone you meet for the second time a hug and a little kiss on the left and on the right. ... these Mediterraneans, they are always kissing each other.¹⁵

Mr Zlatar represents an immigrant resident with a very positive and optimistic view of social life. But other residents as well, including those of immigrant background, describe the neighbourhood as tolerant and open-minded. Thus one woman who regularly wears a veil points out that she does not experience any hostility here. ‘When I go there [to another neighbourhood in Hamburg] with my headscarf, then you, even though I grew up there, then you get looked at strangely, sometimes. I have never had that feeling here. The people here are used to seeing foreigners.’

This example suggests that publicly enacting a Muslim lifestyle is part of the normal scenery of the focused area, while in other areas the usual code of civil inattention—a core feature of urban life—may be switched off when confronted with a woman that apparently is both a Muslim and an immigrant.

Our survey results support this picture of widespread tolerance. Hardly anyone among the respondents here agreed to hostile views of foreigners and their presence in Germany. At most, three survey respondents in Lindenpark agreed to hostile opinions as suggested in the survey. Sixty-three per cent of respondents fully agreed that diversity is enriching for a city and a further 27 per cent somewhat agreed. Support for a right of Muslims to build a mosque was also clearly higher than among all survey respondents.

5.4.5 Preliminary Conclusions

The area in focus shows an extraordinarily high rate of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood. Our analysis revealed some clues about the dynamics and structures that contribute to this. This is, first, a public space

¹⁵Names are not real names.

that encourages encounters of residents. Shops and cafés, an attractive architecture and a dense housing structure, interrupted by green spaces, altogether serve as attractive scenery for sociability that is partly mediated through economic exchange—an ‘intimate local market sociability’ as we termed it. Second, we found a generally positive attitude about immigration-related diversity that is obviously a good basis for intergroup interaction as well as its effect. People like the area and often enjoy an urban lifestyle. This goes along with a positive attitude to diversity and to encounters with other residents. Third, a social situation marked by employment and thus social security, albeit on a moderate level, in all probability contributes to a relaxed atmosphere. And yet, the area is not exceptional with regard to intergroup acquaintances and friendships.

5.5 Separate Worlds: A Suburban Area with Little Interaction (Hamburg-Sinstorf)

As in Frankfurt, we portray an inner-city and a more suburban area in Hamburg. The following portrait is dedicated to a suburban area with a relatively low level of intergroup contact. Factors underlying this situation are spatial segregation and a rejection of migration-based diversity by some of the native German residents.

Sinstorf (3370 residents) is today part of the district Hamburg-Harburg and is located on the southern border of Hamburg. Sinstorf lies on the periphery of the city. The city centre of Hamburg is 15 kilometers away and across the river Elbe. Yet, due to the good infrastructure and commuter traffic, Sinstorf is still an integral part of Hamburg.

5.5.1 Socio-Demographic Features

In socio-structural and demographic terms, the neighbourhood is marked by the following features: The share of residents with a migration background is 26.9 per cent (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010c: 214). The share of foreigners in the neighbourhood

population (14.4 per cent) is similar to that in Hamburg Lindenpark and Frankfurt's Henninger Turm. However, the composition of the immigrant population differs from the Hamburg average. A relatively large share of the Sinstorf immigrant residents are civil war refugees, mainly from Afghanistan. Further, unlike in the Lindenpark area, the immigrant population in Sinstorf is concentrated in certain areas. About half of the foreign nationals, about one quarter of the immigrant population, live in one apartment bloc where new immigrants and refugees are housed.

Diversity is barely visible in Sinstorf. The only physical sign of migration-based diversity is a Syrian Orthodox church, built just before our fieldwork, with towers that look a bit different than those of common church buildings in Germany. The presence of foreign fast food chains and Asian takeaways can barely count as expressions of local migration-based diversity, given their omnipresence across German towns. In the context of our area explorations, Sinstorf was categorized as an area with low noticeable diversity (Photo 5.14).

There are slightly more children and youth in Sinstorf than in all of Hamburg. The share of population younger than 18 years in Sinstorf (20 per cent) exceeds the Hamburg average of 15.5 per cent and differs clearly from Lindenpark, where this age class only constitutes a small share (12.4 per cent) of the population. There are almost twice as many households with children than in Lindenpark (23 per cent of all households) and significantly fewer one-person households (38 per cent of all households, 67 per cent in Lindenpark) (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010c: 90, 214).

The social and economic situation in Sinstorf is rather good. The unemployment rate in Sinstorf was 4.8 per cent in 2009 and is markedly lower than the average of 6.6 per cent of all 50 neighbourhoods. The average annual income of Sinstorf residents was on about the average Hamburg level. There is no social housing in Sinstorf (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010b: 213).¹⁶

Based on the results of the German federal elections in 2009, the political orientations here do not differ radically from those in the city.

¹⁶Apparently a housing bloc for more than 250 members of immigrant families does not count as public housing.



Photo 5.14 The Syrian Orthodox Church in Sinstorf

The Conservatives score higher here than in the city overall (+4.5 per cent), while the Green Party has fewer supporters (-3.7 per cent). Yet, it is noteworthy that in the Hamburg state election in 2001, every fourth Sinstorf voter opted for a right-wing populist party (*Partei der rechts-staatlichen Offensive*). This party scored 19.4 per cent in all of Hamburg (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2009). Overall, Sinstorf is a neighbourhood with an average immigrant share and an average socio-economic status.

5.5.2 Physical Structures and Contact Opportunities

Sinstorf is characterized by a markedly high share of single- and two-family houses—almost 60 per cent, compared to 21 per cent in all of Hamburg (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010c: 214).



Photo 5.15 Sinstorf borders on agricultural land

The housing development is separated by green spaces (allotment gardens, sports facilities, two cemeteries, meadows, ponds, and agricultural land) (Photo 5.15). The public space of the studied area does not provide good opportunities for initiating and maintaining contacts among residents. For example, the neighbourhood is separated by two major traffic arteries. Pedestrians and bicyclists can only safely cross the road running from north to south at two traffic lights, which makes this street virtually a barrier between eastern and western Sinstorf. A second thoroughfare running from east to west separates the neighbourhood again. In fact, residents partly perceive this neighbourhood not as a unit, but as separate settlements.

Sinstorf does not have a centre. This assessment is based on our own observations as well as on the statements of many interviewees. Except for a kiosk, there are no stores for products of everyday use. Residents must go to the next neighbourhood or to the Lower Saxony surroundings to find stores (bakeries, butchers, and so on) and supermarkets. Except for branches of international fast food chains and one Asian restaurant, there



Photo 5.16 Fast-food in Sinstorf

are few other venues or meeting points that could facilitate unplanned sociability. There are neither pubs nor cafés. Even pharmacies, post or bank offices are missing (Photo 5.16).

Sinstorf has some civil society structures including a football association, volunteer firefighters, a rifle association, and religious communities, but our qualitative data do not convey the impression that these associations encourage intergroup interaction. In general, it should not be assumed that civil society associations always further intergroup relations. They may also be exclusive. Sports clubs, the Protestant congregation (confirmation classes, scout groups) and the volunteer firefighters offer activities for children. Some residents see the sociability based on children's activities as a functional equivalent of the missing social centre of Sinstorf. 'Sinstorf does not really have an actual local centre[...] I think, [the] kindergarten is a kind of meeting point, [or the] the school. With kids, you basically come together there. You get to know who all lives back there[...], or rather who lives in Sinstorf, because they then

send their kids here. A personal connection can also emerge with the Käfersiedlung [one particular part of Sinstorf], seen from here that lies on the other side[...]. And that is another world.’

5.5.3 The Neighbourhood as Perceived by Its Residents

In Hamburg-Sinstorf, as in other neighbourhoods studied here, one can identify a dominant narrative regarding the residential environment. It reflects the neighbourhood’s geographical position in the city and relates it to conceptions of a good urban life. Many of the interviewed Sinstorf residents favour a life that combines the best of two worlds: Closeness to nature and to the city.

Like in Frankfurt Henninger Turm, many Sinstorf residents answered our open survey question about their motives for moving to this particular neighbourhood with reference to its proximity to nature or the quietness of the area. In the qualitative interviews as well, people frequently emphasized the advantages of living close to nature. They quoted the beauty of the local scenery and—provided that they did not live close to the thoroughfares—the relative quietness of the area. As in Henninger Turm, quietness not only refers to the absence of noise, but, according to some residents, also the absence of social conflicts and threats, which could imperil not only the adults, but especially the children. Such trouble is attributed to other areas of Hamburg.

Daily life in Sinstorf is not to be imagined as a rural idyll, but as that of a suburban neighbourhood. For example, there does not seem to be a rural communal life supported by personal relationships. Rather, there is a certain kind of urbanity due to commuting to the city centre of Hamburg or to Harburg. Residents are aware of the embeddedness in the spatial-functional differentiation of areas of leisure, work, living and sports and the extent of indifference caused by this. ‘Altogether, it really is very calm here in this area. [...] I find, it is close to the city, but still has something of village life, which also partly leads to this safety. Otherwise I must say, I do not myself have much contact to the neighbours. We do say hello to one another, but it has never really come to a conversation.

[...] When I am outside, I am also in a big rush. I jump in the car and then drive off.'

Neighbourhood characterisations are mostly missing references to migration-based diversity—in a positive or negative sense. Sinstorf residents in general answered the open survey question about the people living in their area without referring to foreigners. Whereas for instance Lindenpark residents frequently used *multicultural* to describe their neighbourhood, no Sinstorf resident used this word. Another survey finding shows that this could be due to a misperception of Sinstorf residents. For the most part, they falsely assume that mainly long-established Germans and hardly any immigrants live in their neighbourhood, even though the share of people with a migration background matches the Hamburg average.

5.5.4 Enacting Local Diversity

Compared to other neighbourhoods with similar shares of foreigners, only few interviewees from Sinstorf (27 per cent) say that they have intergroup contact within their neighbourhood at least once a week—in the overall survey 53 per cent state this. This share corresponds to DivCon areas with a markedly lower share of foreigners not exceeding eight per cent. Correspondingly, 59 per cent of the respondents say that they never, or less than once a month, have intergroup contact (entire survey: 35 per cent).

The majority of our Sinstorf survey respondents do not have intergroup friends, at 54 per cent this share is the highest of the five focused areas. More have intergroup acquaintances. The respective share is similar to that in the Krefeld area, but clearly lower than in the Frankfurt areas and in Hamburg-Lindenpark.

In none of the other featured areas, did so many respondents say that they do not maintain contacts with relatives, friends, or acquaintances who live in the neighbourhood and have another migration status than the respective respondents (65 per cent in Sinstorf versus 46 per cent in all 50 survey areas); and in no other areas did respondents get to know so few relatives, friends, or acquaintances with a different migration status in the neighbourhood (63 per cent in Sinstorf met no one there compared with 53 per cent in the Krefeld area). This suggests that Sinstorf residents, if at

all, tend to have intergroup interactions outside their residential district. Indeed, as outlined above, the area offers few opportunities for a shared social life. 'So, I think, if I had no children, then I would have no contacts at all here. If not from school or kindergarten or so, you can otherwise live here without getting to know anybody at all. To go shopping, you get in the car and drive somewhere, to the post office or wherever else. Or when I want to go out to eat or go to the bar, I don't do that here. [...] Of course, you can get contacts, but you have to really search for them, or I have children and through them ... or with a dog. That of course helps too.'

These accounts deal with contacts generally, not specifically with intergroup contacts. According to assessments by local experts (for example a community-oriented police officer and an elementary school teacher), schools and kindergartens are the most important places where migrants and non-migrants meet. Beyond the expert interviews, we do not find any evidence that schools and kindergartens actually embed intergroup contacts among the Sinstorf residents. There is some evidence that the segmentation caused by the missing centre and physical shape of Sinstorf is already part of the structure of the local lifeworld that impedes intergroup contacts. 'The new residential area that you have here, is also intended for people with a migration background. This area is also rather detached. I unfortunately do not know very much about it, because I don't visit it too often, actually I never do.'

For some residents a bus stop is a stage for at least fleeting intergroup encounters. Asked about neighbours she knows, one interviewee with a migration background explains how she knows people. 'Yes, from the bus stop. Sometimes, in the morning, when I miss the bus or something like that. Then she says: "Yes, I didn't make it either. Doesn't matter, there will be another one." This way, we get into a conversation.' She further explains. 'I also know an old man and an old woman. They live here. I don't know the street, but they live a bit further away from here. And I only met them while I was waiting for my bus. I got into a conversation with them and every time I see them I say hello to them and they say hello to me too. [...] I only occasionally meet them here on the street or at the bus stop and then we talk about how we are and what we are doing.'

All in all, despite the difficult conditions for interactions among co-residents, accounts of life in Sinstorf differ. Some of the interviewed peo-

ple with a migration background report contacts and friendships with immediate neighbours. 'The neighbours are very helpful. There are many mothers here, with children in the same age as my children. [...] When my second was born, as soon as I came home in the evening, they rang the doorbell and said, "If you need any help, just ring the bell"'. So, neighbourliness is really just fine. I am satisfied there.'

Interview partners with migration backgrounds also tell different stories and see intergroup relations in a more critical light. Thus one woman told us about a family insulting her in the street and changing to the other side whenever they see her. She further explained,

There [was] also an older man. My little one—she just learned to walk. And he approached me and said, 'We should not give children to this state.' I said: 'I didn't plan to give her away. I wanted to keep her.' Then he said to me, 'You also do not look right'. I said, 'Well, I can't help it'. I didn't know what he wanted from me. Then he said, 'You aren't actually German, are you?' 'Yes, I am', I answered. 'No.' 'Yes, I am.' 'Yes', he said, 'Gypsies and Jews live here, all over.' I said, 'I don't care'. I said, 'I live well here and everyone can...'. But then he followed me. I was really scared.

Quite a few Sinstorf residents hold xenophobic attitudes. For instance, 30 per cent of the Sinstorf residents 'totally' or 'rather' agree with the statement that foreigners are a burden to the welfare state. In Lindenspark, only six per cent agreed, and for the whole survey the number was 20 per cent. Sixteen per cent of the Sinstorf residents agreed with the rather hostile statement, 'foreigners are a threat to the German way of life'. None of the Lindenspark respondents and only nine per cent of all respondents agreed with this statement. On all four items of our survey question, support for xenophobic views was higher in Sinstorf than in the four other focused neighbourhoods. At the same time, even here, the opponents of such views were far more numerous.

The relevance of hostile attitudes is underlined by a history of resistance against the housing of ethnic German immigrants and of refugees in the neighbourhood in the 1990s and early 2000s, a history that is still remembered by residents and alive in the attitudes of some of them. In the early 1990s, the city authorities had set up a container village for



Photo 5.17 Apartment blocks housing refugee families in Sinntorf

ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe arriving in large numbers at the time. Later on, the city government withdrew its plan to further use this provisional shelter, now for refugees. A regular housing bloc was built in another location in Sinntorf; in 2010, that bloc housed more than 250 members of immigrant families (Photo 5.17). One resident who had just moved to the neighbourhood told us that she was shocked when neighbours asked her to sign a petition protesting against this housing project. As another resident remembered, people thought that they had had enough trouble with the *Russlanddeutsche* (ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union) and did not want people from other parts of the world on top of that. An immigrant resident of the controversial housing bloc believes that non-immigrant neighbours continue to hold meetings opposing their presence—meetings to which they do not get invited.

Another indicator of hostile attitudes to diversity in the neighbourhood are reactions to the building of a Syrian Orthodox Church

(Photo 5.14). Initially some people thought a mosque was to be built, and they rejected that. Elderly interview partners in 2010 still held this opinion. When shown a photograph of this church, one woman responded, ‘Oh yes, that is the new mosque. Well, it’s supposed to be a church, but I think it looks like a mosque.’ But we also encountered positive statements to the existence of this religious building. Still, a relatively high rate of rejection of the right of Muslims to build a mosque in their neighbourhood in the DivCon survey is a confirmation that the neighbourhood contains a widespread hostility to immigration and diversity. Only ten per cent supported such a right (32 per cent in the whole survey), while 69 per cent opposed it (42 per cent in the whole survey). However, even here, a clear majority of respondents agreed that diversity is a good thing for a city.

5.5.5 Preliminary Conclusion

Hamburg Sinstorf exemplifies a sub-urban lifestyle where residents seek a quiet life close to nature in their residential environment while they work and go out elsewhere. This is not conducive to intergroup interactions. However, like other urban dwellers, a majority of Sinstorf residents have intergroup interactions and in general terms a majority regards diversity as a good thing.

Altogether, it seems relatively obvious why intergroup contact is less frequent in Sinstorf than in other focused areas. A considerable share of its immigrant residents live spatially segregated from long-established residents. Compared to other focused areas xenophobic sentiments are more widespread here. Yet, this situation is far from being an established outsider-scenario as once described by Elias and Scotson (2002) in their famous study about a suburb that experienced an influx of new residents. The dynamic of the Leicester suburb in the early fifties was characterized by hierarchical intergroup relations arising from stigmatization of newcomers by already established residents. Apart from the above mentioned level of local intergroup interactions and the dominance of a positive view on diversity there are at least two further reasons for the absence of such a dynamic in Sinstorf: First, the established Sinstorf residents

do not possess the necessary power base which has its basis in a strong cohesion among themselves as in-group. Second, through frequent commuting between the local area and other parts of Hamburg, Sinstorf residents experience something similar to what Giddens (1991a: 21–29, 1991b: 17–19) referred to as disembedding—a process that liberates the individual's life-world from its immediate spatial surroundings.

5.6 Distanced Co-existence in a Declining Inner-City Neighbourhood (Krefeld-Schinkenplatz)

We now turn to another city and an inner-city neighbourhood with a high share of immigrants and high unemployment. The co-existence of immigrant and non-immigrant residents is characterized by a distanced mutual acceptance.

The Schinkenplatz area in Krefeld is an inner-city neighbourhood within walking distance of the main train station.¹⁷ A tram and busses connect it with other parts of the city. Krefeld itself is a medium-range city (236,000 inhabitants) in Germany's west, on the western bank of the river Rhine and close to the cities of Duisburg and Düsseldorf. The city has an industrial (textile, chemical, and metal works) and a guest worker tradition, but nowadays labour market conditions are difficult (Job Center Krefeld 2013).

5.6.1 Socio-Demographic Features

In the area (8298 inhabitants), the share of foreigners at 21 per cent is relatively high compared with other DivCon areas and almost double that of the city (11 per cent). In Krefeld as a whole, foreign and German citizens with a migration background together account for 28 per cent of the population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b). The latter figures are not available for smaller areas within the city; an educated guess would put the share of all immigrants in our area between 40 and 50 per cent. More

¹⁷The DivCon area lies between Philadelphiastraße and Sprödenalplatz, and between Oppumer and Uerdinger Straße.



Photo 5.18 One of the mosques in the Schinkenplatz area, seen from the street

than one third of the foreigners (39 per cent) and eight per cent of the whole population in the area hold Turkish citizenship, thus one nationality represents a relatively large share of the immigrant population.

In spite of the high share of immigrants, their presence is not reflected in the neighbourhood by lots of signs, shops, or other marked locations. Still, there is a Turkish green grocer offering halal meat and Turkish men's cafes. And, importantly, the area has two mosques. While these are not prominent buildings (unlike at least one of the three churches), residents are aware of their existence (Photos 5.18 and 5.19).

In terms of the age structure of its population, the area displays no exceptional features. However, in terms of socio-economic status it is marked by a high unemployment rate. At 16 per cent (2009) it is much higher than in the other four focused neighbourhoods. Of 4542 households, more than one-thousand (1058 or 23 per cent) receive benefits (www.krefeld.de). The average income—based on our survey respon-



Photo 5.19 and the actual mosque in the backyard

dents—is much lower than in the other four focused areas. Social deprivation is clearly an outstanding feature of this neighbourhood.

Politically, we find a low turnout in federal elections (2009) in the district—as typical for socio-economically deprived areas—and a relatively high share of votes for Green Party and The Left who, taken together, won 24 per cent of the vote (19.4 in the city) while the Conservative vote was slightly lower than in the city overall (−4 per cent) (Stadt Krefeld 2009: 159).

5.6.2 Physical Structures and Contact Opportunities

Krefeld Schinkenplatz, as the statistical area is called, is a densely built-up residential area with mostly older, pre and post-war two to four-story apartment buildings and some streets with detached family houses. Residents partly perceive the area as one that has experienced a decline.



Photo 5.20 Residential street in Krefeld-Schinkenplatz

This is not reflected in a large number of derelict houses or plenty of litter but prostitution is a noticeable business here (Photo 5.20).

The neighbourhood lies just outside the city ring and borders on an open site where fairs (Kirmes, twice a year) and flea markets (six times a year) are held, features that bring external visitors to the streets of the area. This same area also has allotment gardens and sports grounds. Otherwise, the neighbourhood does not have core areas that invite communication or encounters. There is not much green space beyond an area in front of a church and mainly one wide tree-lined space in the middle of a street. The latter has a playground, and people use it to walk their dogs. There is no pedestrian zone or major square, but a number of shops, kiosks, and more than one supermarket are available. There are several traditional German *Kneipen* (pubs, bars) and an ice-cream parlour. In the *Kneipen*, we observed interaction of locals (people know each other), and noticed that members of associations meet regularly. One *Kneipe* is called *Multi Kulti* to signal, according to the landlord, that it is open to everyone.

Residents mention eating at the *Großmarkt Oppumer Straße*, located at the southern end of the area, a busy location with a Turkish supermarket and international food. Several residents emphasized the importance for the area of the *Spielhaus* [playhouse] *Dießemer Straße*. SpieDie is publicly funded and has one full-time employee. It offers a playground and in-house facilities for children and is used by an ethnically mixed crowd.¹⁸ *Kulturfabrik Krefeld*, a party and concert location, is across the road but does not feature in the interviews as a meeting place.

Two intercultural associations are located in Oppumer Straße. Both the *Fraueninitiative Mosaik* (<http://mosaikrefeld.wordpress.com>) as well as the *Integral Bildungsforum* aim to further the intercultural dialogue between nations and the co-existence of different cultures. Their profiles are not specifically oriented towards the area, but as they are located in it, they are in all likelihood known to residents. Interview partners mentioned that their children attended coaching at the *Bildungsforum*. Possibly, the institutions are known as service providers rather than spaces of a joint neighbourhood life. *Werkhaus*, a publicly funded institution, offers courses for a city-wide clientele. The house has a café and rooms for a range of cultural and educational activities. Interviews suggest that, partly because courses require a fee, its relevance for neighbourhood residents and for intergroup interaction is limited. A *Bürgerverein*, that is an association campaigning for improvements in the neighbourhood, used to be active in the area, but has ceased to exist. The neighbourhood is not devoid of an organized social and associational life. There are lively religious communities, both Christian and Muslim. St. Elisabeth with its *community centre* serves as a focus of social life where city-wide choirs and locally recruited groups of the Catholic St. Georg scouts meet. Residents and others meet in the *Kneipe* of the *church centre* and can use a party room there. Equally, the church of a protestant Baptist community and the two mosques are locations where people don't just attend religious services, but meet socially. A Turkish parents' association and a Turkish mothers' association are located at the address of one of the mosques.

¹⁸ An expert mentioned that in the past, the area had seen heated conflicts involving Kurds, Arabs, and Turks.

Altogether, the public space and infrastructure of the area is not particularly conducive to interaction, nonetheless the neighbourhood has the life of a poorer inner city area where some infrastructure is available and where men meet in the streets to talk and smoke together.

5.6.3 The Neighbourhood as Perceived by Its Residents

When asked why they live in the area, residents mainly mentioned the centrality of the area—or simply that an affordable (suitable, nice) flat was available. Here, diversity did not come up as a positive or negative feature of the area, only one respondent pointed at the rarity of headscarves. Apart from pragmatic considerations, few positive features of the neighbourhood come up. Residency in the neighbourhood is shorter than in other DivCon areas, although even here more than half of those interviewed in the survey had lived there for at least ten years. People also tend to spend a relatively small part of their leisure time in the neighbourhood.

Survey respondents were divided on whether few or many immigrants lived in the area. Answering a further question on whether the neighbourhood's residents were quite diverse or rather similar, and in what ways (the latter was an open question), people described their co-residents in terms of social as well as immigration-related characteristics. Respondents mentioned the presence of many recipients of benefits or the co-existence of people of different status. Twenty-five out of 46 respondents referred to the presence of immigrants, mostly in a matter-of-fact way.

In the narratives of the area and its social life, a pattern of distanced co-existence is dominant. Apart from that, residents do not agree in their perceptions of the area. The narratives have three different versions. There is a narrative of decline, in which immigration forms part of a set of negative developments. Second, there is a more positive narrative of urban diversity. And third, among immigrant residents, distanced co-existence is interpreted as rejection and hostility. Immigration-related diversity is clearly present in the neighbourhood narratives of the qualitative interviews—but not always in the same way.

Negative trends are described with reference to an imagined past that—as often in biographical interviews—may be located in the childhood of the interview partners. This past was usually better than the present. Thus a social worker, resident in the area for 45 years, bemoans the growing anonymity, the decline of associational life, loitering youths. ‘This did not happen in past times. Back then it was the children from the neighbourhood. And it is now obviously massively Turkish boys hanging around, Russian boys hanging around with the girls from the area. And this was also different back then. This is far from being normal. [...] We have large mosques here. [...] This does leave a clear impression. Not in the sense of being unpleasant, [...] but things have changed, and contact is just not there in this way. I would to some extent call it a decline that the neighbourhood is experiencing. The atmosphere of comfort [*Gemütlichkeit*] is to some extent gone.’

A couple in their mid-50s, the man resident in the area since his childhood, emphasized how fundamentally the area has changed. Their narrative includes the disappearance of small shops unable to compete with the ‘Turkish Kiosks’, a primary school full of foreigners and cultural transformation. According to the female interview partner, ‘The primary school by the Elisabeth Church, where our children went, ... that used to be a school, there was then maybe a gypsy boy or two Turkish girls in there. These are schools that are filled with foreigners today, which I personally am not against. But they have a different mindset. They have a different religion. There is, for example no longer such a thing as a Saint Martin’s procession here’. Her husband expanded, ‘the culture is gone.’ Then she replied, ‘because this is a very strong cultural rupture, that is now extreme in this neighbourhood. If you go down the Seidenstraße, a bit further, you are standing in little Istanbul. That’s what they say here. Because it is almost completely Turkish there. Like I said, I don’t have anything against these people, but as a result things have changed a lot.’

While here contempt, possibly hostility, or even racism are openly expressed, the perception of change and decline is shared by residents who do not express anti-immigrant views. Two younger women, both in the area since their childhood, one of Turkish and one of non-immigrant background, equally point at a grown anonymity. Immigrant residents expressed their unease with the amount of dirt, in particular dog droppings, and—

unspeakable for them—prostitution.¹⁹ This is clearly informed by strongly religious attitudes. But the presence of prostitution is noted more generally and is unquestionably a major topic among residents. Interview partners also point at the disappearance of local shops and *Kneipen*, although several of the latter still exist. Surprisingly, even immigrant residents themselves link a perceived decline with a presence of large numbers of foreigners.

A second narrative describes the area as urban and vibrant. Immigration-related diversity is part of this urbanity and a welcome heterogeneity. Thus a teacher who more recently moved to the area emphasizes its vibrant life and explains that life around the mosque for him is a positive part. A 56-years old man who recently moved to the neighbourhood describes it as a ‘very intercultural area’, a ‘very humane area’. Another resident explains, ‘Like I said, this makes the area just a little colourful and interesting, because otherwise it is pretty difficult with respect to social class[...]. You have really a lot of people who—for whatever reasons—do not work[...] and then again others, that I would say, leave the house regularly like we do and go to work[...] and interspersed with both European fellow citizens as well as non-European fellow citizens, which I personally find better.’

These residents moved to the area as adults relatively recently, and probably know it only in its present shape. Diversity here seems to be a feature that is enjoyed as adding colour to the environment, but not necessarily as something the respondents actively engage with.

Immigrant residents express a more matter-of-fact attitude to the neighbourhood. They offer less of a narrative. Infrastructural advantages like close proximity to the mosque and the social activities located there are important.

5.6.4 Enacting Local Diversity

The Krefeld neighbourhood is an area where residents of different backgrounds interact less frequently than in other diverse neighbourhoods. Thirty per cent report that they have intergroup talks in the neighbourhood less often than once a month which is five per cent below the survey

¹⁹ They indirectly referred to the phenomenon as ‘those houses’ or the places where ‘something with women’ goes on.

overall, but still high given a relatively high share of foreigners. Fifty-two per cent have such interactions on a daily or at least weekly basis, roughly as often as in the whole survey. There is more interaction in the neighbourhood than in Hamburg Sinstorf but less than in Frankfurt-Henninger Turm and far less than in Berger-Ost or Hamburg-Lindenpark.

And yet, if we look at the weak and strong ties, we find that residents of Krefeld-Schinkenplatz do not fall behind the survey total. Fifty-nine per cent have at least one friend of a different background (+ eight per cent compared with the whole survey), and 73 per cent have acquaintances. Krefeld Schinkenplatz is not distinct with regard to intergroup interactions altogether but mainly with regard to neighbourhood interaction. Thus, network members live in the neighbourhood less often than elsewhere.

The low levels of contact in the neighbourhood correspond with a picture of a neighbourhood that does not offer many opportunities to encounter co-residents. Indeed, an exceptionally high share of respondents spends none of their leisure time in the neighbourhood—although close to half do spend most or all their leisure time there. They frequently describe contact in the neighbourhood as difficult and limited as three examples illustrate. ‘You talk to each other, you do not avoid one another, but everybody just does their own thing’, one resident comments. Contact was difficult, another one told us. ‘Difficult not in the sense of “there are boundaries here”. But there are also few contact forums, where this could take place’. “People greet each other in the street, but nothing beyond that,” another interview partner stated.

Residents repeatedly expressed the perception that the others have their separate, and exclusive, circles. Talking about immigrants, one woman commented, ‘When you go through there, through the streets and so on, on a summer day, that’s when the people are standing around. They maintain their communication, meet there, and so on. But I couldn’t say that there is plenty of contact with other native people’.

Interview partners mainly mentioned interaction with neighbours, that is others living in the same house or next door. Immigrant residents pointed out that they got along well with their immediate neighbours of German background. Everyone is willing to help out when necessary and generally friendly, people told us. A young woman remembers going to school with a child of Turkish background from a neighbouring house,

but has lost contact. She chats at the Turkish green grocer's but otherwise has little contact in the neighbourhood. Other locations of intergroup interaction, like Kindergarten, school, associations, did not come up, partly work is mentioned. As mentioned above, SpieDie, the play house, is used by an ethnically mixed crowd (Photo 5.22).



Photo 5.21 The area has Kneipen and a Turkish greengrocer



Photo 5.22 SpieDie, the playhouse, is an important neighbourhood location

The Zionskirche is used for services of a Tamil community. Another Christian church is used for the services of a Polish and a Croat religious community who are affiliated with that Catholic parish. The protestant Baptist community and one of the mosques have engaged in joint activities. They organized a street-cleaning and a discussion event. Still, the religious communities are not perceived as frameworks of intergroup interaction. Attempts by both a Christian community as well as one of the mosques to engage neighbours in some form of meeting are reported, and in both cases interview partners say that these offers were not really taken up. 'Yes, even the parish celebrations that we celebrate here. No, I couldn't say now that any foreign fellow citizens would come there.' He then, however, remembers Polish co-residents who attend the Catholic service. A woman who is active in one of the mosques reports that they distributed leaflets to invite neighbours but is equally disappointed with the response.

With one exception, all immigrant residents we interviewed told some story of rejection or open hostility—while, at the same time, they emphasized that they got along well, 'As I said, we get along well. But you notice when they show us a face, you do notice somehow that, possibly, I think, maybe I imagine it, that we are not welcome so to speak.'

Another man of Turkish background told us how once when he went shopping with his son, the son was accused of theft. 'The allegation is always there, "That was those black-haired and so on". We have this feeling. Some people give us this feeling, some people take this feeling away. We live with it.'

A long-term female resident believes that immigrants are discriminated against by the association controlling access to garden plots. As someone holding such a plot she feels unwanted at social events.²⁰ 'They can do everything and we can do nothing.' A third man of Turkish background believes that other residents have a particularly distanced attitude towards Turks.

²⁰In contrast, a newspaper report described the association as 'multicultural'. Among its members were Italians, Portuguese, Turks, and immigrants from the East (wz newsline of Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 August 2010).

Possibly, the Muslims we interviewed here are particularly sensitive to rejection and hostility given the widespread negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the media and by politicians. As one woman told us, a number of tenants in one housing bloc moved out when a mosque was established in the backyard of the residential buildings and people of Turkish background became their landlords.

In the DivCon survey, the Krefeld neighbourhood did not come up as particularly hostile towards immigrants. However, residents were a bit more sceptical as to the benefits of diversity—although a two-thirds majority agreed that diversity was beneficial for a city. Remarkably, acceptance of the right of Muslims to have mosques where they live was higher in this area than across German cities and higher than for example in Frankfurt-Henninger Turm. Forty-eight per cent supported such a right, while 26 per cent opposed it. Among all respondents in our survey, 42 per cent opposed such a right.

5.6.5 Preliminary Conclusion

Altogether, we thus found a partly grudging, partly emphatic acceptance of diversity—coupled with a perception of distanced co-existence in the neighbourhood. This is often combined with a perception of the neighbourhood as being in decline, and this overall perception seems to colour that of neighbourhood social life. But our survey also shows neighbourhood intergroup encounters (not ties beyond the neighbourhood) as more limited than we would expect given the diverse composition of the population. The most plausible explanation is the lack of opportunities for interaction in the public space, combined with social deprivation. Poor people are to a lesser extent than others able to go out and socialize in semi-public spaces where you have to pay for food and drink. Further, the religious communities that are active in this area apparently do not, to a relevant extent, serve as frameworks for intergroup interaction. And yet, while social research in other areas experiencing unemployment and decline has shown how this can combine with negative stereotyping and conflict (Sutterlüty 2010; Hüttermann 2000; Schmitt 2003: 333–337), the Krefeld-Schinkenplatz neighbourhood is marked by distanced co-existence—not by conflict.

5.7 Conclusion

The key purpose of this chapter was to identify additional factors, beyond the survey analysis, that can help explain why intergroup contact in some areas is higher or lower than the generally found interlinkage between immigrant share and intergroup contact would suggest. We deliberately focused on factors not already covered by the analysis of the survey data, factors that only a closer look at the neighbourhood and further methods could reveal.

We grouped these influences as, first, aspects of the opportunity context—meaning not only the population composition (as the aspect central to the whole DivCon study) but also the physical and social infrastructure. Our analyses of two inner-city areas in Frankfurt and Hamburg with high intergroup-contact frequencies suggest that a high density of retail and eating establishments and an environment offered for example by an open market and a pedestrian zone represent opportunity contexts that encourage intergroup contact. Here, interaction with total or relative strangers (for example someone known by sight) is part of the script of the encounter. Lyn Lofland has further suggested that the infrastructure of a neighbourhood matters for the residents' social well-being. 'The presence of such settings in a settlement alters the "feel" of the settlement, and does so in a positive direction' (Lofland 1998: 233). In contrast, it is the absence of such an infrastructure that helps explain lower contact frequencies in two suburban areas of Frankfurt and Hamburg. Here direct interaction with strangers may to a lesser extent be part of the expected and common (scripted) behaviour. We did not find convincing evidence for an important role of public spaces in general, such as parks and playgrounds. To what extent organizations, from schools to clubs, contribute to a more or less conducive context for intergroup interaction could not be examined in detail. Here more focused, longer-term investigations would be required.

Second, our analysis underlined that the differential function that residential environments have in the lives of their residents contributes to a different likelihood of intergroup interaction. It is not simply the time spent in the neighbourhood that makes it a relevant place but also the ways in which residents make use of this time. Some use the neighbourhood where they live as a context for their own professional activity (for

instance shopkeepers or some social workers) or just for socializing with others, whereas for others it serves as the scenery of private recreation and family life. The concept of sociability style incorporates both particular opportunities and the function of the neighbourhood for its residents. An intimate market sociability style, as found in the Frankfurt Berger-Ost and Hamburg-Lindenpark areas, prevails where residents enjoy an urban life-style. They shop there and go to cafes; they often enjoy being part of a lively street life. On the other hand, a suburban sociability style, as found in Frankfurt-Henninger Turm and Hamburg Sinstorf, where people do not spend much time in public or semi-public spaces of the neighbourhood, is not conducive to intergroup interaction. This may not be true for all neighbourhoods that are suburban in terms of their relation to the city centre. Thus Herbert Gans (1967) described a New York suburb of the 1960s as characterized by a degree of sociability that did not differ fundamentally from inner-city areas. However, Baumgartner (1988) portrayed US suburbs of the 1980s as shaped by both a high degree of anonymity and the widespread absence of local sociability. Our term *suburban sociability style* describes a pattern of life, more than the spatial location of neighbourhoods—although both are related.

Third, we identified and described neighbourhood narratives as additional factor contributing to variations in intergroup contact frequencies across areas. Berger-Ost and Krefeld-Schinkenplatz in particular illustrate how a neighbourhood narrative in which diversity forms a constituent part, in our cases positive or negative, impacts on the openness of residents to intergroup interaction. Where the presence of immigrants is linked with the decline of a neighbourhood, residents will feel less inclined to interact with the individuals seen to represent this negative trend. In contrast, people who perceive their neighbourhood as attractive and avant-garde because it is diverse in many ways will be more inclined to interact with those representing this diversity. Not all neighbourhoods have a distinct and widely shared narrative, but where it exists and where such a narrative relates to the presence of immigrants, it is likely to impact on interactions.

The example of Hamburg Sinstorf demonstrates how residential segregation within the neighbourhood—a factor not captured in the quantitative analysis—may come into play (see Uslaner 2012 more generally on

the importance of segregation for interactions and trust). It transforms the opportunity structure as represented by the population composition because the extreme concentration of a large part of the immigrant population in one housing complex serves as a symbolic boundary. Ethnic community structures play no part here, but rather stigmatization of immigrants by some of the non-immigrant residents.

We cannot tell exactly, on the basis of these five areas, to what extent and in what ways the socio-economic status of residents impacts on intergroup interaction and related attitudes. Available data are extremely limited, thus income statistics are generally not available for smaller areas within cities. Our survey results do not show any general effect of unemployment on intergroup interactions. In the five field studies, we do not find a direct relationship between income-level and intergroup contact frequency. It is Frankfurt-Henninger Turm, that is an average neighbourhood with average intergroup contact, not Frankfurt-Berger-Ost where people have the highest average income of the five neighbourhoods.²¹ And in Hamburg Lindenpark, the other neighbourhood with particularly high intergroup contact in the neighbourhood, people are not generally well off. Still, a lively, urban neighbourhood with its market sociability may well be enjoyed more by residents who have enough money to relish this variety. Economic security does contribute to subjective well being, and this is related to openness towards others (Böhnke and Kohler 2007; Pettigrew et al. 2008; Zick and Küpper 2012). The harsh deprivation experienced by many residents in Krefeld may well contribute to a negative perception of their environment and of co-residents.

Do other aspects of the population composition play a part? As outlined in Chap. 4, the internal diversity of the immigrant population, that is the share of the more visible, more commonly stigmatized nationalities, as well as the national homogeneity of the immigrant population, do not impact on contact frequencies across the 50 neighbourhoods. Thus we do not think that the relatively high share of people of Turkish backgrounds explains the relatively low neighbourhood contact in Krefeld-Schinkenplatz.

²¹This assessment is based on data for our survey respondents. We referred to further information on rent levels and income, confirming the overall picture in the text.

Selectivity is another much-discussed factor. It may well be that people who like urban life, and its accompanying diversity, would rather live in Frankfurt's Berger-Ost than in its Henninger Turm area, and surely not in Hamburg Sinstorf. But we do not believe that attitudes to immigration and interaction with people of other backgrounds directly and to a considerable extent motivate residential choice—thus explaining high intergroup contact frequencies in areas such as Frankfurt-Berger-Ost and Hamburg-Lindenpark as caused by pro-multiculturalism urbanites moving in to dominate its population (for a somewhat different view see van Eijk 2010). Survey answers about motives for moving to the neighbourhood show that, throughout, practical reasons predominate. The generally attractive character of the neighbourhood, its liveliness and so on plays a part (and migration-related diversity may be seen as contributing to this), in particular for living in Frankfurt-Berger-Ost and Hamburg-Lindenpark, but this element is not strong enough to explain the higher contact frequency. On the other hand, lower contact frequencies in Krefeld-Schinkenplatz and in Hamburg-Sinstorf can hardly be explained as a result of selective moves of people with more distanced attitudes to immigrants.

How frequent or exceptional are neighbourhoods marked by market sociability? And would all neighbourhoods marked by dense population, an inner-city location, and a large number of shops and eat/drink establishments also show a high frequency of intergroup contact? Our field studies support the hypothesis that such features encourage intergroup interaction at least where they occur in combination with significant immigrant shares and a positive image of the neighbourhood among residents. This neighbourhood narrative, the infrastructure, and the function of the neighbourhood for its residents, are features the qualitative investigation adds to the picture arising from the analysis of statistical and survey data.

6

Attitudes Towards Immigration-Related Diversity

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we described five urban neighbourhoods and the ways in which their residents interact with one another. This chapter now turns back to the results of our survey in all 50 neighbourhoods. We focus on the link between the experience of diversity or homogeneity in the residential environment and attitudes to immigration-related diversity. Do people who live in an environment marked by the co-existence of people of many different backgrounds see such diversity more positively than others? Possibly they get used to living with differences, encounter co-residents who immigrated to Germany or—if they themselves immigrated—co-residents whose parents already grew up in the city and who have always seen themselves as Germans. Or does such co-existence breed conflict and alienation? This book started from the assumption that the everyday-experience of diversity and, in particular, direct interaction—contact—with others will lead to more positive attitudes towards these ‘others’ and to diversity. It is an established finding that contact is linked with more positive attitudes towards the groups

that the interacting individuals are seen to represent (see for example Hewstone 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp 2011). We know less about the relevance of diverse contexts (but see Stolle and Harell 2013). The DivCon project makes a novel contribution to our knowledge here.

Before we turn to the impact of differing contexts (and later, contact) on attitudes, we will discuss more generally what our respondents think about immigration-related diversity. Following this introduction, we start with an analysis of diversity beliefs. We will show that answers to a number of questions vary considerably and discuss how this might be explained. However, we also identify a general attitude to diversity that underlies the answers to different questions. We then investigate whether such attitudes differ across neighbourhoods with different shares of immigrants among their populations.

The next section turns to attitudes towards specific immigrant groups. We used one of the most common indicators in survey-based research and included a number of questions about trust in various groups in our survey. We can thus show to what extent people make distinctions between them. By way of a feelings thermometer, we also investigated sympathy for various immigrant groups, specifically Turks, *Russlanddeutsche*, as a synonym for ethnic German immigrants, and West Europeans. These groups were chosen because the first two represent the largest groups among the immigrant population and are those against whom non-immigrants often hold negative stereotypes, while the third, also numerous, was expected to represent a positively seen population. We only chose groups that were likely to be present in all 50 neighbourhoods. We are thus able to study whether contact affects such attitudes.

All analyses start with descriptions of the attitudes and continue with discussions of their bivariate relationships with different levels of immigration-related diversity. Additional multivariate analyses show the strength of diversity effects alongside effects of social interactions and further individual characteristics. While most research relies on correlations, the panel design of the survey gives us the rare opportunity to test causal effects in the sense that assumed causes are measured at earlier points in time than consequences. As a side-effect, we have to accept that, due to

panel mortality, the number of valid cases is lower than in analyses with just the first wave.¹

We use a complex strategy in order to analyse attitudinal outcomes. We use information on attitudes from the second wave of our survey measured in 2011 (t_2)² for marginal frequencies. This gives more statistical power to the analysis as we get a larger number of cases than available in the third wave. For bivariate and multivariate analyses, we employ a more complex scheme that uses contextual conditions as measured in 2009 (t_0), individual background and additional area information as measured in 2010 (t_1), social interactions as measured in 2011 (t_2), and attitudinal outcomes as measured in 2012 (t_3). Although it is based on a smaller and more selective sample than cross-sectional analyses with data from just the first wave, this design allows us to profit from the advantages of longitudinal analysis with panel data. Where appropriate, we also introduce insights from our qualitative fieldwork.

6.2 Diversity Beliefs

6.2.1 Differing Attitudes to Selected Aspects of Diversity

Diversity is a multifaceted phenomenon and no single survey question could fully capture attitudes towards it. We decided to inquire about agreement or disagreement with five statements. Two were more general and refer to the evaluation of diversity in a city and as an experience for young people. A third statement aimed to test whether attitudes change ones public resources, and thus possibly competing claims, come into play. Two further statements pick up areas of public controversy that may also be closer to everyday experiences: linguistic and religious plurality.³

¹The distribution of answers slightly varies across the three waves. In other chapters, we sometimes refer to data from the first wave.

²We did not use data from the first wave measured in 2010 (t_1) because additional questions analyzed here were included in the second wave.

³A number of further questions that can also be seen as forming part of an attitude to diversity, such as on neighbourhood environment and on intergroup interaction, are discussed in other chapters of this book.

We asked respondents to state their opinions on five statements:

- (a) It is enriching for a city when the people come from different backgrounds and cultures.
- (b) Young people profit from contact with other young people of different origin or religious belief.
- (c) Public funding for cultural activities should include the cultural traditions of minorities.
- (d) It is a good thing if you can hear many languages in our streets.
- (e) The Muslims living in Germany should have the right to build mosques, including in your⁴ own neighbourhood.⁵

All items refer to potential consequences of the presence of immigrants. The wording of all five items is consistent in direction. They do not suggest an assimilation of the immigrant population but represent accepting views of a multicultural and diverse society. Respondents could choose between five answers from (1) fully agree to (5) definitely disagree (see Fig. 6.1).

As illustrated in Figure 6.1, the view that diversity is enriching for a city is the most widely supported one. A large majority of 74 per cent of respondents somewhat or fully agrees with the statement. ‘Fully agree’ is the most popular answer: two out of five chose it. About a quarter of the respondents are undecided and only a tiny minority of 3 per cent opposes the view that cities profit from diversity. The distribution shows that advantages of diversity are widely acknowledged among the German urban population. Likewise, respondents overwhelmingly agree with the somewhat stronger statement that young people profit from contact with other young people of different origin or religious belief (72 per cent). The answer pattern is similar to the one for ‘diversity is enriching’. We found common consent in Germany that diversity is advantageous for cities and young people.

⁴ Admittedly, respondents could understand the question as referring to their own or to the Muslims’ neighbourhood as in German *ihrem* can mean both ‘your’ and ‘their’.

⁵ The original survey questions in German were: (a) *Es ist eine Bereicherung für eine Stadt, wenn die Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft und Kultur sind.* (b) *Junge Leute profitieren davon, mit Gleichaltrigen anderer Herkunft oder anderen Glaubens in Kontakt zu sein.* (c) *Die staatliche Kulturförderung sollte auch die kulturellen Traditionen von Minderheiten einschließen.* (d) *Es ist eine gute Sache, wenn bei uns auf den Straßen viele Sprachen zu hören sind.* (e) *Die in Deutschland lebenden Muslime sollten das Recht haben, Moscheen zu bauen—auch in Ihrem Wohnviertel.*

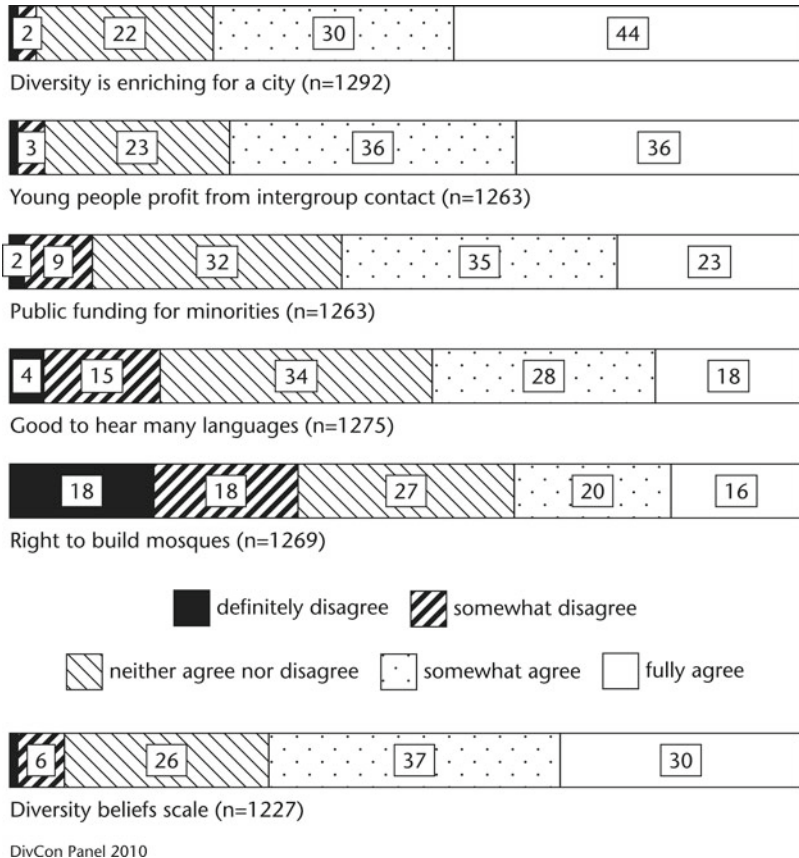


Fig. 6.1 Opinions on five diversity statements

Does this consent break down once it affects the distribution of potentially scarce public resources? Indeed, ‘public funding for minorities’ is less accepted than the previous statements, but still an absolute majority (58 per cent) agrees that such funding should be provided. About a third (32 per cent), thus a larger group than for the previous statements, is undecided. Opponents are also more numerous but still a small minority (10 per cent).

With a question about whether it is good to hear many languages we intended to test to what extent mentioning a much debated issue would affect diversity attitudes. At the time of the survey, the allegedly insufficient German language competencies of immigrants and the maintenance

of native languages were much debated issues. The introduction of partly obligatory German-language courses for immigrants and of language tests as preconditions of residence and citizenship were central to new integration policies (Joppke 2007; Schönwälder 2010). Does mentioning the language issue bring assimilationist preferences to the fore? Or do people maintain a pro-diversity attitude? In fact, language turned out to be a more controversial issue than funding for minority cultures. Still, the largest group of respondents (albeit not an absolute majority) is the one agreeing that the plurality of languages in public is to be welcomed (47 per cent). About a third of all respondents (34 per cent) are undecided—remarkably, the middle category is the most frequently chosen single answer option for this item. This may reflect the obvious tension between supporting diversity while feeling ill at ease with language plurality. A considerable minority disagrees with the statement; 19 per cent somewhat or fully dislike audible diversity in public life.

Our last item, the right to build mosques, addresses a highly controversial and publically much debated topic. We deliberately phrased the question in a way that forced respondents to balance the right to practice your religion—as constitutionally protected in Germany—and the controversial public presence of Islam in this traditionally Christian country. Answers across all five categories are more evenly distributed, or much more polarized than for the other statements. Of all diversity questions, this one elicited the largest number of opposing views. Thirty-six per cent oppose the pro-diversity statement. Equally, about one third is in favour of the right to build mosques. About a quarter (27 per cent) is undecided.

Apparently, the public presence of Islam is more contentious than linguistic diversity and public funding for minority cultures. This is in line with findings that demonstrate a widespread Islamophobia in Germany (see Helbling 2012: 4–7 for a discussion of the term; Pollack 2014: 35; Leibold and Kühnel 2008: 102–103 for empirical findings). Indeed, opinions on the right to build mosques correlate with feelings towards Turks living in Germany—an item we will turn to below. People who give a more reserved answer to our mosque question also have more negative feelings towards Turks.⁶ In our qualitative interviews, the presence of

⁶The statistical correlation is significant and moderate (Kendall's $\tau_{b_1} = 0.31$). On a thermometer scale ranging from 0 (cool) to 100 (warm) feelings towards Turks living in Germany reach a temperature of 57. People who definitely or somewhat disagree with the right for Muslims to build

Islam was not necessarily an issue people would bring up by themselves. When prompted, for instance by being shown a photograph of a mosque in the area, some respondents' negative statements demonstrated the volatility of the issue. Thus one respondent opined, 'I have no hate towards Turks. For me it's simple: they live here. So, they better adapt themselves. Right now—much evil can come of such things'. She went on to question why there were so many mosques. 'Why can't they meet at home? ... For me personally, this is a kind of provocation: Look here! Here we are. We are the power.' The quote illustrates how opposition against mosques can be justified with reference to the common 'When in Rome...', but also by invoking fears of terrorism and by associating them not with co-existence but with a struggle for dominance. But we also encountered interview-partners who described a mosque or a new orthodox church as a welcome contribution to the scenery of the area.

Given the discrepancies between the answers to our five diversity questions, we tested whether nevertheless one core diversity belief exists. One way to measure that is the construction of an index out of the five items analysed above. In spite of different distributional patterns, the five diversity statements correlate moderately with coefficients (Kendall's τ_b) between .31 and .46. Consequently, we can proceed with extracting and analysing a single latent factor of diversity beliefs underlying all five items. Notwithstanding some evidence of uniqueness in meaning and measurement, all five indicators can be reduced to one single factor by exploratory factor analysis. The resulting latent variable has good scaling qualities (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.79$) and is interpreted as a general attitude to diversity. Factor loadings indicate how single items correlate with the extracted factor diversity beliefs. They are all above 0.6, indicating strong relationships between each single item and the resulting factor. Although the diversity beliefs scale has continuous values, we can collapse these values to five groups that approximately represent the answer categories ranging from definitely disagree to fully agree. As indicated in Fig. 6.1 above, a clear majority holds positive views towards diversity. A significant, but much smaller group is undecided, and only a small share of respondents has a consistently negative view of diversity.

mosques have cooler feelings than the average person (42 resp. 54). On the other hand, people who somewhat or fully agree with that right have also warmer feelings (64 resp. 67).

The finding that Germany's population widely accepts immigration-related diversity is in accordance with those of other studies. Thus the GMF-survey, conducted across Germany with a similar number of respondents, also found overwhelming support for the view that it is better for a country if it has a diversity of cultures (Zick and Küpper 2012: 165; see also Wolf and van Dick 2008: 142).⁷ This view is apparently not an urban phenomenon. Eurobarometer surveys conducted in 1997 and 2000 had already shown a majority of Germans (55 and 53 per cent) in support of the view, 'It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions or cultures' (Thalhammer et al. 2001: 157). As the wording of the questions differed, we should be cautious to interpret the different surveys as proving a development over time. Still, the data indicate a trend towards greater appreciation of diversity. A majority of Germans has over the past decade held generally positive views of a cultural and immigration-related diversity of the country's population.

At the same time, large groups among the residents of German cities oppose some consequences of immigration-related diversity, in particular the public presence of Islam. While it may seem surprising and inconsequential that the same people see diversity as positive for a city and dislike hearing or seeing expressions of such diversity in public life, the co-existence of somewhat contradictory views is a common observation. Thus, in the US, striking inconsistencies have been observed in the attitudes of white Americans who support general principles of racial equality and integration but reject concrete actions designed to implement these principles (Schuman et al. 1985).

Interpretations of this commonly observed co-existence of seemingly contradictory views differ. It could be argued that people become more reserved towards minority rights the more concrete the issue and the more closely they may be affected. Thus it may be easier to agree to the general view that diversity is a good thing for a city than to accept that this might imply a mosque being built in one's own neighbourhood. Pollack (2014: 35), for instance, argues that 'abstract values', like the freedom of

⁷The bi-annual Allbus-survey contains a question on whether the foreigners living in Germany enrich the country's culture. Here, in 2006 only a minority agreed (Blohm and Wasmer 2008: 212). Apparently, answers are highly dependent on the exact phrasing of the question, possibly also on political context.

religious belief, tend to be more widely supported while more ‘concrete’ demands tend to be more controversial.⁸

Further, apparent contradictions may be an expression of the common co-existence of negative affects against outgroups and social norms against discrimination. As Blinder et al. (2013: 842) have argued, citizens of contemporary western societies often ‘harbor negative opinions and stereotypes’ about outgroups, but they also ‘respond to, and often internalize, a widespread social norm against prejudice and discrimination’. The wish to adhere to social norms should not be brushed aside as a mere expression of social conformity or as a social desirability response in a survey, but could also be seen as a relevant motivation and determinant of behaviour.

We may well interpret the observed widespread expressed appreciation of diversity as indicative of the existence of a social norm. Since about 2005–2006 major companies as well as government agencies have propagated the view that diversity is good for Germany (see Schönwälder and Triadafilopoulos 2016). The chancellor and the federal president have given speeches to that effect. The national football team is celebrated for its immigration-related diversity. The acceptance, and indeed the positive evaluation, of a diversity of lifestyles and cultural orientations, including its immigration-related aspects, links up with established norms, such as the rejection of racism, openness to the world and individual equality—core norms and increasingly internalized values in post-war (West) Germany (see for example van Deth 2001). Increasingly, a plurality of lifestyles, family forms, sexual orientations, and so on, is accepted as part of life. Where people are commonly seen as different in several ways and the individual freedom to choose a lifestyle is increasingly appreciated, immigration-related difference becomes part of a wider picture of diversity. As Welzel points out (2009: 100), people internalize those values strongly and that process helps them sort their experiences and master their lives. Diversity, understood in a broader sense as encompassing a diversity of lifestyles, experiences, and preferences, is nowadays part of the everyday experience for most urban Germans. As our survey

⁸Zick and Küpper (2012: 167) argue that such ambivalence reflects the normal co-existence of curiosity and fear.

demonstrates and as explained above, majorities perceive their neighbourhood as inhabited by a diverse population. A positive appreciation of diversity may help to make sense of an environment that is experienced as being heterogeneous in many ways. It also links up with a trend towards individualization and a high regard for individual autonomy (see Welzel 2009).

Possibly, objections to some features of diversity are seen as compatible with its general support when political and media debates qualify particular views as not in conflict with general norms—such as demands for lifestyle adjustment on the part of immigrants and objections against mosques. Individuals may thus not perceive it as contradictory to see diversity as positive but demand linguistic assimilation. Specific discourses set specific frames of meaning thus activating or suspending attitudes individuals may hold (see for example Schwab-Trapp 2011; Snow 2007). Thus, in Frankfurt our interview partners in qualitative interviews frequently associated immigration literally with multi-culturalism, for example a festival with different costumes and ethnic food or the mixed crowd on the river banks enjoying their leisure time with music and so on. A mosque or a headscarf, however, may be associated with withdrawal and a rejection of dominant life styles in the city. A positive diversity norm may well include a somewhat authoritarian element in that diversity is interpreted in a particular way: as requiring mixture, a certain adjustment, and as conflicting with separateness. The maintenance of specific, exclusive, languages, religious beliefs, and practices, and community structures can then be viewed as in conflict with this conceptualization of diversity (for similar observations in London see Wessendorf 2014a).

6.2.2 Attitudes to Diversity and the Experience of Diversity in the Neighbourhood

How are attitudes to diversity related to immigration-related diversity in the neighbourhood? We investigate this question for two attitudes: first, the views on mosques in the neighbourhood as the most controversial item and second, the latent diversity belief (that is the index as explained

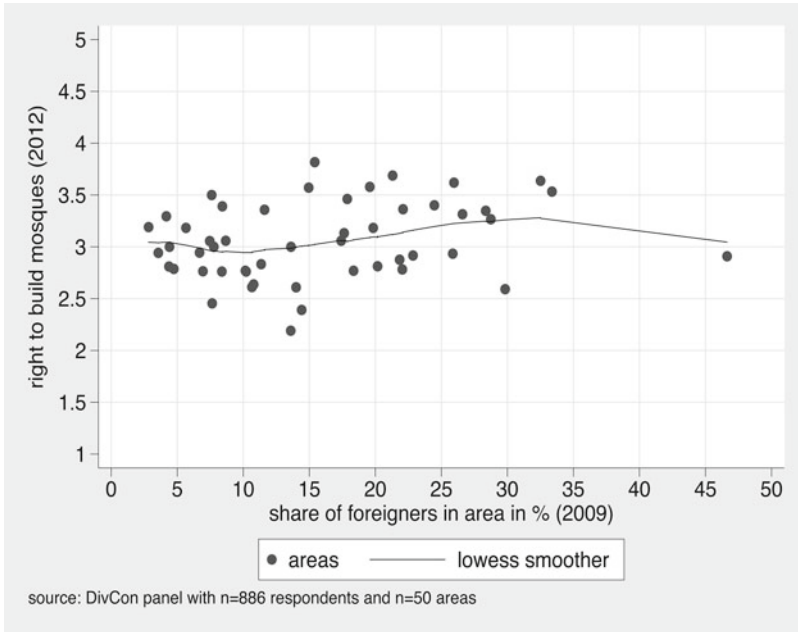


Fig. 6.2 Opinions on a right to build mosques by share of foreigners (Note: Dots represent the average opinion per neighbourhood and the lowest smoother line is based on individual responses. The shape of the smoothed line does not change substantially if the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners is excluded from the analysis)

above). In Section 2.2, we already showed that those who perceive the diversity of their own neighbourhood as high tend to be less happy with this situation than others. Do we also find a general association of higher diversity in the neighbourhood context and more negative attitudes to diversity?

As already explained, the right to build mosques is highly controversial. Is opposition to such a right more pronounced in areas with large immigrant populations or is it weaker where people get accustomed to living with diversity? Figure 6.2 shows how opinions on a right to build mosques relate to shares of foreigners in the neighbourhood: both for average opinions per neighbourhood and for averaged and smoothed individual responses.

The diagram shows that the relationship might be non-linear. However, Kendall's τ_b (0.06)—a correlation coefficient that does not assume a linear relationship—is significantly positive but very weak. A regression analysis with share of foreigners as single independent variable reveals a positive relation but fails conventional levels of significance (not shown).

Aggregating answers on the mosque-question to neighbourhood averages results in larger differences across the 50 neighbourhoods ranging from 2.2 to 3.8. The variation across the 50 neighbourhoods (dots in the diagram) cannot easily be explained by share of foreigners at the neighbourhood level. It seems to be a convex relationship: The right to build a mosque in the neighbourhood is less accepted in areas with very low (up to 15 per cent) and very high (45 per cent and more) shares of foreigners. The highest levels of acceptance occur where the share of foreigners is 32 per cent.

If we split the share of foreigners into three sections we find that coefficients differ, meaning that, where the share of foreigners ranges between 2 and 9 per cent, attitudes are more or less the same (see Table 6.1, model 1). However, in neighbourhoods with 10–34 per cent foreigners, attitudes are more positive the higher the share of foreigners. Above 34 per cent, attitudes are not affected by share of foreigners. Thus, there is stronger support for the interpretation that being exposed to diversity leads to acceptance rather than for the interpretation that it leads to opposition.

Will we find this complex relationship between contextual diversity and the mosque-question even if we control for a number of contextual and individual variables, in particular social interactions? We estimated a multivariate model for the right to build mosques as dependent variable with share of foreigners and unemployment rate as independent variables at the neighbourhood level, years of education, unemployment status, gender, age and migration background as individual control variables as well as network size, intergroup contact, and intergroup ties as independent variables for social interactions.

The relationship between share of foreigners and agreement to the mosque question vanishes once we include measures of social interactions in particular (see Table 6.1, model 3). We still see a negative relation for low shares of foreigners (2 per cent up to 9 per cent), a positive relation for medium shares of foreigners (10 per cent to 24 per cent), and again a

Table 6.1 Multilevel linear regressions on attitude towards a right to build mosques

Variables	1		2		3	
	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>						
Share of foreigners up to 9% (2009)	-0.035	(0.028)	-0.032	(0.026)	-0.044	(0.027)
Share of foreigners between 10% and 34% (2009)	0.025**	(0.009)	0.020**	(0.008)	0.012	(0.008)
Share of foreigners 35% and more (2009)	-0.051	(0.039)	-0.061	(0.037)	-0.066	(0.037)
Unemployment ratio (2009)			-0.003	(0.020)	0.001	(0.020)
<i>Individual level</i>						
Highest educational level (2010)			0.142***	(0.017)	0.141***	(0.017)
Unemployed (2010) (yes=1)			0.240	(0.283)	0.143	(0.276)
Migration background (2010) (yes=1)			-0.070	(0.113)	1.481**	(0.547)
Age (2010)			-0.006	(0.003)	-0.003	(0.003)
Gender (2010) (female=1)			0.014	(0.088)	0.005	(0.087)
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood (2011)					0.204***	(0.038)
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood (2011)* migration background					-0.527***	(0.151)
Number of weak ties (2011)					-0.078	(0.043)
Existence of intergroup ties among weak ties (2011)					0.058	(0.114)
Number of strong ties (2011)					0.078	(0.043)
Existence of intergroup ties among strong ties (2011)					0.197*	(0.097)
<i>intercept</i>						
<i>intercept</i>	3.217***	(0.226)	1.461***	(0.404)	0.853*	(0.425)
<i>Model statistics</i>						
$N_{\text{individuals}}/N_{\text{neighbourhoods}}$	835/50		835/50		835/50	
R^2	0.012		0.104		0.156	
Chi ²	8.841		95.360		148.981	
Intraclass correlation	0.015		0.009		0.016	

* $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$

negative one for high shares of foreigners (35 per cent and more) but all coefficients of the three splines fail conventional significance levels. It follows that the bivariate relationship between medium-level diversity and tolerance of Muslim symbols is mediated by social interactions. Before we explain effects of social interaction variables further, we will report on other third variables we controlled for. The unemployment rate in the neighbourhood does not affect answers to the mosque question. Neither immigration-driven diversity, nor the social status of a neighbourhood is a relevant factor for the position on the mosque question. In contrast to this, the social status of individuals is relevant. The more time they have spent in education and training, the more liberal their attitudes towards the right to build mosques. On the other hand, employment status is irrelevant for this specific aspect of diversity: unemployed people do not tend to express more reservations against building mosques than other people. Again, this result counters hypotheses assuming that people who compete for scarce resources (like jobs) are more hostile towards diversity. Even though this result is in line with the one for the diversity beliefs scale it is more surprising because the mosque question was the most controversial diversity attitude. Migration background—another individual attribute—and the attitude towards the right to build mosques are positively and statistically significantly related. People with a migration background, in spite of being in their majority not Muslims, have more liberal views on the building of mosques, but within the group attitudes differ.

Social interactions crucially influence answers to the mosque question. This is especially true for intergroup contact in the neighbourhood. But it is a rather complex relationship. People without migration background express more liberal views towards the right to build mosques when they frequently interact with out-group-members in the neighbourhood. Among those with a migration background, however, those without contact to non-migrants in the neighbourhood hold the most tolerant views towards a right to build mosques, immediately followed by non-migrants with daily intergroup contact in the neighbourhood. The most intolerant views are expressed by migrants with daily intergroup contact and, slightly less so, by people without a migration background and without any contacts to immigrants in the neighbourhood. Turning to the networks, we find that having at least one friend (that is a strong

tie) with a different background has an effect on views towards the building of mosques. Other features of the individuals' networks are without effect. So altogether, of individual characteristics tested here, education, immigration background and, for non-immigrants, intergroup contact impact attitudes to the right to build mosques. In Chapter 5, in particular the section on the Schinkenplatz-area, we further illustrate how residents respond to the presence of Muslims and mosques in the neighbourhood.

We now turn to the latent diversity belief and again investigate whether it is related to the experience of immigration-related diversity in the neighbourhood. As throughout this study, diversity at the neighbourhood level is measured by share of foreigners. We analyse to what extent differing shares of foreigners correlate with differing levels of diversity beliefs. In Figure 6.3, we can see that our 50 neighbourhoods do not differ very much with respect to the average diversity beliefs of their

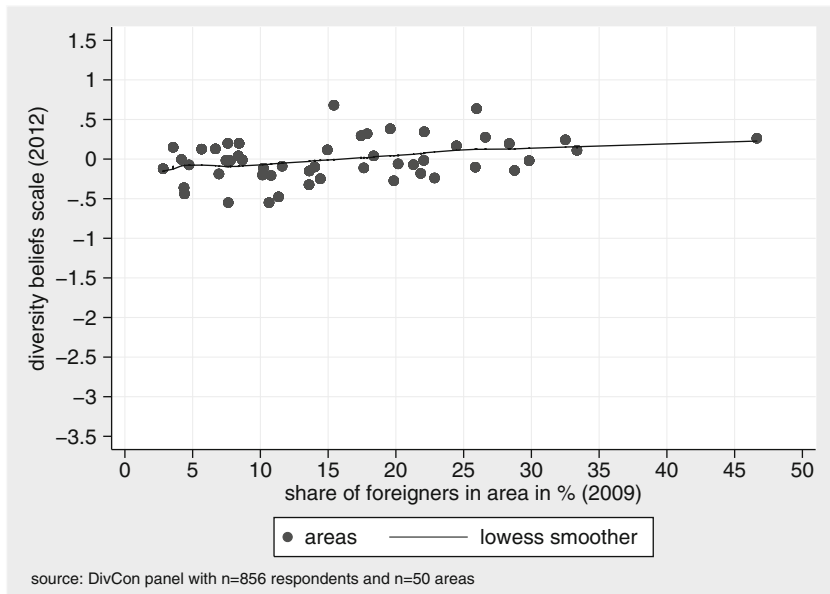


Fig. 6.3 Diversity beliefs and neighbourhood diversity (*Note: Dots represent the average opinion per neighbourhood and the lowest smoother line is based on individual responses. The shape of the smoothed line does not change substantially if the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners is excluded from the analysis*)

residents. Dots representing neighbourhoods are scattered between -0.5 and $+0.5$ on the diversity beliefs scale. For individuals (the line), values vary between -3.2 and $+1.4$.

The diagram shows an almost linear, positive relationship between share of foreigners and diversity beliefs. As contextual diversity increases, the latent attitude towards diversity becomes more positive. However, we see that the line increases just gradually meaning that the positive relationship between the neighbourhood environment and attitudes is rather weak.

A regression analysis with share of foreigners as the only independent variable (see Table 6.2, model 1) results in a positive coefficient that passes a significance test at conventional levels, but the coefficient (0.01) is rather small meaning that a difference of 10 per cent in share of foreigners leads to an increase on the diversity beliefs scale of just 0.1 units (the scale ranges from -3.2 to $+1.4$). We can conclude that, although there is a statistically significant positive relation between contextual diversity and diversity beliefs, the effect lacks substantial relevance.

However, the relationship between share of foreigners and diversity beliefs might be influenced by third variables—either characteristics of the area or individual attributes. In particular, we are interested in how social interactions mediate this relationship. We estimate a multivariate model that includes the unemployment rate as an additional area-level variable. As individual attributes, we include gender, age, migration background, education, and unemployment status as well as intergroup contact frequency in the area, size of weak tie and strong tie networks and shares of intergroup ties in such networks (see Table 6.2 models 2 and 3).

We find that, as soon as social interaction variables and intergroup contact in the area in particular are included, the relationship between share of foreigners and diversity beliefs becomes non-significant. The bivariate effect of contextual diversity on diversity beliefs—as suggested by the diagram above—is mediated by frequent intergroup contacts in the neighbourhood, in other words, diversity beliefs are more positive in areas with higher immigrant shares because their inhabitants have more intergroup interaction.

Immigrants are not more favourably disposed towards diversity than people without migration background, but the frequency of intergroup

Table 6.2 Multilevel linear regressions on diversity beliefs

Variables	1		2		3	
	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>						
Share of foreigners (2009)	0.011**	(0.004)	0.008**	(0.003)	0.004	(0.003)
Unemployment ratio (2009)			-0.015	(0.013)	-0.014	(0.012)
<i>Individual level</i>						
Highest educational level (2010)			0.113***	(0.011)	0.106***	(0.011)
Unemployed (2010) (yes=1)			0.122	(0.192)	0.077	(0.188)
Migration background (2010) (yes=1)			0.061	(0.077)	0.742*	(0.373)
Age (2010)			-0.003	(0.002)	-0.000	(0.002)
Gender (2010) (female=1)			0.163**	(0.060)	0.176**	(0.060)
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood (2011)					0.089***	(0.026)
Frequency of intergroup contact in the neighbourhood (2011)*					-0.250*	(0.103)
migration background						
Number of weak ties (2011)					-0.021	(0.030)
Existence of intergroup ties among weak ties (2011)					0.206**	(0.079)
Number of strong ties (2011)					0.054	(0.030)
Existence of intergroup ties among strong ties (2011)					0.150*	(0.066)
<i>Intercept</i>						
Intercept	-0.167*	(0.071)	-1.645***	(0.247)	-2.151***	(0.258)
<i>Model statistics</i>						
N _{individuals} /N _{neighbourhoods}	835/50		835/5		835/50	
R ²	0.012		0.130		0.176	
Chi ²	7.711		123.291		175.885	
Intraclass correlation	0.021		0.000		0.000	

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

contact in the neighbourhood has different effects on the two groups. Among people without a migration background, intergroup contact in the neighbourhood supports more tolerant diversity attitudes, but among those with a migration background the opposite is true. This is somewhat surprising. Should interaction with non-immigrant Germans be such a negative experience that it encourages doubts as to the value of diversity? Or are those interacting more frequently also more inclined to hold assimilationist views? The latter seems to be the more plausible answer.

The number of individuals' weak or strong intergroup ties is unrelated to diversity attitudes. However, whether respondents have or do not have such a tie has an effect on the latent diversity belief.⁹

Altogether, we can conclude that once we include social interactions, contextual diversity itself is irrelevant for diversity beliefs.¹⁰ Thus, the immediate co-presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood does not directly impact on diversity beliefs. The immigration-related mix of a neighbourhood does, however, foster intergroup contact in the area, which in turn encourages more liberal views towards diversity.

6.3 Attitudes Towards Specific Immigrant Groups

In the previous section, we discussed more general attitudes towards diversity and to two controversial consequences of immigration-related diversity. We now turn to attitudes towards selected sub-groups of the immigrant population. As explained above, we chose large groups that

⁹As expected, some individual characteristics, in particular higher levels of education, go along with more liberal diversity attitudes. Unemployment on the other hand is irrelevant for diversity beliefs, as is age. Women tend to hold more positive diversity beliefs. Of the neighbourhood characteristics, unemployment ratio turns out to be insignificant.

¹⁰In a multivariate analysis with data from the first wave, we found that the share of immigrants in the city and in the area as well as the visibility of diversity in the area had no impact on the general view of the respondents of diversity as beneficial for the city. This attitude to diversity seems independent from the diversity experienced in the residential area and the city. However, people who live in metropolitan cities (of at least 500,000 inhabitants) have higher probabilities to agree with the diversity statement.

are likely to be represented in most urban neighbourhoods. Furthermore, we chose groups towards whom we expected differing, more negative, and more positive attitudes. Attitudes towards specific immigrant groups are analysed as trust in and feelings towards these groups.

6.3.1 Trust in People and in Specific Groups

While there is still considerable disagreement on the concept of trust and on the interpretation of answers to related questions (see for example Nannestad 2008; Delhey and Newton 2003), levels of trust are a generally accepted indicator of the health of a society. ‘Scholars describe trust as the civic lubricant of thriving societies’ (Delhey et al. 2011: 787). Questions on trust in others are widely used to indicate the level of social integration of a society or group. Generalized trust, defined as a form of trust in one’s fellow citizens, is regarded as a crucial prerequisite for collective action and patterns of co-operation (Levi 1998). Furthermore, as discussed above (see Chap. 1), it is sometimes argued that heterogeneity goes along with lower levels of trust among people and that this, in turn, decreases social capital.

The DivCon survey used a common question on generalized trust, that is trust in other people, similar to the one used in the European Social Survey. In further questions we specified the groups to be trusted or mistrusted in order to find out where respondents draw a line between the unknown other and more familiar people who deserve more (or less) trust. We aimed to find out whether individuals distinguish between people in general and Germans, and between Germans and foreigners living in Germany. In addition, we examined whether foreigners in the neighbourhood are seen as more trustworthy than foreigners in general. And, finally, we wanted to find out whether people make distinctions between specific groups of immigrants.

Answers to all our trust questions could be chosen from a five-point-scale ranging from (1) you can’t be too careful to (5) most people (or Germans, Turks and so on) can be trusted. The three middle categories were not verbalised, respondents could choose numbers 2, 3, or 4 to place their answers between the two extremes.

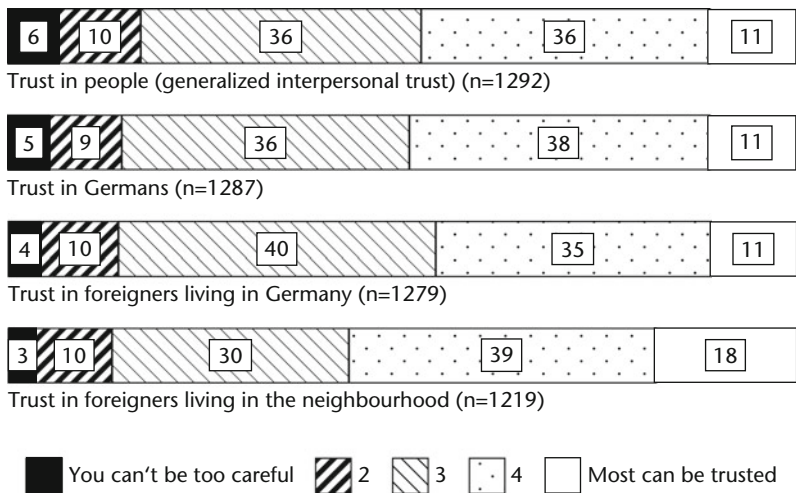


Fig. 6.4 Generalized trust and trust in Germans and foreigners

As Fig. 6.4 shows, 47 per cent of respondents generally trust other people. Thirty-six per cent are somewhat reserved and 16 per cent are predominantly mistrusting. The levels of trust are pretty much the same for three groups: people in general, Germans, and even foreigners living in Germany are accorded similar levels of trustworthiness. Apparently, the term *Ausländer*, literally ‘foreign citizens’ or ‘aliens’, does not stimulate negative reactions; all three groups seem to represent unknown others.¹¹ In contrast, foreigners in the neighbourhood are frequently seen as more trustworthy than the three previous groups. An absolute majority (57 per cent) trust their co-citizens from other countries, and only 13 per cent are mistrusting. Foreigners in the neighbourhood are trusted more than Germans in general; apparently proximity matters more than nationality.

We find not only comparable frequencies but also strong correlations between these four measures of trust ($0.56 < \text{Kendall's } \tau_b < 0.83$). The strongest correlation exists between trust in people and trust in Germans

¹¹ See Delhey et al. 2011 for a discussion of the ‘radius of trust’, that is the question of who people have in mind when asked about ‘people’, or who they consider familiar.

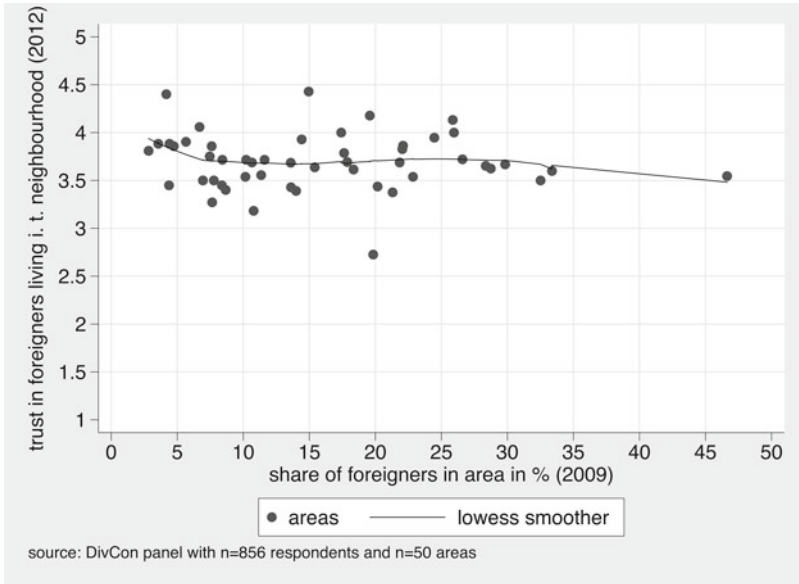


Fig. 6.5 Trust in foreigners living in the neighbourhood by share of foreigners (Note: Dots represent the average opinion per neighbourhood and the lowess smoother line is based on individual responses. The shape of the smoothed line does not change substantially if the neighbourhood with the highest share of foreigners is excluded from the analysis.)

followed by the correlation between trust in foreigners living in Germany and foreigners living in the neighbourhood.

The 50 investigated neighbourhoods differ with regard to the average levels of trust in people expressed by our respondents (averages range from 2.9 to 3.7 on the five-point-scale). However, these differences are not related to shares of foreigners. With regard to trust in ‘foreigners living in the neighbourhood’ the averages range from 2.9 to 4.0, but again—and indeed surprisingly—this variation is unrelated to the shares of foreigners in the 50 neighbourhoods.¹² This is illustrated by Figure 6.5. in which the dots represent the neighbourhoods. Logically, of

¹²For an analysis of further potentially influential factors with data from the first wave of our survey see Stolle et al. 2013: 286–290. The multivariate models show a mediating influence of intergroup contact.

course residents may trust the 2 per cent foreigners in their neighbourhood as much as others trust the 20 per cent foreigners in another, but it is less likely that native German residents of the more homogeneous neighbourhoods personally know one or more of the, say, 2 per cent foreigners. Apparently, people are often willing to trust unknown others that are described as co-residents of their neighbourhood.

6.3.2 Trust in Turks, Russlanddeutsche, and Western Europeans Living in Germany

Compared with foreigners, two of the specified immigrant groups are seen as less trustworthy (see Fig. 6.6). The answer pattern for trust in western Europeans is fairly similar to that for foreigners living in Germany. Still, and contrary to what we expected, the specific reference to West Europeans, the nations that are close political allies and seen as culturally similar, does not lead to higher expressions of trust.



DivCon Panel 2011

Fig. 6.6 Trust in different immigrant groups

Trust in Turks living in Germany is slightly lower than trust in foreigners living in Germany, confirming a more negative image of people of Turkish descent than of foreigners in general. But even here the group of those who trust them is larger than the group of those who explicitly stated that they did not trust Turks living in Germany.

Surprisingly, trust in *Russlanddeutsche* (a common term for ethnic German immigrants from Eastern Europe)¹³ is much lower than trust in foreigners. In spite of their recognized German descent, referred to in the phrasing of the question, there are more mistrusting than trusting respondents. Note that we get high percentages of missing values (10 per cent 'don't know' and 'no answer'). Apparently a significant group of respondents is unsure about their attitude or is possibly unfamiliar with the group.¹⁴

Trust in foreigners and in three immigrant groups are closely related to each other. All bivariate correlations (Kendall's tau_b) are statistically significant and above 0.55 (max 0.70) indicating strongly positive relationships. Such clear correlations can be interpreted as indicating that people hold a certain level of trust, with trust in specific groups varying around that level. There is no evidence that people radically distinguish between a subgroup they trust and another they distrust.

Is there evidence suggesting that trust in specific immigrant groups is related to co-existence with members of such groups in the neighbourhood? We can mainly test this for Turks, because we have detailed statistics for Turkish nationals. As *Russlanddeutsche* are generally German citizens, they are invisible in official statistics. Among the 50 DivCon neighbourhoods there are four where the share of Turkish nationals in the population¹⁵ is particularly high. In one, 8 per cent of the population are Turkish nationals, in the three others this is the case for about 15 per cent. Average levels of trust in 'Turks living in Germany' in those four neighbourhoods suggest neither conflict through co-existence nor

¹³ See Chap. 3 for more details on German immigration history and the different groups.

¹⁴ For further survey data on trust in specific immigrant groups see Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR), 2010: 58, with a similar hierarchy of West Europeans, Turks, and *Aussiedler*.

¹⁵ As already explained, figures for neighbourhood residents with Turkish background are unavailable.

confidence through familiarity. They do not stand out in comparison with the other 46 neighbourhoods.

Again, there are no correlations at all between share of foreigners in the neighbourhood and trust in immigrant groups living in Germany. Bivariate regression analyses reveal statistically non-significant coefficients for those trust variables and share of foreigners (results not shown).

In an additional set of analyses, we sought to estimate the longitudinal effects of intergroup contact with the three groups, Turks, *Russlanddeutsche*, and West Europeans. We wondered whether contact would affect trust over time. We estimated a series of models that investigate developments over time in order to understand whether having more contact with each group affects trust over time (the forward effects), and whether having more trust in each group might also affect how much contact people have in the future (the reverse effects). *Contact* here refers to specific survey questions about the frequency of conversations with individuals of the respective backgrounds.¹⁶

Results for the Turkish group revealed that having contact at earlier times was significantly associated with contact at later times indicating a stability of contact over time (Figure 6.7¹⁷). Similarly, trust of the Turks at earlier times was also significantly associated with trust of this group at later times, again indicating the stability of trust in Turks over time. Most importantly, though, contact at earlier times was significantly positively associated with trust at later times. This means that individuals who had more contact with Turks at earlier time-points reported higher levels of trust in Turks at later time-points than individuals with less intergroup contact. Inspection of the reverse paths revealed that trust at earlier time points was not related to contact at later time points. Thus individuals who expressed higher levels of trust

¹⁶ The question was for example, 'How often do you talk with people who are from Turkey or whose parents are from Turkey?' ('*Wie oft unterhalten Sie sich mit Menschen, die selbst oder deren Eltern aus der Türkei stammen?*') The five answer options ranged from 'daily' to 'never'.

¹⁷ Figure 6.7 shows a model that is constrained in the paths between the waves, i.e. has the same coefficients for paths from t1 to t2 as for t2 to t3. We tested the constraints for the cross-lagged model reported by comparing a model without constraints to a model that included the constraints. The more restrictive model showed a comparable fit, confirming our use of the model with equality constraints ($\chi^2_{\text{corrected}} = 7.25$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.123$).

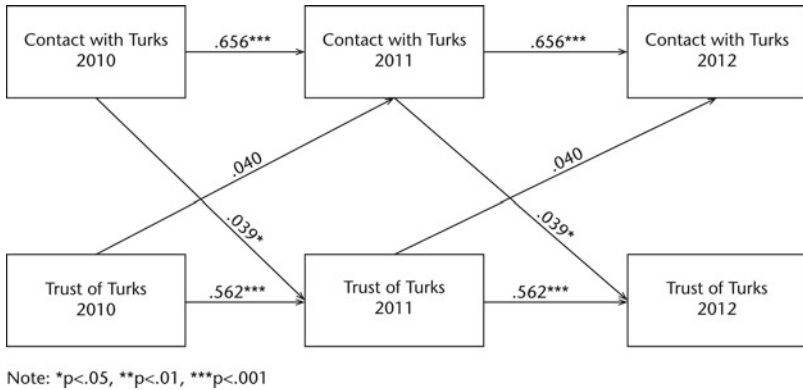


Fig. 6.7 Cross-lagged analyses showing longitudinal effects of intergroup contact with and trust of Turks (Note: The coefficients shown on the paths are unstandardized beta coefficients)

in Turks did not report more frequent contact with people of such backgrounds than those with lower trust levels. Hence the results for this group show that while contact was predictive of trust (as is predicted by Allport's 1954 contact hypothesis), the reverse effect of trust on contact did not occur.

The results for *Russlanddeutsche* and for West Europeans revealed a similar pattern of results, with exception of the reverse paths. Contact and trust were also stable over time. In other words, contact with West-Europeans at earlier time-points was predictive of contact with this group at later time-points; the same effect was observed for trust of West Europeans. Again, the forward paths of contact with *Russlanddeutsche* on trust of this group (and of contact with West Europeans on trust of this group) were positive and significant, showing that having contact with this group at earlier time-points predicts trust of this group at later time-points. This is an interesting finding (though not entirely uncommon in longitudinal research of this type), since it shows that contact does not only appear to drive trust, but levels of trust at earlier time-points may also lead to increased contact over time (in other words, there exists a bi-directional relationship between contact and trust).

6.3.3 Feelings Towards Turks, *Russlanddeutsche*, and Western Europeans Living in Germany

Alongside questions on trust, we used feelings thermometers as a further operationalization of attitudes towards specific immigrant groups. A feeling thermometer aims to measure the direction of an attitude and also to assess the degree or intensity of the feeling (Alwin 2007: 188). It offers a more fine-grained scale than common trust scales. Furthermore, feeling thermometers measure an attitude towards a whole group, while our trust questions allow respondents to differentiate within the group, so that they can express trust in most Turks, but not all of them, for example.

Respondents were asked to express their sympathy for, for example, foreigners living in Germany by way of an imagined thermometer with a scale ranging from 0 to 100. Positive feelings were labelled as warm and negative feelings as cold. The survey included questions on foreigners, Western Europeans, Turks, and *Russlanddeutsche*—always referring to those living in Germany.

Our respondents did not perceive the questions on feelings and on trust as about more or less the same issues: Correlations between trust in and feelings towards the respective immigrant group are significantly positive but moderate in strength ($0.24 < \tau_{\text{b}} < 0.36$).¹⁸ It seems that trust and feelings are different concepts.

The average temperature of feelings towards foreigners living in Germany is 62 degrees. The standard deviation is 18 meaning that most respondents express feelings ranging between 44 and 80. The histogram (Fig. 6.8a) shows that the answers are concentrated around and above 50, that is the point that divides cooler from warmer feelings. Only 11 per cent express feelings below 50 degrees, 27 per cent express ambivalent feelings and chose 50 degrees, while most people (62 per cent) express warm feelings (above 50). Thus, a large majority feels positive towards foreigners living in Germany.

¹⁸ For example, trust in Turks is strongly related to trust in other (immigrant) groups (τ_{b} is at least 0.61) and feelings towards Turks are also strongly related to feelings towards other immigrant groups (r is at least 0.53). But trust in and feelings towards Turks living in Germany are only moderately correlated ($\tau_{\text{b}} = 0.31$).

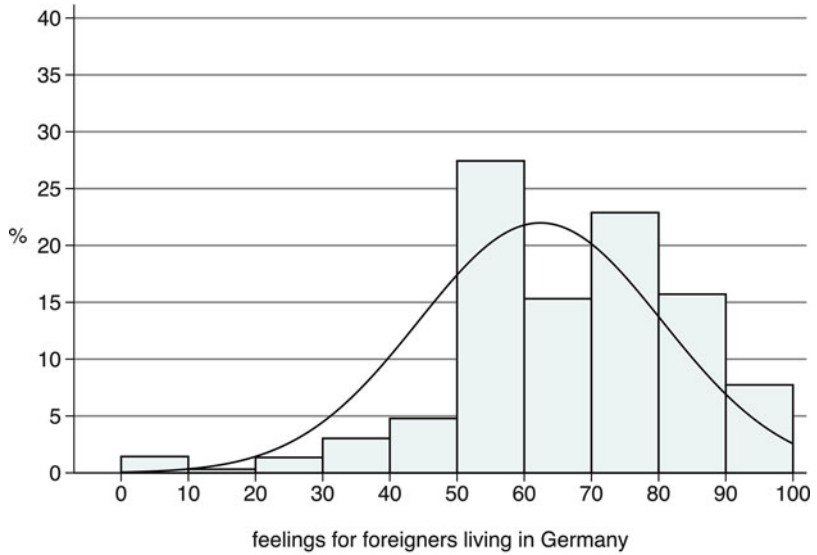
As distinct from answers to the trust questions, respondents feel more positive towards Western Europeans living in Germany than for foreigners in general. The average temperature is 67 degrees, that is 5 degrees above that for foreigners. The answers are not normally distributed but heavily skewed towards warmer feelings (Fig. 6.8b). A large majority (70 per cent) chose a value above 50, and only 8 per cent express feelings below 50. Western Europeans living in Germany are an esteemed immigrant group that is seen as more positive' than unspecified foreigners living in Germany.

We also investigated to what extent each individual distinguished between feelings for foreigners and for the three specific groups.¹⁹ With a mean of +4, feelings towards Western Europeans are only slightly warmer than feelings towards foreigners in general. The diagram (Fig. 6.9a) shows that most feelings are centered in the range between -10 and +20 with a peak around zero indicating that not many of our respondents distinguish between feelings for all foreigners and for Western Europeans.

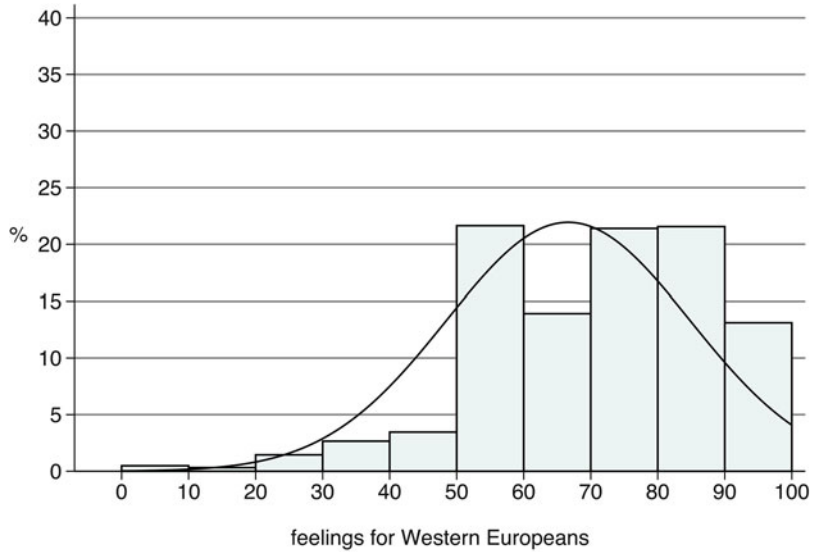
The average temperature of feelings towards Turks living in Germany is 57 degrees. This is five degrees cooler than the feelings towards foreigners and ten degrees cooler than feelings towards Western Europeans. The histogram shows that many answers are concentrated around 50 (Fig. 6.8c). Still, a majority (51 per cent) express warm feelings towards Turks. The diagram shows that in most cases the relative feelings are centered around zero (41 per cent), indicating little difference in feelings for Turks and for foreigners in general (Fig. 6.9b). The mean of the difference between feelings for foreigners and Turks is -5.

For *Russlanddeutsche*, only a relative majority (40 per cent) expresses warm feelings (Fig. 6.8d). The average feeling towards *Russlanddeutsche* is 51 degrees, that is lower than for foreigners and lower than for Turks, although still on the positive side. One third expresses little sympathy

¹⁹We created three new variables for relative feelings towards Western Europeans, Turks, and *Russlanddeutsche*. These are the differences to the feelings towards foreigners living in Germany. Logically, these new variables range from -100 to +100. Zero indicates no difference, in other words the respondent gave the same temperatures for foreigners in Germany and for, say, Turks in Germany. Positive values indicate more positive feelings and negative values more negative feelings towards a specific immigrant group (for example Turks) relative to feelings towards foreigners living in Germany. It remains open whether these feelings were rated warm or cold; we only look at the extent to which people distinguished between groups.

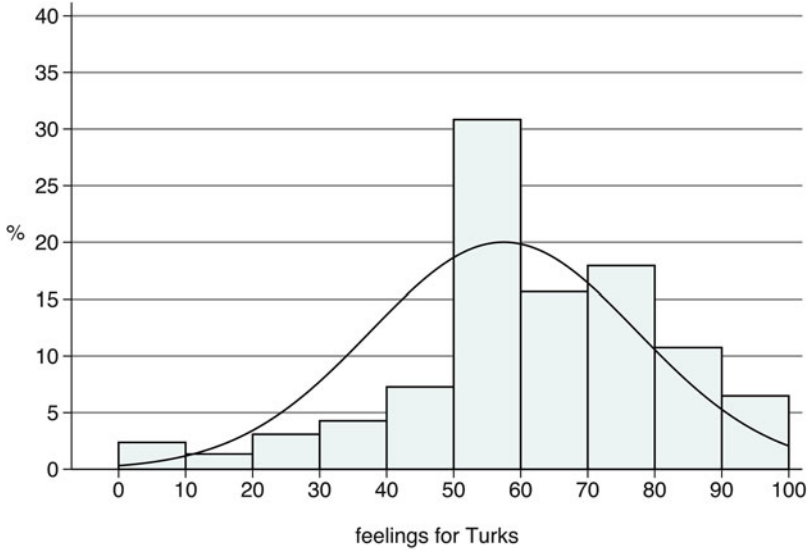


source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1254; all respondents)

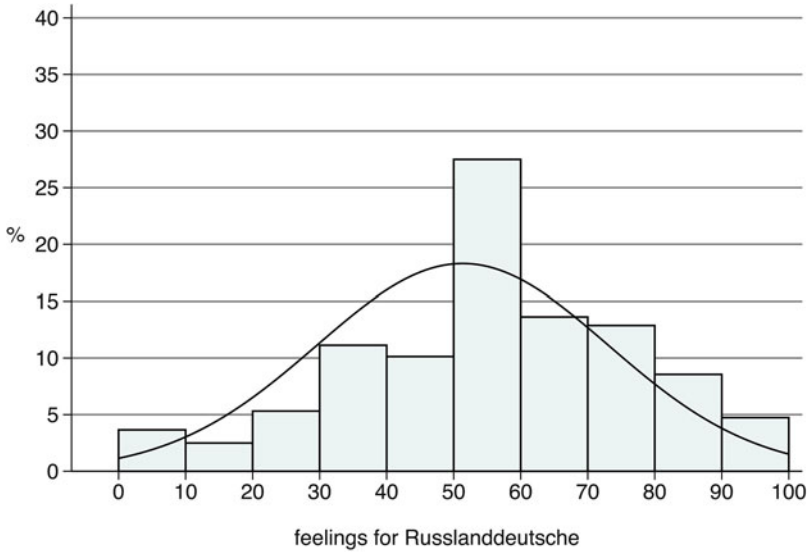


source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1243; all respondents)

Fig. 6.8 Feelings towards different groups

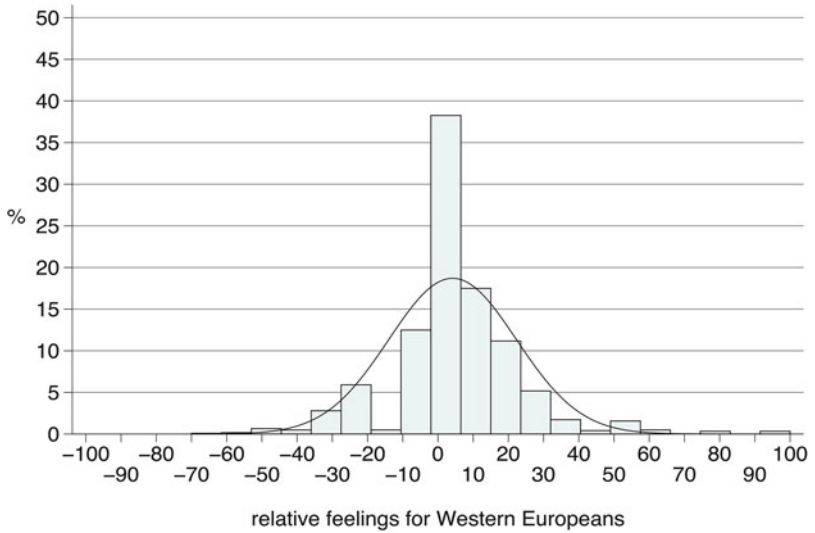


source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1265; all respondents)

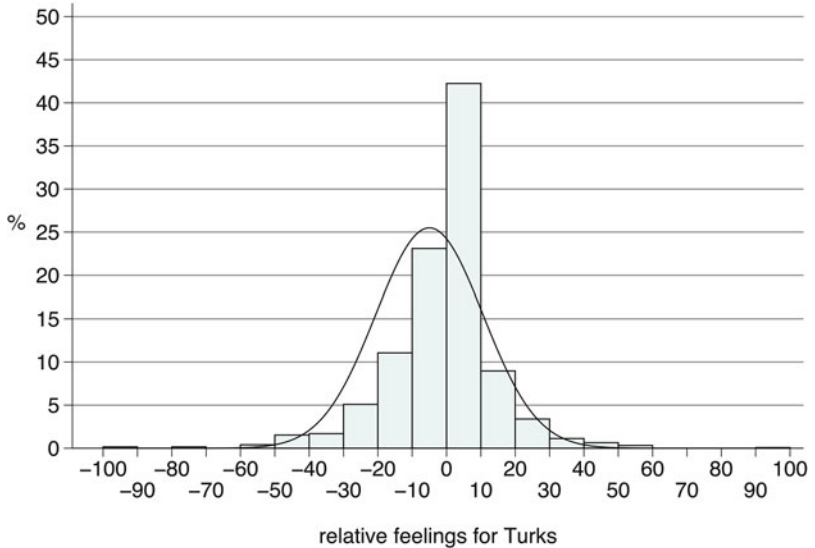


source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1204; all respondents)

Fig. 6.8 (continued)



source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1208; all respondents)



source: DivCon survey 2011 (n=1238; all respondents)

Fig. 6.9 Feelings towards immigrant groups in relation to feelings towards foreigners

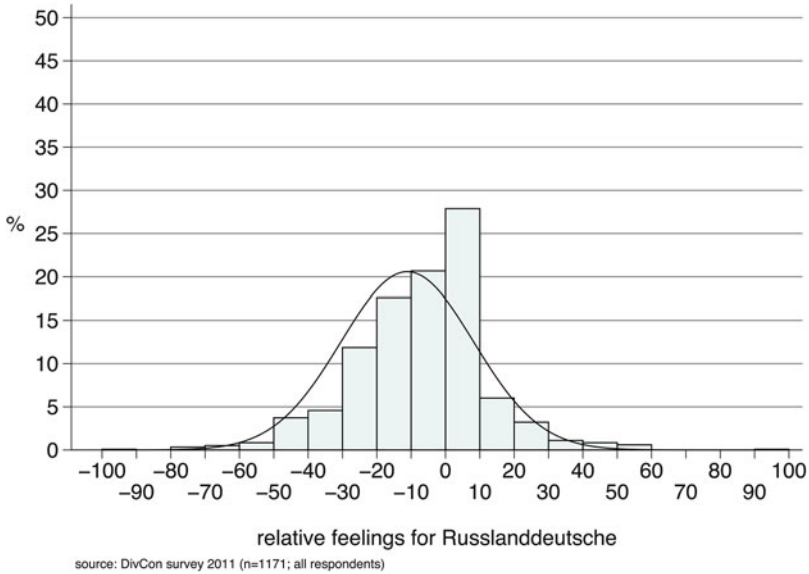


Fig. 6.9 (continued)

by choosing a value below 50 degrees (compared with 18 per cent for the Turks). For the Russian Germans only a bit more than one quarter of the respondents chose the same value as for foreigners in general. The diagram shows in most cases the relative feelings are centered in the range between -30 and zero, indicating larger differences between feelings for foreigners in general and for *Russlanddeutsche* (Fig. 6.9c). The mean is -11 indicating that feelings towards *Russlanddeutsche* are cooler than feelings towards foreigners in general.

Feelings for foreigners and for the three groups are strongly interrelated. All correlations are significantly positive and strong ($0.50 < r < 0.66$). The strongest correlations are between feelings towards foreigners and feelings towards Turks. The weakest correlation is between feelings towards foreigners and feelings towards Western Europeans. This is comparable to correlations between trust measures.

Altogether, we find that different groups of immigrants enjoy different levels of trust and positive feelings. Western Europeans are seen as more trustworthy and sympathetic than Turks; and *Russlanddeutsche* are the least liked and trusted of the three groups.

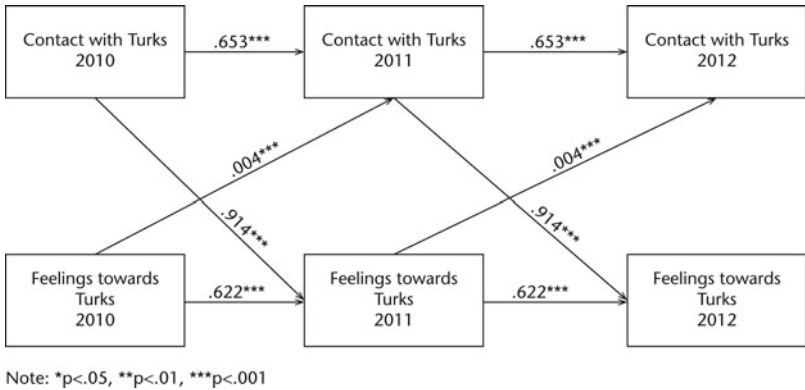


Fig. 6.10 Cross-lagged analyses showing longitudinal effects of contact with and feelings towards Turks

In a final set of analyses, we again considered how contact with the three groups, Turks, *Russlanddeutsche*, and West Europeans, over time affects feelings towards these three groups. Following the same analysis strategy as for trust towards these three groups, we again estimated a series of cross-lagged models in which we considered the relationships between contact and feelings towards the three groups across the three time-points.

All of the estimated relationships were significant for the Turkish group (Fig. 6.10). Contact with Turks at earlier time-points was associated with contact at later time-points, while feelings toward Turks at earlier time-points were associated with feelings at later time-points. Confirming predictions of the contact hypothesis, contact with Turks at earlier time-points was positively associated with more positive feelings towards Turks at later time-points. However, we also obtained significant reverse effects, of positive feelings toward Turks at earlier time-points on increased contact with Turks at later time-points. The relationship between contact and feelings toward Turks was thus bidirectional.

Results for the longitudinal relationships between contact with and feelings towards *Russlanddeutsche* were similar to those obtained for the Turkish group. The autoregressive relationships of contact and feelings, respectively, were thus significant. Moreover, individuals who had more contact with *Russlanddeutsche* at earlier time-points reported more positive feelings towards this group at later time-points, compared to those

without this contact. Again however, we observed that the relationship between contact and feelings works in both directions, such that feelings toward *Russlanddeutsche* at earlier time-points were also associated with more contact with this group at later time-points.

Finally, contact with West Europeans at earlier time-points predicts contact with this group at later time-points, as well as feelings toward West Europeans at earlier time-points predicting later feelings toward this group. As was the case for the other groups, individuals who had contact with West Europeans at earlier time-points reported more positive feelings toward West Europeans at later time-points. Notably, the reverse effects of feelings on contact did not reach statistical significance for this group.

6.4 Conclusions

We could show in this chapter that inhabitants of German cities in their great majority appreciate the existing immigration-related diversity. The overwhelming majority sees diversity as beneficial for their city and believes that intergroup contact benefits young people. Our respondents are more skeptical as regards for example religious minority rights or linguistic plurality. Here opinions are divided and reflect controversial public debates. We suggested that a social norm has developed in Germany according to which immigration-related diversity is to be welcomed. Objections to some features of this diversity may appear as legitimate either because political and media debates qualify them as not in conflict with the general norm or because the norm itself understands diversity as requiring some adjustment and social mixing.

This chapter further investigated levels of trust in a number of groups. Trust is widely seen as a key indicator of societal integration. We could show that inhabitants of German cities altogether trust immigrants as much as they trust Germans. In particular those living in the same neighbourhood, even if described as foreigners, are seen as trustworthy. Apparently, the label foreigner is not associated with a symbolic boundary between more and less trustworthy co-residents.

In this chapter in particular, we used the panel data of the Diversity and Contact-survey to examine causal relationships between the neigh-

bourhood environment, intergroup interaction, and selected attitudes. It turned out that there is no substantial link between the presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood and attitudes to diversity. The diversity of the respondents' residential environment has no impact on their views on Muslims' right to build mosques, or on language and communication. Either experiences in larger contexts than our areas are crucial, or such views are shaped by broader debates in society and the media. Levels of trust in groups of others differ across neighbourhoods, but such differences are not related to the presence of immigrants. The widespread assumption that high levels of immigration might undermine social relationships was not confirmed. Moreover, we could confirm—with greater confidence than previous studies with correlational data—that contact with members of specific immigrant groups leads to higher trust of such groups.

Our results stand in contrast to results of some other studies in other European countries that have found negative correlations between diversity in the neighbourhood and trust in neighbours. Thus according to Laurence, several British studies 'observe that, on the whole, living in more diverse communities has a significant negative relationship with attitudes towards one's neighbours, especially trust in neighbours' (2013: 257). For the high-trust Danish society, it has been found that high immigrant shares in the municipality are associated with (slightly) lower trust—but also that effects of average income in the municipality are larger (Dinesen and Sønderskov 2012: 285–287).

On the other hand, Hjerm (2009: 57) has shown for Swedish municipalities that the proportion of the foreign-born has no effect on anti-immigrant attitudes. Some studies in Germany also point in the same direction as the Diversity and Contact findings. One study of 17 selected neighbourhoods in three German cities did not find a systematic relationship between socio-spatial characteristics and attitudes. Instead, the authors regard individual factors and the general evaluation of the neighbourhood by residents as decisive for negative attitudes and conflicts (Schröder et al. 2000: 165, 194–197). In another study, Drever (2008: 185) found on the basis of data for larger (postal) districts that levels of trust in other people did not differ significantly between districts with more than 24 per cent foreigners and those with smaller immigrant

populations (see also Wagner et al. 2006). Apparently, we have good reason to believe that, at least in German cities, high shares of immigrants in a neighbourhood population do not impact in any negative way on intergroup relations and societal integration.

Our own analyses further demonstrate that contact between non-immigrants and immigrants has an impact. While the immediate co-presence of immigrants and non-immigrants in the neighbourhood does not directly impact on diversity beliefs, the immigration-related mix of a neighbourhood population does, however, foster intergroup contact in the area. Such contact encourages more liberal views towards diversity, higher levels of trust in others and more positive feelings towards them.

7

The Immigrant Perspective

7.1 Introduction

This chapter turns to the experiences of those urban residents who came to Germany as immigrants or who are the children of immigrants. While we have throughout discussed practices and experiences of individuals with and without migration backgrounds, this book is largely written from a majority perspective. The perception of diversity itself is one that emphasizes the transformation brought by immigration and the presence of immigrants in a formerly more ethnically homogeneous society. Those representing such diversity, that is the immigrants themselves, may perceive their social environment as rather homogeneous, as an environment dominated by long-term German residents. Not only the interaction patterns of immigrants, but also their perceptions of intergroup interaction, may differ from those of non-immigrant Germans. This chapter offers some insights into the interpretations of intergroup interaction by immigrants, based on qualitative research. A second focus is on the internal differentiation of the immigrant population in German urban neighbourhoods; here we use the data of our quantitative survey.

While in previous chapters we already identified differences between the immigrants and the non-immigrants, we now also look at differences within the population with a migration background. As usual, we will investigate intergroup contact patterns in the neighbourhood as well as weak and strong intergroup ties.

For the quantitative analyses in this chapter we use about 480 survey respondents with migration backgrounds. We have excluded a number of survey respondents whose migration backgrounds could not be determined in more detail. We use the first wave of the survey, conducted in 2010, because of the larger number of cases. Our study was not designed to investigate the immigrant population. While detailed information on characteristics of the immigrant population in our 50 neighbourhoods is not available,¹ it may well be that those with German citizenship, those in mixed partnership and those with higher levels of education are over-represented. Although we did offer interviews in a number of languages, few immigrants with limited German and few recent immigrants participated. Still, our sample does include a sizeable number of individuals who came to Germany within the ten years preceding the survey.²

We further draw on 31 qualitative interviews conducted with residents of the five neighbourhoods we investigated in more detail (see Chap. 5). Our interview partners include non-Europeans, Europeans and a number of immigrants with Turkish backgrounds. With the inclusion of ethnic Germans, guest workers and refugees in the interviews, several migration pathways are represented. We use these interviews to get insights into perceptions and interpretations of neighbourhood life and intergroup interactions.

In the literature, immigrants' social interactions are often discussed as indicators of their social integration. Interactions with non-immigrants are regarded as beneficial for the acquisition of the dominant language and for

¹ Even the ten per cent census held in 2011 cannot be broken down to neighbourhoods and immigrant subgroups.

² Around one third of the immigrants in our sample describe their partner as German. Eighteen per cent have a *Hauptschul*-certificate (ten years of schooling) or less, 55 per cent have a school certificate that entitles them to enter university. This share of the highly educated is larger among immigrants than among non-immigrants (45 per cent) in our sample. Still, the reported household incomes of the immigrant respondents are lower than those of the non-immigrants. Thirty-five per cent are not in employment and of those a bit more than half are below retirement age.

labour market integration. Recent studies argue for instance that intergroup social ties enable immigrants to find employment and to attain greater economic prosperity, which further contributes to self-identification with the host country (de Vroome et al. 2011:632; see also Kanas et al. 2012: 702, on economic integration). A contrasting perspective emphasizes the potential benefits of strong ethnic community networks (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 62–9). The segmented assimilation thesis maintains that social integration into host country networks and cultures may not always be beneficial for immigrants' educational and labour market success, but that under certain conditions, the bonding networks of ethnic communities may offer the social capital necessary to succeed (Zhou 1997). The social networks of immigrants are also investigated in their importance for attitudes and beliefs, here results differ (Maliepaard and Phalet 2012; Reinders et al. 2006; Marshall and Stolle 2004).

Little attention has more recently been paid to the preconditions of immigrants' intergroup interactions and their development over time (but see Vervoort and Dagevos 2011; for Germany: Schacht et al. 2014; Haug et al. 2009: 269–74; Haug 2010: 24–7; on interethnic friendships among youths Reinders, 2004). In the literature on immigrant assimilation or integration some assumptions on the development of immigrants' social interactions are widely shared. Although straight-line assimilation models are now generally rejected, it is plausible to see the development of social interactions between newcomers and long-term residents as part of a process of integration that develops over time (Alba and Nee 2003: 260–7). Thus, length of residence should be a determining factor. Recent research in the Netherlands (Martinovic et al. 2009) has confirmed that. Second, social and symbolic boundaries may restrict interaction. As citizenship and racist or other negative ascriptions, as well as ethnic loyalties, constitute such boundaries, these factors are likely to affect patterns of intergroup interaction and thus differentiate the immigrant population (Alba and Foner 2015: 207–15; Brubaker 2015: 17–20; Bloemraad et al. 2008). In particular potential effects of spatial concentration or dispersion and spatial boundaries have been hotly debated (see below; Schönwälder 2007). Less is known about the effects of other boundaries on patterns of social interaction. Our analyses in this chapter shed some light on this question.

This chapter is also about the perceptions of intergroup interactions; and here research insights are rather limited. In the social psychological literature, some authors have noted that intergroup contact and its consequences had mainly been investigated with respect to the majority and that research was thus ‘rather one-sided’ (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006: 246). Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins further criticize that so far little attention has been paid to minority ‘perceptions and interactional concerns, or how these shape intergroup interactions’ (2006: 246). As they believe, contact situations may be perceived and interpreted differently. Dixon et al. (2005) more generally criticize the lack of insights into the interpretations of intergroup contacts. Indeed, in sociological and anthropological research as well, the evidence on how immigrants experience and interpret neighbourhood environments and social life is limited (but see Sutterlüty/Neckel 2006, on mutual perceptions of Turks and Germans in two urban neighbourhoods; Friedrichs and Blasius 2003 on social norms; Wimmer 2002 on Swiss urban neighbourhoods; Cederberg 2012 on refugees in Sweden). Studies often focus on selected neighbourhoods or biographical experiences of immigrants, and it is difficult to generalize the findings. This chapter contributes to a better understanding about patterns of interaction of urban residents with immigrant backgrounds and their perception and interpretation of such interactions.

7.2 Patterns of Intergroup Interaction

In Chapter 4, we have already shown that immigrants in German cities on average engage in extensive intergroup interactions. For neighbourhood contact, weak and strong ties, we found more intergroup interaction for those with immigrant background than for those without. What is the situation if we look at differences within the immigrant population?

Our immigrant sample includes a number of different backgrounds and life trajectories that allows us to analyze the impact of a number of features that can theoretically be expected to shape intergroup interactions. These different immigrant backgrounds are depicted in Table 7.1. For example, immigrants of foreign birth might have made friends in their home country and have a smaller number of friends in Germany.

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics of the immigrant sample

	Number in each group	Percentage in each group
<i>Foreign born</i>		
Yes	237	49
No	243	51
<i>Immigration cohort</i>		
Not foreign born	243	51
1933–1989	119	25
1990–1999	78	16
2000–2010	40	8
<i>Visible minority</i>		
Yes	75	16
No	405	84
<i>German citizenship</i>		
Yes	357	75
No	122	25
Total	480 ^a	100

^aExcept citizenship question, which has a total of 479 migrant responses and one 'no answer'

Note: immigrant categories are not mutually exclusive

Length of residence in all likelihood affects interaction patterns as it takes time to make friends and acquaintances. In contrast, the second generation, made up of children of immigrants, was socialized in German contexts and may show interaction patterns unaffected by immigration, but possibly shaped by ethnic identifications. We compare the foreign born and the second generation, that are the German-born children of immigrants. For the foreign-born, we also distinguish different lengths of residence in Germany. We further investigate whether those of German citizenship display other contact patterns than those with other citizenship. Does this legal status difference constitute a social boundary? Does German citizenship confer recognition, a higher position in social hierarchies and more access to social networks?³ Further, a group of 75 visible immigrants, understood as those with Turkish, Middle Eastern,

³ Referring to the labour market, DeVoretz (2004: 24) assumes 'that citizenship acts as a signal for language competency, and that it reduces cultural distance'.

and other Asian as well as African backgrounds will be compared to non-visible immigrants.⁴ This former group is more likely to experience racist discrimination (for example Krahe et al. 2005). To what extent is this visible in patterns of intergroup interaction?

7.2.1 Intergroup Contact in the Neighbourhood

Urban residents with immigrant backgrounds interact frequently with non-immigrant Germans in the neighbourhood. Table 7.2 shows that about two thirds do this on a daily basis, a further fifth at least weekly.

Table 7.2 Intergroup contact in the neighbourhood by migrant attributes (in per cent)

	Once a month or less	At least once a week	Daily	Cramer's V (p-value)
<i>Foreign born</i>				
Yes	17	20	63	0.07
No	12	22	66	(0.26)
<i>Immigration cohort</i>				
2000–2010	30	10	60	0.12
1990–1999	14	29	57	(0.03)
1933–1989	14	18	68	
Not foreign born	12	22	66	
<i>Visible minority</i>				
Yes	24	22	54	0.12
No	13	21	66	(0.03)
<i>German citizenship</i>				
Yes	12	23	65	0.15
No	23	16	61	(0.01)

Note: Numbers in cells indicate percentage of all migrants with a given attribute (each row) within each contact category. Rows may not always sum to 100 due to rounding. The right column displays Cramer's V as a measure of association between the contact categories and each migrant attribute. In brackets are p-values from a test of independence using Chi-square, with the null hypothesis being statistical independence.

⁴Most of the Muslims in our sample are included in this group. We refrain from analyzing the group separately as it is relatively small.

Hardly anyone in our 2010 survey said they never had such interaction.⁵ To an extent, this reflects the fact that members of a minority have (statistically) more opportunities to interact with members of the majority. Unless groups live strictly segregated, the minority is frequently surrounded by majority members. Often minority members also have more reason to seek intergroup interaction. Newcomers usually seek access to the new society they live in, they want to learn the language, find out about resources and so on. They may have to interact with officials, landlords, bank clerks, who belong to the majority population. However, social and symbolic boundaries—resulting for example from negative attitudes or ethnic preferences—may restrict such interaction. Indeed, we find differences between immigrant groups, albeit not throughout as one might expect. Thus, being foreign-born does not make a difference to neighbourhood contacts with non-immigrants. Socialization in Germany is apparently not a precondition for more frequent neighbourhood contact. However, among the very recent immigrants—that is those who arrived in the decade preceding the survey—the group of immigrants with very little contact is larger (30 per cent) compared to immigrants who came before 1990. As the group of recent immigrants is rather small in our sample, we have to treat this finding with caution, but it is plausible.

Some residents may avoid contact with individuals of certain backgrounds. We assume that this is more likely to affect immigrants of Turkish origin and generally the visibly different. Indeed, for the ‘visibly different’ immigrants, the share of those who say interactions with non-immigrants in the neighbourhood occur less frequently than once a week is significantly higher than among other immigrants (24 per cent versus 13 per cent). Among those who do not hold German citizenship there is also a relatively large group that has little or no neighbourhood contact with non-immigrants. Overall, visibly different immigrants, those without German citizenship and more recent immigrants have significantly limited intergroup neighbourhood contact compared to other immigrants.

⁵The survey question was, ‘In your neighbourhood, how often do you talk to people who are native Germans?’ (in German: ... *Menschen, die aus Deutschland stammen*).

Where does such intergroup interaction take place for immigrants? Our qualitative interviews show that immigrants often have contact with next-door neighbours, whereas associations do not play a large role. Work and schooling were mentioned as contexts where ties were established. Interestingly, hardly any of our immigrant interview partners referred to interaction with non-immigrant shopkeepers or restaurant owners. Only a café owner talked about his intergroup interactions as mediated by the roles of host and customer (see Chap. 5). While for the non-immigrant Germans' contact with immigrants via market-relations plays a central role, it is clearly not important for our immigrant interview partners that they are customers in German-owned shops and thus able to build up intergroup contact.⁶

If we extend the scope beyond the neighbourhood to examine the frequency of contact with non-immigrant Germans more generally, we find that this is even more common than contact in the neighbourhood (DivCon survey, results not shown).⁷ Only 5 per cent among all immigrants have such interaction less often than weekly. Again, it is among visible immigrants where the share of those who very rarely interact with non-immigrant Germans (12 per cent) is higher than among other immigrants. Citizenship, immigration cohort or whether an immigrant is foreign born or not does not affect the frequency of this general contact. In sum, immigrants have frequent contacts with non-immigrant Germans in their neighbourhood and beyond, however, visible minority immigrants in particular, and to a certain degree also recent immigrants and those without German citizenship, have fewer such contacts than other types of immigrants.

In a multivariate analysis (not shown) differences between visible and other immigrants turn out as insignificant. This may partly be due to the small numbers in the sample. As found in general and already pointed out, larger households and intergroup partnerships encourage more frequent intergroup contact. As distinct from the non-immigrant population, neighbourhood features are mostly irrelevant for the contact

⁶It is unlikely that they simply do not shop in German-owned shops or that the staff is mostly immigrants.

⁷The survey question was, 'How often do you talk with native Germans?'

frequency of the immigrant residents. They interact frequently regardless of population composition and density. Only the contact opportunities in public space (see Chap. 3 on our measure) have a positive influence.

This latter finding is in line with results of other studies. A number of researchers, in North America and in Europe, have found that neighbourhood conditions, specifically socio-demographic composition, affect different groups in different ways. What so far has mainly been shown for friendships, seems to be true for looser contacts as well. Sigelman et al. (1996: 1321) in a study in Detroit found that neighbourhood composition affected the interracial contact frequency of Whites significantly while it was without influence on the interaction patterns of the Black population. 'For blacks, place of residence has no bearing on the frequency of casual interracial contact,' Oberwittler's findings for adolescents in German cities (2007) also suggest that for immigrants the co-existence with natives in a shared residential environment is of lesser importance for the intergroup interaction than for natives. Altogether, several studies suggest that the numerical presence of the other group in the immediate residential environment affects the social interaction of majority individuals, but not (or to a lesser extent) of those belonging to minorities.

7.2.2 Weak and Strong Ties

Apart from questions on looser neighbourhood contact, the DivCon survey also included questions on friends and acquaintances in or beyond the neighbourhood (see Chap. 4). As throughout, we distinguish between strong and weak ties. Strong ties in particular have been found to matter for immigrants to adjust to their new surroundings (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Gidengil and Stolle 2012). So, what are the shares of non-immigrants in the friendship networks of immigrants? The overwhelming majority of our survey respondents with immigrant backgrounds report having non-immigrant friends and acquaintances. Of all immigrants, about 60 per cent indicated that at least three of their friends were non-immigrant Germans. Migrants have a much larger strong tie intergroup network than non-immigrants. And yet, as Table 7.3 makes

Table 7.3 Intergroup ties as share of all strong ties by migrant attributes (in per cent)

	No one	Less than half	About half	More than half	All	Cramer's V (p-value)
<i>Foreign born</i>						
Yes	25	19	25	13	18	0.39
No	8	11	13	22	46	(0.00)
<i>Immigrant cohort</i>						
2000–2010	41	16	30	3	11	
1990–1999	31	24	20	13	11	0.26
1933–1989	16	16	26	16	25	(0.00)
Not foreign born	8	11	13	22	46	
<i>Visible minority</i>						
Yes	29	21	21	17	13	0.22
No	14	14	18	18	36	(0.00)
<i>German citizenship</i>						
Yes	12	11	17	20	39	0.33
No	28	26	23	11	12	(0.00)

Note: Numbers in cells indicate percentage of all migrants with a given attribute (each row) within each category. Rows may not always sum to 100 due to rounding. The right column displays Cramer's V as a measure of association between the contact categories and each migrant attribute. In brackets are p-values from a test of independence using Chi-square, with the null hypothesis being statistical independence.

clear, having non-immigrant friends is not equally distributed across different immigrant groups. Particularly, foreign born immigrants, more recent immigrants, visible minority immigrants, and those without German citizenship have significantly fewer non-immigrant friends in their friendship networks than other immigrants.

While of the immigrants who came to Germany at least 20 years ago, only 16 per cent do not have a friend of a non-immigrant German background, this is true for over 40 per cent of the immigrants of the last decade. On the other hand, about one third of this latter group has three or more non-immigrant friends (results not shown). Among the 'visible' immigrants nearly 30 per cent also report not having non-immigrant friends (Table 7.3), but about half of this group report having three or

more such friends (not shown). Apparently this group is divided into one half with a largely immigrant friendship network and another half with many non-immigrant friends. In sum, while immigrants have much more diverse friendship networks than their non-immigrant counterparts, there are differences between immigrant groups investigated here. The foreign-born and among them particularly recent immigrants, as well as visible minority immigrants and those without German citizenship seem particularly distant from the non-immigrant population in their friendship networks.

A similar picture emerges when examining the share of intergroup interaction in weak ties, which are more regular interactions of a looser nature. Table 7.4 indicates that although immigrants have many more weak intergroup ties than non-immigrants, more than one third among the foreign born, recent immigrants, visible minority immigrants, and those without German citizenship do not have any or only limited (less than half) weak intergroup contacts. Almost one fifth among recent and visible immigrants has social lives largely separate from the non-immigrant parts of German society as they have no such acquaintances.

And yet, the existence or non-existence of intergroup ties is only in some cases related to the existence or non-existence of ties more generally. Altogether, friendship networks of those with and without immigrant backgrounds are of a similar size. Noticeable however is a group of 39 per cent among those without German citizenship who only have up to three friends. This group also includes a relatively large share with small acquaintance networks (48 per cent have up to ten, compared with 35 per cent among non-immigrants). Smaller friendship networks are also found for the foreign born where 29 per cent have three or fewer friends. Among the non-immigrants, this is the case for 21 per cent. The network sizes of visible immigrants do not differ in any relevant way from those of all immigrants. The fact that they have fewer intergroup interactions than others does not indicate that they have few friends and acquaintances, but rather that many of those are also immigrants.

Perceived commonalities relating to descent or ethnicity can play a part in social interactions. In our qualitative interviews, some interview partners explained that they feel more at home with people of similar national background. Thus an Eritrean man who runs a kiosk and thus

Table 7.4 Weak intergroup ties as share of all weak ties by migrant attributes (in per cent)

	No one	Less than half	About half	More than half	All	Cramer's V (p-value)
<i>Foreign born</i>						
Yes	15	25	24	24	12	0.34
No	2	12	22	39	25	(0.00)
<i>Immigration cohort</i>						
2000–2010	23	13	33	21	10	0.25
1990–1999	20	39	20	12	8	(0.00)
1933–1989	9	20	24	33	15	
Not foreign born	2	12	22	39	25	
<i>Visible minority</i>						
Yes	18	26	24	26	6	0.23
No	6	17	23	32	21	(0.00)
<i>German citizenship</i>						
Yes	5	18	21	35	22	0.29
No	18	23	31	20	8	(0.00)

Note: Numbers in cells indicate percentage of all migrants with a given attribute (each row) within each contact category. Rows may not always sum to 100 due to rounding. The right column displays Cramer's V as a measure of association between the contact categories and each migrant attribute. In brackets are p-values from a test of independence using Chi-square, with the null hypothesis being statistical independence.

encounters many customers every day told us that after a long working day he most enjoys the company of his own people. While friendship was possible with others, the closest bonds existed among fellow countrymen. Similarly, a social worker with a rather distant East European migration background, who emphasized that she has always felt as ethnically German, reflected on the fact that both she and her daughter found partners of Silesian or Polish descent. 'So this does get passed on, that you then have a closeness that you don't experience as such.'

And yet, in spite of such bonds based on common background, both our quantitative as well as the qualitative evidence suggest that immigrants in German cities often have rather diverse networks composed of non-

immigrant Germans and immigrants of various national backgrounds. In our survey, those with immigrant backgrounds reported more frequent interactions with Turks, *Russlanddeutsche*, and West Europeans (that is all three groups we specifically asked about) than those without immigrant backgrounds.

Indeed, feelings of closeness are not necessarily based on common national backgrounds, they may also relate to a more general immigrant experience. Thus, a woman in Hamburg, herself of Turkish background, with native German, Turkish, Tunisian, and Bosnian friends, explains how she feels at home in groups of immigrants. ‘To be honest, when I meet with the Germans, it is more like ... not tense [...], but it is, I am happy when it’s over. With the others, I can be the way I am.’ When she is with her immigrant friends, there are always other immigrants around. ‘Also Blacks. So, everybody sits together there. Everybody speaks their own language.’

Another woman explained why her really close friends have a background in Turkey, Afghanistan, Spain, Italy, or Albania by telling a story from her school days. Having come to Germany as a refugee from war-torn Kosovo, it was a major event for her when she received her residence permit. A German classmate, however, did not even understand what she was talking about while an immigrant friend immediately went out with her to celebrate. ‘It was something similar for us, something good of course, because I fought for years to get it. Now I have the opportunity to stay here. And that’s why. They can understand me, and I can understand them.’ This young woman had German friends at school and now has German fellow students. She has study groups with the latter and emphasizes that with regard to joint tasks for a course they could count on her, she would always be reliable. ‘But as friends, that I would go for a drink with them or so—no.’ These experiences seem to fit what Brubaker (2015: 18) has referred to as the ‘vague and tacit sense of comfort, style, pleasure or compatibility’ that may generate homophily and patterns of differential association without conscious references to categories of self or other.

But the latter, the reference to categorical distinctions is also at play. Often our interview partners referred to themselves as *Ausländer*/foreigners. Apparently, commonality is perceived not only on the basis of ethnicity or national origin, but also as immigrants and as separate from ‘the Germans’. Some of these interview partners were German citizens,

often they had immigrated several decades ago. Many described Germany as *Heimat* (home) and emphasized their belonging. But self-descriptions also referred to a perceived acceptance by others. Thus a young woman, who came to Germany as a small child and wears a headscarf, emphasized, ‘Well, I do not feel foreign. No, that’s not it. But sometimes I get the feeling, when I get oddly stared at or so, then you think “Oh, you are foreign here after all”.’ These interview extracts illustrate how feelings of commonality that underlie social ties can be created by a perceived commonality of the immigrant experience and thus a distance from the non-immigrants. But we also showed before that most immigrants in German cities have ties both with other immigrants and with non-immigrant Germans.

A multivariate analysis of our quantitative data sheds further light on factors impacting the frequency of intergroup ties (see Table 7.5).⁸ So, what further socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants, which backgrounds and neighbourhood aspects contribute to their social integration with non-immigrants? Do the local diversity or local socio-economic circumstances play a role in the take-up of intergroup networks? Which background variables such as income, education, occupation, household size, age, gender, and so on matter? And do they matter similarly as for non-immigrants?

The analysis indicates that neighbourhood characteristics do not matter for the frequency of neither strong nor weak intergroup ties of immigrants. Again, this result confirms other research. Farwick for instance did not find an impact of ethnic segregation on immigrants’ friendship patterns in his empirical research in one German city (2009: 229). Similarly, Drever and Clark (2006), who used the data of the German Socioeconomic Panel, found that living in an ethnic neighbourhood or not was irrelevant for the composition of immigrants’ close friendship circles. In contrast, Schlüter (2012)—albeit on a more limited empirical basis—found that living in a neighbourhood with high immigrant shares favoured more inner-ethnic interaction. Our results do not support the assumption that higher immigrant concentration reduces friendship ties of immigrants with people from the host country.

⁸ The table shows results for strong intergroup ties. We also ran the same models for weak ties and neighbourhood contact; these results are not shown in detail.

Table 7.5 Multilevel ordinal regressions on the share of intergroup ties among all strong ties

Variables	Non-migrants		Migrants		Migrants (with migrant groups)	
	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.
<i>Neighbourhood level</i>						
Share of foreigners (2009)	0.020***	(0.006)	-0.015	(0.011)	-0.012	(0.011)
Diversity index of the 12 foreign groups (2009)	0.477	(0.524)	0.386	(0.959)	0.542	(0.965)
Population size in 1000 (2009)	0.012	(0.016)	-0.020	(0.027)	-0.013	(0.028)
Population density in 1000 (2009)	0.014	(0.014)	0.012	(0.027)	0.013	(0.027)
Share of unemployed (2009)	0.018	(0.022)	-0.016	(0.040)	-0.012	(0.041)
Contact opportunities in public space	0.029	0.056	-0.137	(0.122)	-0.122	(0.122)
<i>Individual level</i>						
Length of residence in the neighbourhood in years	-0.002	(0.003)	0.040***	(0.008)	0.029***	(0.009)
Time spent in the neighbourhood	-0.038	(0.055)	0.067	(0.099)	0.047	(0.100)
School, workplace or uni in neighbourhood (1 = yes)	0.038	(0.055)	-0.276	(0.238)	-0.153	(0.245)
Extroverted personality scale	0.227**	(0.073)	0.028	(0.136)	0.131	(0.139)
Empathy with foreigners scale	0.428***	(0.067)				

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Variables	Non-migrants		Migrants		Migrants (with migrant groups)	
	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.
Identification with the nation	-0.192***	(0.058)	-0.061	(0.104)	-0.025	(0.109)
Education in years	0.008	(0.023)	-0.052	(0.041)	-0.028	(0.042)
Occupational status	0.095	(0.049)	0.243**	(0.091)	0.181*	(0.092)
Monthly household income in 1000 euro	-0.001	(0.037)	0.042	(0.073)	0.003	(0.073)
Income missing (1=yes)	0.080	(0.135)	-0.271	(0.282)	-0.242	(0.285)
Unemployed (1=yes)	-0.125	(0.312)	-0.660	(0.482)	-0.621	(0.473)
Age	-0.026	(0.018)	-0.017	(0.037)	0.009	(0.038)
Age squared	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)
Gender (1=woman)	-0.076	(0.099)	0.119	(0.198)	0.025	(0.201)
Household size	0.028	(0.060)	-0.260*	(0.106)	-0.165	(0.111)
Household with children (1=yes)	0.024	(0.170)	0.075	(0.286)	-0.001	(0.291)
Intergroup partnership (1=yes)	1.729***	(0.188)	1.079***	(0.209)	0.873**	(0.215)
Foreign born (1 = yes)					-1.052*	(0.423)
Immigration cohort (reference group= not foreign born)						
1933–1989					0.274	(0.406)
1990–1999					-0.000	(0.479)
2000–2010					-0.205	(0.559)
Visible minority					-0.573*	(0.287)
German citizen					-0.275	(0.218)

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Variables	Non-migrants		Migrants		Migrants (with migrant groups)	
	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.	Coefficient	Std. err.
<i>Intercepts</i>						
Threshold 1	0.354**		-2.275***		-2.731***	
Threshold 2	2.081***		-1.249***		-1.657***	
Threshold 3	3.086***		-0.224		-0.553	
Threshold 4	3.478***		0.734***		-0.472	
<i>Model statistics</i>						
N _{individuals} /	1796/50		413/50		413/50	
N _{neighbourhoods}						
Log-likelihood	-1833.666		-575.802		-558.539	

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Among factors associated with higher shares of intergroup friendships for immigrants are longer residence in the neighbourhood as well as occupational status. Residence in the neighbourhood may indicate a relatively stable life in a spatial and social context, a situation that apparently favours the establishment of intergroup ties. Higher occupational status may bring immigrants into contact with non-immigrants of equally high—and possibly lower—social status and contribute to lower barriers on the part of the non-immigrants to engage in friendships. Another factor that matters for both migrants and non-migrants alike is whether they have a partner from a different background. Such a partner apparently acts as a link to friends and acquaintances from a different migration background. In contrast, and even controlling for other factors, immigrants who are foreign born and who are visibly different have significantly fewer friends from the host country background.

7.3 Perceptions and Interpretations of Intergroup Interaction

Both in the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews the intergroup contacts were referred to as positive when generally speaking about such contacts. In the survey, immigrant respondents overwhelmingly

described the neighbourhood contacts as somewhat or very pleasant (85 per cent). Among the remaining 15 per cent, a majority opted for the neutral or ambiguous 'neither pleasant nor unpleasant' description of their neighbourhood contacts. Differences between immigrant groups are rather small, and positive evaluations clearly predominate.

In the qualitative interviews as well, immigrants mostly described contacts with people in the neighbourhood in positive terms. They emphasized that people lived together without major trouble. 'We live together. I live in a neighbourhood also together with Germans. We get along well', a man of Turkish background said in a typical statement. Throughout, immigrant residents told us that they got along well with neighbours, exchanged greetings or a few sentences with next-door neighbours, helped out when needed. 'In the house that I live in, I have good contacts with my neighbours', another man of Turkish background told us. 'When they need help, I always try to help.' A woman in Hamburg reported how she was offered support after the birth of her second child. 'Neighbourly relations are totally fine', she commented.

However, frequently our immigrant interview partners expressed that they experienced such everyday interactions as ultimately disappointing. As already hypothesized, situations of brief contact between co-residents or neighbours were experienced and interpreted in different ways by non-immigrants and immigrants. An interaction non-immigrant Germans find remarkable for its occurrence—yes, we do interact with immigrants—is experienced mainly in its limitations. Yes, we talk, but nothing beyond that, was a widely expressed view.

While some interview partners gave unreservedly positive descriptions of the situation mainly in their own house, with immediate next-door neighbours, several others followed such statements with a 'but', an explanation of what such contact did not involve: 'On the street, when we see each other, we say hello, have a chat. And, like I said, not more than that.' In another city a woman who has spent her whole life there and apparently takes part in usual neighbourly routines, still perceives social relations as somewhat deficient. 'We say: "Hello, how are you? Have a nice day", but that's it. Or, "neighbour, do you have something for me?" or "can you receive a package for me?" [...] You are very friendly, very polite to one another, but the private, personal contact is completely lacking.'

Those of Turkish background, in particular, repeatedly explained that neighbours did not visit each other in their homes—as would Turkish immigrants. Thus a young woman, born in Krefeld, explained that neighbours exchanged greetings, but did not pay visits to each other like the Turkish neighbours. ‘So, we don’t go there and drink coffee together or anything like that.’

Another woman, resident at her present Frankfurt address since 1974, explained that ‘at home in Turkey, neighbours are expected to visit each other and greet each other, but this does not happen in this street.’ They did talk outside, however, or when hanging laundry.

Obviously, being neighbours is associated with culturally-specific expectations. While for the non-immigrant Germans chatting on the stairs or in the backyard of a house is an appropriate form of neighbourly relations, immigrants partly interpret the fact that neighbours do not cross their threshold and do not exchange visits as rejection. Based on research in the Turkish city of Ankara, Erman has described the central role of neighbourly interaction, in particular for women (Erman 1996: 772, 777–8). In Germany, a fine balance between proximity and privacy—as described in Holland by van Eijk (2010: 156)—seems to define relations between neighbours. Greeting is expected, accepting a parcel and being able to borrow a cup of sugar are mutual favours widely expected of neighbours. But mutual invitations are not part of the normative expectations. The setting ‘neighbours’ comes with different scripts.

Encounters at the playground or in a park are described in similar terms as those with neighbours. Again, it is distance, not contact, what several of our interview partners emphasized. ‘When I [go] to the playground with my child... “Hello, how are you?”’, but it’s just not more than that. There is just no interest’, a woman in Hamburg told us. Similarly, another woman told us: ‘Sometimes we sit next to each other. Once in a blue moon, parents speak with parents. Nobody has ever spoken to me. I have always approached the people here.’

The distanced Germans are a leitmotif—not only for those of Turkish background, but also for instance in the narrative of a woman of British origin living in Frankfurt. People do not mix in pubs, she claims. ‘That is of course also a cultural thing. It’s like that everywhere in Germany.’ Sometimes, this is a puzzle to the immigrants, sometimes they wonder

whether distance is related to their limited knowledge of the German language or their being foreigners, or specifically Turks.

The absence of closer interaction, or, for instance, having lost touch with former schoolmates, is not generally attributed to a distanced attitude of non-immigrant Germans or differences between cultures. Some interview partners explicitly rejected a culturalist explanation. That she no longer meets her friends from school has nothing to do with the fact that they are Germans, a woman in Hamburg insists. Another woman refers to lack of time, diverging interests and children of different ages to explain the little-developed interaction among mothers. That contact comes with problems is a normal thing, a man in Krefeld explains. 'It has nothing to do with nation or culture.' Not every immigrant attributed little-developed intergroup interaction to distance or hostility against themselves as immigrants. Politeness may also prevent some interview partners from relating their thoughts about the behaviours and opinions of specific non-immigrant co-residents—while non-immigrant interview partners often remarked on the integrative efforts of immigrants in their environment.

More than half of our (qualitative) interview partners told us a story of hostility and discrimination.⁹ They included parents who thought that their children had been discriminated against by teachers who denied them access to the higher tiers of the stratified school system. In Krefeld, we heard about neighbours moving out because their flat was now owned by a landlord of Turkish origin. Two women of ethnic German background remembered how, in their childhood, they had struggled to speak accent-free German in order to fit in. Other interview partners told us about incidences that had possibly occurred a long time ago and may even seem banal, but since the incidents were still remembered the interview partners apparently felt they represented a more general contempt or outright hostility against them as *Ausländer* or as Turks. Such stories included a woman who complained about noise when the group of friends was joyfully travelling on a tube train, that of an elderly man who rejected the help offered at the supermarket checkout, the woman who did not restrain her dog on the sidewalk, and children being scolded in a

⁹ Often these experiences were related in response to a concluding interview question on the current integration debate.

rude manner in the allotment garden colony. An incidence when the son had been accused of theft when shopping was interpreted as expression of a general contempt against those looking different. Often interview partners expressed a perception that people keep a distance, and that they were the object of negative non-verbal signals. As a Muslim in Krefeld cautiously suggests, 'But you do notice that, ok, when they show their colors, somehow you do notice, that you are maybe I think, maybe it's my imagination, that we are not welcome, put it that way'.

While immigrants generally express positive feelings about Germans,¹⁰ there remains less self-assurance and a certain lack of certainty about their new social environments. This is also expressed in the result (of the DivCon survey) that immigrants tend to trust other people less than the non-immigrants. Asked about trust in 'people' in general, 28 per cent opted for the two negative options of our 5-point scale (see Chap. 6), compared with only 19 per cent of the non-immigrants.

Asked specifically about trust in Germans, however, those with immigrant backgrounds expressed higher levels of trust than in people in general. With regard to Germans, their answers did not differ much from those of the non-immigrants. Among all immigrants, the share of those who do not trust them is only 5 percentage points higher than among the non-immigrants (21 per cent compared with 16 per cent). In sum, immigrants do not express the same levels of trust in particular in other people than non-immigrants. This feeling was examined in more depth in our interviews, where it was revealed that immigrants do miss a deeper sense of social connections in their new country and often think they are disliked. As they tend to trust Germans and have positive feelings for them, their disappointment may even be deeper than otherwise.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the immigrant experience with regard to intergroup interactions in German urban neighbourhoods. Overall we found that immigrants entertain frequent social intergroup interactions with

¹⁰The survey included questions about feelings towards particular groups, see Chap. 6.

non-immigrants, at the level of more superficial contact in the neighbourhood, among acquaintances, and in friendship networks. Intergroup interactions on all three levels (neighbourhood, friends, acquaintances) investigated here are more frequent for immigrants than for non-immigrants. But some groups fall behind. For the foreign born and the recent immigrants, less frequent intergroup interaction may be an effect of immigration itself. While birth—and to an extent socialization—in another country does not affect neighbourhood contact, it is associated with smaller numbers of weak as well as strong ties. As further analysis shows, the foreign born cannot compensate that with ties to other immigrants; their networks are altogether smaller. The comparatively lesser developed intergroup networks of those we summarized as visible immigrants can most likely be explained by symbolic boundaries of others towards them.

The diversity of the neighbourhoods our immigrant respondents inhabit is without impact on the number and frequency of their interactions with non-immigrants. As a minority in German cities and most German urban neighbourhoods, immigrants have plenty of opportunities to interact with non-immigrants. But importantly, the presence of relatively many other immigrants in their environment does not lead them to prefer their company. Intergroup interaction is common in all the different neighbourhoods and cities—although some immigrant groups are to a lesser extent involved in these relationships rather than others.

Overall, immigrants evaluated intergroup interaction and social life in German cities in positive terms, but many also expressed a sense of unease about the acceptance of ‘foreigners’ and of people like themselves into German society.

8

Conclusions

This study has explored the ways that the immigration processes of the last few decades have impacted the social lives of the residents of an immigrant receiving country. How does the presence of diversity in the immediate environment impact the social relations of individuals? To what extent and under what conditions do individuals of different backgrounds interact and form friendship ties? What consequences do such interactions, and the experience of diversity, have for the ways in which they think about people from other countries, diversity, and the principles of co-existence?

All these questions are highly relevant in current public debates and often controversial in academic debates. This book aims to make a substantial contribution to clarifying some of these issues. It presents the results of a wide-ranging empirical undertaking. Our study employed mixed methods. We could draw on a panel survey in fifty neighbourhoods—a resource that allows more solid conclusions on causal mechanisms than common correlational analysis. Qualitative explorations produced additional evidence. As distinct from other studies investigating differences between nation states or districts with populations

of sometimes hundreds of thousands, we focussed on more immediate contexts of life, defined here as spatial and social units of about 7500 inhabitants. In contrast to studies zooming in on particularly immigrant-dense or conflict-ridden neighbourhoods, we aimed to represent 'urban normality' and investigated in fifty randomly selected urban neighbourhoods. Germany, where this study was conducted, is one of Europe's major countries of immigration, but has so far been studied less than some other countries.

What did we find?

Interaction between people of non-immigrant and immigrant backgrounds is a common reality in German cities. For three core forms of interaction, from looser neighbourhood encounters, via acquaintanceship to close friendships, we demonstrated a considerable extent of intergroup interaction. As shown in Chap. 4, around half of the urban population engage with others of a different background on a daily or at least weekly basis in the neighbourhood they inhabit. In contrast, about one third do this only infrequently. Intergroup interaction is thus far more common than often assumed in stories of seclusion or a deficient social life.

Furthermore, four-fifths of the inhabitants of German cities have at least one acquaintance, friend, or family-member who has a different immigrant background than the person herself. Around 40 per cent of the non-immigrants have a friend who came to Germany as immigrant or has a parent of immigrant descent. Far more have such acquaintances. Given that only around one-fifth of the German population has an immigrant background, this is a considerable share. Everyday contacts and social networks reflect that German society is diverse.

Intergroup interaction is related to the population composition in the neighbourhood, in our case to levels of immigration-related diversity. Contact is more frequent where more residents have immigrant backgrounds; their presence in the immediate environment favours interaction. This confirms our assumption that opportunities for interaction matter and proves other assumptions wrong according to which fear and hostility are stronger and outbalance the effects of contact opportunities. We do not find that co-existence per se leads to conflict. Our qualitative in-depth studies feature one neighbourhood marked by perceived social decline and high unemployment. While neighbourhood interaction is

not as high here as one might expect given the population composition, distanced co-existence, rather than conflict, characterizes the situation.

German cities are not islands of happiness. Of course we found evidence of hostile, even racist, attitudes, and we cite such examples in the text. And yet, our study does not confirm worries that such attitudes increase in importance or radicalize among those living in neighbourhoods inhabited by large numbers of immigrants. People living in such neighbourhoods do not withdraw from social life. The size of individual social networks is unrelated to higher or lower immigration-related diversity in the neighbourhoods. Apparently, such conditions do not inhibit (or promote) the willingness and ability to find friends and acquaintances, or to have an active social life.

As distinct from research on Dutch or British cities, we did not find a connection between higher diversity and less frequent or qualitatively worse relations between co-residents. Residents of the more diverse neighbourhoods in our study spend less leisure time there and tend to feel less comfortable in such neighbourhoods than people living elsewhere. Still, this is not a strong trend, and it may be related to several features of such neighbourhoods, not necessarily their high immigrant shares. Furthermore, such unease is unrelated to withdrawal from interaction with co-residents and also not related to hostile attitudes to diversity and immigrants.

This study started from the assumption that the immediate context of life has an impact on who people interact with and how they experience and think of diversity. Our investigation confirmed that neighbourhood context is not irrelevant even in the age of global communication networks. To the contrary: inhabitants of larger German cities spend a considerable part, typically more than 50 per cent, of their leisure time in the neighbourhood they inhabit. Two thirds of our interview partners had been living in that same neighbourhood for more than ten years when we interviewed them. Many found friends there, including friends of a different national background, and often friends and acquaintances live in the same neighbourhood. For the intergroup ties of those with immigrant backgrounds, the neighbourhood is even more important than for those of the non-immigrants.

Further, the infrastructure of a neighbourhood, or particular features of the public space, may encourage the encounter of residents. Adding

to this quantitative finding, our studies of five selected neighbourhoods further illustrate what aspects of such frameworks can impact on intergroup interaction. We pictured the lively inner-city, urban neighbourhood, where market-related interaction promotes intergroup encounters, as well as the more suburban neighbourhood, where residents may focus on family life and on being close to nature and where little encourages the meeting and interaction of co-residents. Our concept of a local sociability style captures the interaction of particular opportunity structures and the expectations residents seek to realise in their residential environments.

For intergroup ties, friends as well as acquaintances, the existence of more or less diversity in the neighbourhood, even the city environment, has a lesser impact. We could show that the existence of intergroup ties is (albeit weakly) related to immigrant shares in the neighbourhood. However, the number of intergroup ties among all ties is not. Our research here benefits from a particularly rich battery of questions that allows us to distinguish between characteristics and preconditions of strong as well as weak, and occasional, types of intergroup relationships. The in-depth studies of the five neighbourhoods also show that the factors underlying intergroup neighbourhood contact, on the one hand, and intergroup ties, on the other, are not necessarily identical. Individuals may have infrequent intergroup interaction in a particular neighbourhood, but may—across neighbourhoods—have as many intergroup friends and acquaintances as others who live in a neighbourhood where intergroup interaction is more common. Neighbourhood life and general features of social life are not related in any deterministic way.

Closer ties follow different logics than looser encounters. Friendship in particular is often a long-term relationship established in younger age. Apparently, when forming friendship ties or making acquaintances, people reach out beyond the neighbourhood, and the opportunity context there is of lesser importance. Here, our study, with its focus on the neighbourhood context, has limitations. Future studies should explore specifically how intergroup friendships develop over time, what conditions favour or inhibit their emergence and maintenance, and how different social contexts matter.

Contrary to our expectations, we found little direct impact of different levels of immigration-related diversity in the environment on the atti-

tudes of individuals. We had hypothesized that exposure to diversity and observation of the routines and behaviour of people with different lifestyles would impact people's thinking. However, neither general attitudes to diversity, nor trust in different groups, are affected by immigrant shares in the neighbourhood. Analyses with panel data, as well as analyses of selectivity, make us confident that no causal link between immigration-related diversity and attitudinal outcomes exists. We did not, however, investigate temporal effects of changing environments on social life.

At the same time, diversity is widely appreciated. Differences between neighbourhoods are not pronounced, although we observed a slight trend towards more positive diversity attitudes with higher immigrant shares. Causally, this is related to the higher intergroup contact frequency in such neighbourhoods, not to diversity *per se*. Indirectly, by favouring more interaction, higher diversity has an impact on diversity attitudes.

Trust in 'foreigners living in the neighbourhood' is high, only 13 per cent of our respondents explicitly do not trust them. While we found differences between the fifty neighbourhoods, they are again not systematically related to the share of immigrants. In neighbourhoods where the share of Turks is exceptionally high, average trust in Turks living there is no different than elsewhere. At the same time, we could confirm with panel data that—as assumed by contact theory—intergroup contact with specific immigrant groups not only goes along with, but has positive effects on, trust of (and feelings towards) members of these groups. Our longitudinal analyses showed how contact affects trust over time.

Contrary to assumptions in the previous literature, we could show that more superficial interaction does matter. This had been questioned in the sociological literature and the traditional psychological contact literature that assumed only high-quality relationships mattered. This finding contributes to the further development of contact theory.

In several ways, this book illustrates the subjective experience and perception of immigration-related diversity and the importance of such individual experiences and observations. Inhabitants of German cities are generally aware of diversity in its different facets—they perceive their neighbourhoods as inhabited by people of different ages, family forms, social classes and national origins. In their great majority, people are content with this situation. Several examples illustrate the different ways in

which people make sense of the transformation of their social environment. In our specific analyses of five neighbourhoods, we demonstrated how neighbourhood narratives can impact openness to interaction and the perception of co-residents. In one neighbourhood, where its mixture is perceived as the core of its attractiveness, inhabitants state record frequencies of intergroup interaction and support for diversity. In another neighbourhood, narratives of decline go along with a distanced attitude to immigrants.

Here, and in other ways, we show how insights from qualitative research can enrich a field dominated by quantitative enquiries. Such research indicates that those of immigrant backgrounds may interpret intergroup interaction differently than long-term residents. Indeed, the same interaction may, by one participant, be perceived as satisfactory example of an unprejudiced neighbourly co-existence and, by another, as an example of a social distance that does not permit more than superficial politeness. Immigrants in particular expressed the latter interpretation, possibly because they feel insecure about their acceptance by other members of German society.

In international discussions, it is often controversial whether one should study interaction of 'natives' and immigrants, or rather between the majority group and those immigrant and minority groups subjected to negative stereotyping and racist hostility. This study is altogether interested in the impact of immigration more generally on social life. Immigrants are newcomers whose incorporation into patterns of social interaction may take time, for a number of reasons, or may be blocked by social and symbolic boundaries. We could show that indeed, within the immigrant population, differences occur with regard to intergroup interaction that can be ascribed to the immigration experience as well as to such boundaries. The specific experiences of members of stigmatized groups were not the core subject of our investigation. In all likelihood—and as indicated by some evidence—their experience of intergroup encounters differs from that of, for example, highly educated white immigrants. At the same time, differences in the composition of the immigrant population, in this case high shares of particular, socially marked, immigrants in a neighbourhood, did not turn out as impacting on patterns of intergroup interaction.

Did this book tell a specific German story? Yes and no. As we hypothesized and subsequently illustrated in this book, social interactions and their interpretation by individuals are always shaped by a specific context and influenced by a specific history. Ethnic segregation is relatively limited in German cities. Although cities generally have homogeneous German as well as mixed neighbourhoods, immigrants almost always live in mixed environments and hardly ever form the majority of a neighbourhood's population. Neighbourhoods are generally not cut off from the city centre and infrastructural provisions. Differences in the living conditions across neighbourhoods may be less pronounced than in other countries. For example, the history of slavery in the United States has had different consequences than the German history of extreme racism. Our results, and those of other recent studies, underline that empirical results achieved in one country cannot automatically be assumed to apply in another, and that specific studies as well as more comparative undertakings are desirable. The politically and socially relevant message of this book is that urban populations can adjust well to high levels of immigration, and that immigration-related diversity is not at all in any automatic way associated with social tensions. Diversity may turn out to be just one feature of urban normality.

Annex 1: DivCon City Data

DivCon city data is a data set compiled by the research team at the Max Planck Institute based on data provided by the sixteen cities on request, data available on the cities' websites, and some data from other sources listed below:

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (Ed.) (2009) *Statistisches Jahrbuch Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt).

Stadt Gießen (Ed.) (2008) *Statistischer Jahresbericht* (Universitätsstadt Gießen).

Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein (Ed.) (2010) *Statistisches Jahrbuch Hamburg 2009* (Hamburg).

Stadt Leverkusen (Ed.) (2009) *Leverkusen in Zahlen. Jahrbuch 2008*. (Leverkusen).

Hansestadt Lübeck (Ed.) (2010) *Statistisches Jahrbuch—Lübecker Zahlen 2009*. (Hansestadt Lübeck).

Landesdatenbank NRW. Landesbetrieb Information und Technik Nordrhein-Westfalen. www.it.nrw.de (homepage), date accessed March 2010–March 2011.

Annex 2: Questionnaire in English

Notes

Some questions are adapted to the personal situation of the respondents by referring to a specific neighbourhood, city, nationality, and religion. This is indicated by square brackets.

In other questions, the wording was adapted according to the personal circumstances of the respondents, such as their employment status or migration background. This is indicated in italics. Italicized notes in front of the questions are filter rules. The specific question is only put to a specific group of respondent.

Instructions for the interviewers are marked [INT.: ...]. These instructions were not read out.

Words to be emphasized in a special way by the interviewers are set in bold.

Throughout, interviewers recorded whether respondents gave no answer to a question or said they did not know. These options were not read out and are not printed below.

The original German-language questionnaire is available on www.mmg.mpg.de

Initial contact [shortened]

Hello, my name is ... We are currently carrying out a survey about living together in different residential areas for TNS Emnid, Institute for Media and Social Research in Bielefeld and commissioned by the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen. Your household has been randomly selected for this survey. We would greatly appreciate it if you would be willing to participate in this interview, as long as you are at least 18 years old. Your answers will naturally be evaluated anonymously. The survey is targeted toward people who are residents in [NEIGHBOURHOOD].

[A couple of questions asked in order to selected a household member for the interview, are not printed.]

Kish grid (random selection of a household member)

64. How many people, including you, live in your household? Please include ll children as well as people who normally live in your household but who are currently absent, such as in the hospital or on vacation. Number of people in the household:

If more than one person in the household:

1. How many people in your household are 18 years old or older?

Number:

Main questionnaire

3. The first questions are related to your neighbourhood. All in all, how comfortable do you feel in your neighbourhood? Do you feel...

1: very comfortable,

2: somewhat comfortable,

3: both comfortable and uncomfortable,

4: somewhat uncomfortable,

5: not comfortable at all?

4. How much time do you usually spend in your neighbourhood? I'm talking about your free time, not your time at work, and not the time you spend sleeping [INT.: free time also means shopping, going to the doctor, etc.] Do you spend...

- 1: practically all your free time,
- 2: the majority of your free time,
- 3: about half of your free time,
- 4: less than half of your free time, or
- 5: almost none of your free time in your neighbourhood?

5. Since when have you lived in [CITY]?

Since the year [INT.: four-digit]:

1111: since birth

6. Since what year have you lived in your neighbourhood?

Since the year [INT.: four-digit]:

1111: since birth

If not a resident in the city since birth:

7. Why did you choose to move to [INT.: emphasize] **this particular** neighbourhood back then? Please only name the most important or the two most important reasons.

Reasons:

8. Now I would like to ask you about the people in your neighbourhood.

Would you say that ...

1: the people are quite diverse or would you say that

2: the people who live in your neighbourhood are very similar?

If the people in the neighbourhood are quite diverse or similar:

9. *If the people are diverse:*

How are the people in your neighbourhood rather diverse?

If the people are very similar:

How are the people similar?

10. In your opinion, how is the relationship between people in your neighbourhood?

Would you say it is ...

- 1: friendly,
- 2: unfriendly or
- 3: neither of those?

11. Now I am going to ask you a question about people in your whole city, not just in your neighbourhood. When I refer to native Germans, I am talking about Germans who did not immigrate and whose parents were also Germans already. In [CITY], are there...

- 1. almost exclusively native Germans and almost no people from other countries, or
- 2: mostly native Germans, but also some people from other countries, or
- 3: aside from native Germans many people from other countries, or
- 4. mostly people from other countries?

12. And what is the situation in your neighbourhood? Do...

- 1: almost exclusively native Germans live there and barely any people from other countries, or
- 2: do mostly native Germans live there and also some people from other countries, or
- 3: aside from native Germans, many people from other countries live there, or
- 4: mostly people from other countries live there?

13. How do you personally feel about this situation?

- 1: very good
- 2: rather good
- 3: both good and bad
- 4: not really good
- 5: not good at all

14. What citizenship do you hold? If you hold multiple citizenships, please name them all.

15. For some people, the citizenship written in their passport and the nationality to which they feel they belong are not the same. What nationality do you feel you belong to?

If German citizenship:

16. Have you held German citizenship from birth?

1: yes

2: no

If no German citizenship from birth or missing response:

17. What is your original citizenship?

18. Please tell me what country you were born in.

If not born in Germany:

19. Since when have you lived in Germany?

Since the year [INT.: four-digit]:

20. And now some questions about your parents. What country was your father born in?

21. And what country was your mother born in?

If country of birth is not Germany:

22. Did you come to Germany as...

1: ethnic German migrant (*Aussiedler*)

2: a refugee,

3: for family reasons or

4: for work-related reasons? [INT.: also students, *au pair*]

23. Do you consider yourself part of an ethnic or religious minority?

1: yes, namely: [INT.: Multiple answers possible.]

2: no

24. May I ask if you belong to a religion and if so, which one?

[INT.: Please read out if necessary!]

- 11: Roman Catholic Church
- 12: Protestant Church
- 13: another Christian denomination
- 14: Islamic religion
- 15: Jewish religion
- 16: Buddhist religion
- 17: Hindu religion
- 18: another non-Christian religion
- 19: no religion

25. How strongly do you identify with [NATIONALITY]?

- 1: not at all
- 2: a little
- 3: somewhat
- 4: rather strongly
- 5: very strongly

26. How strongly do you identify with Europe?

- 1: not at all
- 2: a little
- 3: somewhat
- 4: rather strongly
- 5: very strongly

27. I would now like to ask you about your feelings towards the Germans. Please imagine a thermometer in front of you and tell me how warm or cold your feelings are towards the Germans. Zero means completely cold and one hundred degrees means very warm.

Number:

[INT.: For evasive answers such as ‘that depends’ or ‘one can’t generalize’, ask again: This is only about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 998.]

If a nationality and a religion was named:

28. I am now going to read several statements to you. Please state whether you agree or disagree. 'The values of the [NATIONALITY] are based on [RELIGION] values.'

Do you...

- 1: definitely agree,
- 2: tend to agree,
- 3: somewhat agree,
- 4: tend to disagree or
- 5: definitely disagree with this statement?

[INT.: For evasive answers such as 'that depends' or 'one can't generalize', ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 8.]

If a nationality and a religion was named:

29. 'To be [NATIONALITY] means pretty much the same as being [RELIGION].'

Do you...

- 1: definitely agree,
- 2: tend to agree,
- 3: somewhat agree,
- 4: tend to disagree or
- 5: definitely disagree with this statement?

[INT.: For evasive answers such as, 'that depends' or 'one can't generalize', ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 8.]

If a nationality and a religion was named:

30. For the following question, please keep in mind that there is no right or wrong answer. I am just asking for a rough estimation. How many percent of the [NATIONALITY] do you believe are [RELIGION]?

Percentage (%):

[INT.: for evasive answers such as, 'that depends' or 'one can't generalize', ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 998.]

31. Please state whether you agree or disagree with the following four statements about foreigners.

- 31_1. I feel sympathy when foreigners are discriminated against.
- 31_2. I generally don't care about the problems of foreigners.
- 31_3. I can easily see things from a foreigner's perspective.
- 31_4. I am always striving to also see things from the perspective of the foreigners.

Do you...

- 1: fully agree,
- 2: somewhat agree,
- 3: neither agree nor disagree,
- 4: somewhat disagree or
- 5: fully disagree?

32. Now for the next statements, tell me if these are true for you personally or not.

- 32_1. I like having lots of people around me.
- 32_2. I am a cheerful, good-natured person.
- 32_3. I really enjoy talking to other people.

Is this...

- 1: definitely true,
- 2: somewhat true,
- 3: partly true, partly untrue,
- 4: rather not true,
- 5: not true at all for you?

If non-German nationality or missing answer:

33. I would now like to ask you about your feelings towards the [NATIONALITY]. Please imagine a thermometer and tell me how

warm or cold your feelings are towards the [NATIONALITY]. Zero means totally cold and one hundred degrees means very warm.

Number:

[INT.: for evasive answers such as ‘that depends’ or ‘one can’t generalize’, ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 998.]

34. What is the highest level of education that you achieved?

Graduation:

[INT.: **Open question.** Only read aloud if necessary. Only accept the **highest** level! In case of a foreign degree, ask the interviewee to place the degree in one of the categories; if this is not possible, choose Code 7 and write down the answer.]

- 1: still a student
- 2: left school without a degree (INT.: if attended school abroad: less than 8 years of schooling)
- 3: lower level secondary school degree/*Hauptschulabschluss* with completion of 8th or 9th grade
- 4: secondary school degree/*Realschulabschluss* with completion of 10th grade
- 5: *Fachhochschulreife*
- 6: German *Abitur* or high school diploma
- 7: other school degree, namely [INT.: please write down the number of years the interviewee attended school and the name of the degree.]

If not still a student:

35. What is your highest level of formal professional training?

Level of formal professional training:

[INT.: **Open question.** Only read aloud if necessary. Only accept the **highest** level. In case of a foreign level of formal professional training, ask the interviewee to place the degree in one of the categories.]

- 11: no professional training
- 12: professional training but no apprenticeship; also semi-skilled training
- 13: completed apprenticeship, skilled worker
- 14: vocational school degree
- 15: master tradesman, technician, or equal vocational degree
- 16: university of applied sciences degree (also degree from engineering school)
- 17: university degree
- 18: other professional degree, namely:

36. Are you...

- 1: working fulltime
- 2: working part-time in your main job
- 3: working for a few hours a week while also student/pensioner etc.
- 4: not employed?

If working for a few hours per week, while also a student/pensioner etc., not employed or missing answer:

37. Are you...

- 1: a student (high school or university),
- 2: retired,
- 3: currently unemployed,
- 4: looking after the home,
- 5: completing military or civilian service or
- 6: not employed fulltime for other reasons?

If working for a few hours per week, while also a student/pensioner etc., not employed or missing answer:

38. Have you ever held a full-time or part-time job?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

If person is or was working in a main job:

39_1. *If person is working fulltime or part-time in a main job:*

In your main job, are you a...

If person was working in a main job:

In your main job, were you a...

- 1: worker,
- 2: employee,
- 3: civil servant, judge, career soldier,
- 4: farmer,
- 5: self-employed, business owner or
- 6: employed in family business?
- 7: none of these

If person is or was worker:

39_2. *If person is working fulltime or part-time in a main job:*

Are you in your main job ...

If person was working in a main job:

Were you in your main job ...

- 1: an unskilled worker,
- 2: a semi-skilled worker,
- 3: a skilled worker,
- 4: a foreman or a group leader,
- 5: a master craftsman or brigadier?

If person is or was employee:

39_3. *If person is working fulltime or part-time in a main job:*

Are you in your main job an employee...

If person was working in a main job:

Were you in your main job an employee...

- 1: with simple tasks carried out based on instructions [INT.: for example, salesperson, clerk, stenotypist],
- 2: with difficult tasks that you carry out independently after receiving general instructions [INT.: for example, administrators, accountants or draughtsman],

- 3: with independent activity with responsibility and/or with limited responsibility for personnel [INT.: for example, general manager, department head, master craftsman working as an employee] or
 4: with comprehensive leadership responsibilities and decision-making authority [INT.: for example, director, manager or member of a board]?

If person is or was civil servant, judge, or career soldier:

39_4. *If person is working fulltime or part-time in a main job:*

Are you in your main job a...

If person was working in a main job:

Were you in your main job a...

- 1: civil servant in lower grade of service (if applicable: up to *Oberamtsmeister*),
 2: civil servant in middle grade of service (if applicable: from Assistant to *Hauptsekretär, Amtsinspektor*),
 3: civil servant in upper grade of service (if applicable: from *Inspektor* to *Oberamtsrat*)
 4: civil servant in higher grade of service (if applicable: from *Regierungsrat* upwards)?

If person is or was self-employed or business owner:

39_5. *If person is working fulltime or part-time in a main job:*

Do you have...

If person was working in a main job:

Did you have...

- 1: none or one employee or partner,
 2: 2 to 9 employees,
 3: 10 to 49 employees, or
 4: 50 and more employees?

If person is working, a student, or completing military or civilian service:

40. *If student:*

Is your school or university in your neighbourhood?

If person is working, or completing military or civilian service:

Is your place of work in your neighbourhood?

1: yes

2: no

41. The next questions will be about your feelings towards a number of groups. Please imagine a thermometer and tell me how warm or cold your feelings are towards the following groups. Zero means very cold and one hundred degrees means very warm.

41_1. How warm or cold are your feelings towards the Turks living in Germany?

41_2. How warm or cold are your feelings towards *Russlanddeutsche* (ethnic Germans from Russia) now living in Germany?

41_3. How warm or cold are your feelings towards Western Europeans living in Germany?

Number:

[INT.: for evasive answers such as ‘that depends’ or ‘one can’t generalize’, ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 998.]

42. How often do you talk...

42_1. with people who are from Turkey or whose parents are from Turkey?

42_2. with people who are *Russlanddeutsche* (ethnic Germans from Russia) or whose parents were German immigrants from Russia?

42_3. with people who are from Western European countries or whose parents are from Western European countries?

42_4. with native Germans? [INT.: As a reminder: this refers to Germans who did not immigrate and whose parents were also German.]

- 1: daily
- 2: at least once a week
- 3: at least once a month
- 4: less often
- 5: never

43. *Without migration background:*

Now please think of your close friends and family members, who are native Germans. How many of them have friends who are themselves not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

With migration background:

Now please think of your close friends and family members, who are not themselves native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany. How many of them have friends who are native Germans?

- 1: no one,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: all?

44. *Without migration background:*

How often, if at all, do you have contact with people who live abroad and are not native Germans?

With migration background:

How often, if at all, do you have contact with people who live abroad?

- 1: daily
- 2: at least once a week
- 3: at least once a month
- 4: less often
- 5: never

45. *Without migration background:*

Now another question about your neighbourhood. In your neighbourhood, how often do you talk to people who are themselves not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

With migration background:

Now another question about your neighbourhood. In your neighbourhood, how often do you talk to people who are native Germans?

- 1: daily
- 2: at least once a week
- 3: at least once a month
- 4: less often
- 5: never

If conversations take place 'less often' or more:

46. How do you perceive these conversations?

- 1: very pleasant
- 2: somewhat pleasant
- 3: neither pleasant nor unpleasant
- 4: somewhat unpleasant
- 5: very unpleasant

If person is working, a student, or completing military or civilian service:

47. *Without migration background and student:*

At school or university, how often do you engage in conversation with people who are not themselves native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

Without migration background and working, or completing military or civilian service:

At work, how often do you engage in conversation with people who are not themselves native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

With migration background and student:

At school or university, how often do you engage in conversation with people who are native Germans?

With migration background and working, or completing military or civilian service:

At work, how often do you engage in conversation with people who are native Germans?

- 1: daily
- 2: at least once a week
- 3: at least once a month
- 4: less often
- 5: never

If conversations take place 'less often' or more:

48. How do you feel about these conversations? Are they:

- 1: very pleasant
- 2: rather pleasant
- 3: neither pleasant nor unpleasant
- 4: rather unpleasant
- 5: very unpleasant

49_1. Imagine that you are the only [NATIONALITY] in a group of people with a different background. To what degree would you feel anxious?

- 1: not at all
- 2: not really
- 3: somewhat
- 4: quite a bit
- 5: very much

49_2. To what degree would you feel uncomfortable?

- 1: not at all
- 2: not really
- 3: somewhat
- 4: quite a bit
- 5: very much

50. I am now going to read you several statements. Please state whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

50_1. It is enriching for a city when the people come from different backgrounds and cultures.

50_2. The Muslims living in Germany should have the right to build mosques, including in your own neighbourhood.

Do you...

- 1: fully agree,
- 2: somewhat agree,
- 3: neither agree nor disagree,
- 4: somewhat disagree or
- 5: definitely disagree?

51. Would you say...

- 1: that the German language skills of foreigners living in Germany are so bad that it makes living together difficult, or would you say
- 2: that the German language skills of foreigners living in Germany are generally good enough for daily communication?

52. All in all, how satisfied are you with your life? Are you...

- 1: completely satisfied,
- 2: somewhat satisfied,
- 3: neither satisfied nor unsatisfied,
- 4: somewhat unsatisfied or
- 5: not satisfied at all?

53_1. Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you can't be too careful and 5 means that most people can be trusted. You can use the values in between to find the value on the scale that best fits your opinion.

- 1: you can't be too careful
- 2:
- 3:

4:

5: most people can be trusted

53_2. And what about the Germans. Would you say that most Germans can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with Germans? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

[INT.: 1 means you can't be too careful and 5 means that most Germans can be trusted. You can use the values in between to find the value on the scale that best fits your opinion.]

1: you can't be too careful

2:

3:

4:

5: most Germans can be trusted

If non-German nationality:

53_3. And what about the [NATIONALITY]? Would you say that most [NATIONALITY] can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with [NATIONALITY]? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

[INT.: 1 means you can't be too careful and 5 means that most [NATIONALITY] can be trusted. You can use the values in between to find the value on the scale that best fits your opinion.]

1: you can't be too careful

2:

3:

4:

5: most [NATIONALITY] can be trusted

54_1. When you think specifically of the Turks living in Germany, would you say that most Turks can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with Turks? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

- 1: you can't be too careful
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: most Turks can be trusted

54_2. And if you think specifically of the *Russlanddeutsche* (ethnic Germans from Russia) living in Germany, would you say that most *Russlanddeutsche* can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with *Russlanddeutsche*? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

- 1: you can't be too careful
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: most *Russlanddeutsche* can be trusted

54_3. And what about the Western Europeans living in Germany. Would you say that most Western Europeans can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with Western Europeans? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

- 1: you can't be too careful
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: most Western Europeans can be trusted

55. I am now going to read you several opinions that one hears from time to time. Please state whether you agree or disagree with each opinion.

55_1. The politicians in [CITY] generally strive to represent the interests of the population.

55_2. Everything about politics is so complicated that someone like me doesn't even understand what is going on.

55_3. People like me can definitely influence the politics in [CITY].

Do you...

- 1: fully agree,
- 2: somewhat agree,
- 3: neither agree nor disagree,
- 4: somewhat disagree or
- 5: fully disagree?

56. Imagine that in your neighbourhood, a popular public park is to be destroyed. What would you do?

[INT.: Do **not** read the predefined answers! Take the open response unless one of the predefined answers is named spontaneously. Please note accurately!]

- 1: nothing
- 2: I wouldn't care
- 3: you couldn't do anything about it anyway

57. How likely is it that the residents in your neighbourhood would actively protest? Would it be ...

- 1: very likely,
- 2: rather likely,
- 3: rather unlikely or
- 4: completely unlikely?

58. In the last federal election in fall 2009 (in Germany) more than two thirds of eligible voters turned out to vote and almost a third did not vote. How about you? Did you...

- 1: vote,
- 2: not vote, or
- 3: were you not eligible to vote?

59. Have you supported a political issue through signing a petition or through a donation over the last 12 months?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

60. If there were a federal election next Sunday, which party would you give your second vote?

[INT.: The second vote is for a party.]

- 11: CDU or CSU, respectively
- 12: SPD
- 13: FDP
- 14: Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
- 15: Die Linke
- 16: NPD
- 17: Die Republikaner
- 18: another party, namely:
- 19: I wouldn't vote
- 20: I'm not eligible to vote

61. I am going to read you several statements about foreigners living in Germany. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree.

- 61_1. The foreigners in Germany threaten the German way of life.
- 61_2. The values of the foreigners living in Germany are incompatible with the values of Germans.
- 61_3. The foreigners living in Germany make it more difficult for Germans to find jobs.
- 61_4. The foreigners living in Germany are a burden on the social welfare system.

Do you...

- 1: fully agree,
- 2: somewhat agree,
- 3: neither agree nor disagree,
- 4: somewhat disagree or
- 5: fully disagree?

62. Do you have a long-term life partner?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

If person has a long-term life partner:

63. What country is your life partner from?

[INT.: Multiple answers possible. Please note accurately!]

65_1. Please think of people you feel very close to. By *very close* we mean people with whom you discuss important personal matters, to whom you have frequent personal contact and who are there for you when you need their help. How many people who do not live in your household do you feel very close to?

Number of people:

65_2. Now think about acquaintances to whom you have rather loose contact. I am talking about acquaintances with whom you occasionally meet up or speak on the phone, but not close friends with whom you speak about very personal things. With how many people in total do you have such loose contact? (INT.: Think of loose contacts among family, relatives, neighbours, in the work place or at school and from recreational activities). Is the total number ...

- 1: up to 10 people,
- 2: 11 to 20 people,
- 3: 21 to 40 people,
- 4: 41 to 80 people or
- 5: more than 80 people?

If at least one close relationship:

65_3. *Without migration background:*

Back to the [answer from question 65_1] people, you feel very close to. How many of these people are not native Germans? As a reminder: Here I am talking about people who are not from Germany or whose parents came to Germany from another country.

With migration background:

Back to the [answer from question 65_1] people, you feel very close to. How many of these people are native Germans? As a reminder: I mean Germans who did not immigrate to Germany and whose parents were also Germans already.

Number of people:

If at least one loose contact:

65_4. *Without migration background:*

And how many of your [answer from question 65_2] loose acquaintances are not native Germans?

With migration background:

And how many of your [answer from question 65_2] loose acquaintances are native Germans?

- 1: no one,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: all?

66_1. Now I would like to know if the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances know each other.

Would you say that...

- 1: all of them know each other,
- 2: most of them know each other,
- 3: about half know each other,
- 4: some of them know each other,

5: they don't know each other?

If neither answer 1 or 5, the subject is indicating in-group contacts and out-group contacts:

66_2. And what about the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances, who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany? Do they also know your German relatives, friends and acquaintances? Would you say that...

- 1: they all know each other,
- 2: most of them know each other,
- 3: about half know each other,
- 4: some of them know each other,
- 5: they don't know each other?

If out-group contacts exist:

67. *Without migration background:*

Now back to the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances, who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany.

How many of them live in your neighbourhood?

With migration background:

Now back to the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances, who are not native Germans or whose parents are native Germans. How many of them live in your neighbourhood?

- 1: no one,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: all?

If out-group contacts exists:

68. *Without migration background:*

And how many of your family members, friends and acquaintances who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany did you meet in your neighbourhood?

With migration background:

And how many of your family members, friends and acquaintances who are native Germans did you meet in your neighbourhood?

- 1: no one,
- 2: less than half
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: all?

If out-group contacts exists:

69. *Without migration background:*

On what occasions did you meet your family members, friends or acquaintances who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

With migration background:

On what occasions did you meet your family members, friends, or acquaintances who are native Germans?

[INT.: Multiple answers possible.]

- 1: at work, in school, at university
- 2: in an association
- 3: in another organisation or group
- 4: in a religious group
- 5: while going out
- 6: through friends or family members
- 7: in a neighbourhood in which you lived before
- 8: upon another occasion?

If there is contact with people who have a migration background:

70. What country are those people from in your family, circle of friends and circle of acquaintances, who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany?

[INT.: Multiple answers possible. Please note accurately!]

71_1. Back to your whole circle of friends and acquaintances. How many of those people would you place in a different social class than yourself?

- 1: none or very few,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: almost all?

71_2. How many of your friends and acquaintances are much younger or much older than you?

- 1: none or very few,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: almost all?

71_3. How many of your friends and acquaintances have very different political views from your own?

- 1: none or very few,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: almost all?
- 8: don't know

71_4. And how many of your friends and acquaintances have very different religious beliefs than you yourself?

- 1: none or very few,
- 2: less than half,
- 3: about half,
- 4: more than half or
- 5: almost all?
- 8: don't know

72_1. Are there people among your family members, your circle of friends or of acquaintances who came to Germany as refugees?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

72_2. Are there people among your family members, your circle of friends or acquaintances who came to Germany as ethnic German immigrants (*Aussiedler*)?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

72_3. Are there foreigners among your family members, your circle of friends or acquaintances who have been living in Germany for a short time, not more than three years?

- 1: yes
- 2: no

73. How important do your German friends think it is to be friendly to foreigners? Do your friends think it is...

- 1: very important
- 2: somewhat important
- 3: neither important nor unimportant
- 4: not really important
- 5: not important at all?

75. How high is the monthly net income of your household in total? I mean the sum that remains after taxes and insurance payments are taken out.

[INT.: For self-employed people, ask for the **average** monthly net income, after business costs. Point out the anonymity of the survey!]

Is it under 2000 euro?

If yes:

- 11: less than 500 euro
- 12: 500 to less than 750 euro
- 13: 750 to less than 1000 euro
- 14: 1000 to less than 1250 euro
- 15: 1250 to less than 1500 euro
- 16: 1500 to less than 1750 euro
- 17: 1750 to less than 2000 euro

If no:

- 18: 2000 to less than 2250 euro
- 19: 2250 to less than 2500 euro
- 20: 2500 to less than 2750 euro
- 21: 2750 to less than 3000 euro
- 22: 3000 to less than 4000 euro
- 23: 4000 to less than 5000 euro
- 24: 5000 to less than 7000 euro
- 25: 7500 and more

Post questionnaire (information on panel and interview)

76. That was the last question in our survey. We are planning another interview on the same topic in about a year. It is guaranteed that your address and your telephone number will never be associated with your given responses. Thus your data will always stay absolutely anonymous. Can we call you again in one year?

1: yes [note name, address, other telephone numbers and e-mail from the respondent]

2: no

7601. This concludes the interview. Thank you very much for taking the time to participate. [INT.: In what language did you conduct the interview?]

- 1: only German
- 2: predominantly Turkish
- 3: predominantly Russian
- 4: predominantly Polish
- 5: predominantly Italian
- 6: predominantly Serbo-Croatian
- 7: predominantly English
- 8: partly German, partly in the other language
If partly in German, partly in the other language:

7602. Which other language?

- 1: Turkish
- 2: Russian
- 3: Polish
- 4: Italian
- 5: Serbo-Croatian
- 6: English

Changes in waves two and three of the survey:

Compared to DivCon survey 2010 (wave 1), questions were dropped as well as added and the order in which questions were asked was slightly changed. 11 questions were not asked again. These are time invariant questions 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and the apparently incomprehensible question 23. 8 new questions were incorporated and numbered from 77 to 84. Questions 64 and 1 were shifted from the Kish grid section. The new sequence of questions was: 73, 64, 1, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84 and 75. Question 76 was asked only in wave 2.

77. How would you characterize the building you inhabit? Is this...

- 1: a single-family house (incl. semi-detached house)
- 2: a separate apartment bloc?
- 3: a terraced apartment bloc?
- 4: a high-rise bloc with more than 6 stories?

78. I am now going to name a few forms of conduct towards others. Please tell me if these forms of conduct are typical or a-typical in your neighborhood.

- 78_1. Mutual assistance
- 78_2. Considerateness
- 78_3. Politeness
- 78_4. Open-mindedness

Is this ...

- 1: typical or
- 2: a-typical?

79. I am now going to read you several statements. Please state whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

- 79_1. Young people profit from contact with other young people of different origin or religious belief.
- 79_2. Public funding for cultural activities should include the cultural traditions of minorities.
- 79_3. It is a good thing if you can hear many languages in our streets.

Do you ...

- 1: fully agree,
- 2: somewhat agree,
- 3: neither agree nor disagree
- 4: somewhat disagree or
- 5: definitely disagree?

80. I would now like to ask you about your feelings towards the foreigners living in Germany. Please imagine a thermometer and tell me how warm or cold your feelings are towards the foreigners living in Germany. Zero means totally cold and one hundred degrees means very warm.

Number:

[INT.: for evasive answers such as ‘that depends’ or ‘one can’t generalize’, ask again: This is just about a general estimation. If the answer remains evasive, please enter 998.]

81. When you think of foreigners living in Germany—would you say that foreigners living in Germany can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with foreigners living in Germany? Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you can’t be too careful and 5 means that most foreigners living in Germany can be trusted. You can use the values in between to find the value on the scale that best fits your opinion.

1: you can’t be too careful

2:

3:

4:

5: most foreigners living in Germany can be trusted

82. If you think specifically of those foreigners who are living in your neighborhood, would you say that most of those foreigners can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with those foreigners? Please state your answer on a scale from 1 to 5.

1: you can’t be too careful

2:

3:

4:

5: most foreigners living in Germany can be trusted

83. *Without migration background:*

Now back to the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances. Have met people who are not native Germans or whose parents are not from Germany since May/June last year?

With migration background:

Now back to the people in your family, your circle of friends and your circle of acquaintances. Did you have met people who are native Germans or whose parents are from Germany since May/June last year?

1: yes

2: no

84. Now please think once again about your neighbourhood and the contact between inhabitants who are native Germans and inhabitants who are not native Germans and whose parents are not from Germany. Is there rather frequent or rather rare contact between both groups?

1: rather frequent contact

2: rather rare contact

Annex 3: The DivCon Panel, Technical Report

For the first wave of the survey, a technical report has been published (Petermann, et al., 2012; http://www.mmg.mpg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/wp/WP_12-21_Divcon-Technical-Report_web.pdf). It contains information about the general sampling procedure as well as about the DIVCON Survey 2010 (questionnaire development, survey implementation, operationalisations, and a codebook).

Development of the Questionnaire

As usual for panel surveys, the questionnaire remained unchanged for the largest part. However, while the questionnaire of wave 1 contained 76 questions, we deleted some questions and added just a few new ones for the subsequent waves 2 and 3. 11 questions were deleted. These are time invariant questions 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and the obviously incomprehensible question 23. Eight new questions were incorporated, consecutively numbered from 77 to 84. Questions 64 and 1 were shifted from the Kish grid section. The new sequence of questions is: 73, 64, 1,

77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84 and 75. Question 76 about the consent to keep contact information was asked in waves 1 and 2 only. Otherwise, identical questionnaires were used in waves 2 and 3.

We applied the same routine for translations of the new questions as for the questionnaire of the first wave. The eight new questions were translated into five languages representing the largest immigrant groups in German cities (Turkish, Russian, Polish, Italian, Serbo-Croat) and English. Translations were retranslated into German to check for correctness and completeness. Translations in both directions were done by professionals.

Panel Implementation

First Wave

The fieldwork for all three panel waves was done by TNS Emnid. The 338 CATI-Interviewers of the first wave included some who could offer to conduct the interview in one of the six non-German languages (Turkish, Russian, Polish, Italian, Serbo-Croat, and English). The interviewers took part in a training specifically for this project before the beginning of the field phase, and training continued during throughout the field phase.

Before the first call, households of potential respondents received a cover letter announcing the survey. In order to increase the willingness to take part in the survey, the letter explained the aims and intentions of the study in a general and accessible way. Immediately before the start of the interviewing process, on 19 May 2010, 6.200 letters were posted. A month later, on 15 June 2010, almost 2.800 letters were mailed. Later on, further addresses were drawn and letters sent accordingly.

The field phase lasted from 17 May to 20 July 2010. Interviews on average lasted 40.3 minutes.

The overall response rate for this study was calculated to be 24 per cent (Table A.1). This is not a-typical for telephone surveys. Further we have to take into account that the need to ask relatively detailed screening

questions (to ensure that respondents lived in the target areas) discouraged some potential respondents. A significant share turned out to be out-of-scope, i.e. households did not live in the selected areas (72%). Refusals and incomplete interviews add up to 76% of the net sample.

Second Wave

From the 2506 respondents of the first wave, 2243 (90%) approved to be re-interviewed. In January 2011, we sent a letter of appreciation to those participants. The aim of this letter was to stay in contact with the respondents and to check for valid addresses.

On 9 May 2011, a cover letter was sent to all remaining participants. We enclosed a set of postcards. It was meant as a token of appreciation and to commit respondents to participate again. The fieldwork for the second wave lasted from 16 May until 13 August 2011. 106 interviewers conducted the telephone survey. Most of the interviewers were already involved in the first wave. Again, interviewers received a survey-specific training prior to and throughout the field phase.

A letter was sent on 4 July 2011 to 171 participants who are unachievable so far (by phone or email) or who refused to participate again in the second wave for time reasons. In this letter, we promised a monetary incentive for a completed interview. This activity results in 62 additional interviews.

Interviews of the second survey lasted 38 minutes on average, i.e. two minutes less than in the first wave.

As the neighbourhood context is a crucial feature of our panel study, interviewees were asked at the beginning of each interview if they still live in the same street or neighbourhood than a year before. 5% could not be re-interviewed because they live out of the sample neighbourhood. All neutral losses add up to about 20%. Refusals and incomplete interviews add up to 27% of the net sample—a much smaller share than in the first wave. However, the response rate based on the gross sample amounts to 58% resulting in 1296 completed interviews.

Third Wave

Of the 1296 respondents of the second wave, 1179 (91%) agreed to be re-interviewed. However, the DivCon panel had an attrition rate of 42% between wave 1 and wave 2. This is very high compared to other established large panel surveys with annual attrition rates between about 12% and 17% and even lower attrition in subsequent waves. In order to reduce panel attrition in the third wave, we used prepaid gifts for all respondents and differing monetary incentives for the more reluctant respondents.

Early in May 2012, a cover letter was sent to all remaining participants with a set of stamps enclosed as prepaid gifts. The fieldwork for the third wave lasted from 8 May until 18 August 2012. The cover letter was sent to 351 participants with an announced monetary incentive (about 30% of the gross sample of the third wave). Those participants have a migration background, were born in 1970 or later or had already received an incentive in wave 2. No incentives were offered to respondents who did not belong to one of these groups.

The third part of the telephone survey was conducted by 71 interviewers. Most of the interviewers had already been involved in the previous waves. Again, interviewers received a survey-specific training prior to and throughout the field phase.

Interviews of the third wave lasted 37 minutes on average—approx. the same duration as in the second wave.

The gross sample is reduced by about 14% neutral losses. Compared to the neutral losses in the second wave, this is a slight reduction due to fewer respondents who had left the neighbourhood. But more important is the reduction in the systematic losses that can be ascribed to the prepaid gifts and monetary incentives. In the third wave, refusals and incomplete interviews add up to 12%. In the final wave, 891 people were interviewed. This gives a response rate of 76% based on the gross sample.

Table A.1 Survey response

	wave 1		wave 2		wave 3	
	absolute	per cent	absolute	per cent	absolute	per cent
Total phone numbers	588,048					
Not assigned phone numbers	348,386					
Gross sample	239,662					
Not attempted	14,398					
Total phone numbers used (adjusted gross sample)	225,264	100	2243	100	1179	100
Neutral losses	214,933	95.4	458	20.4	161	13.7
Unachievable (wrong contact details)			97	4.3	21	1.8
No private household	8566	3.8				
Nobody in target group	204	0.1				
Answering machine/free line/always busy	17,597	7.8	200	8.9	95	8.1
Fax/modem	19,037	8.5				
Respondent unavailable during field period	4952	2.2	19	0.8	16	1.4
Respondent illness	1483	0.7	32	1.4	14	1.2
Respondent language problem	854	0.4				
Out of sample area	162,240	72.0	110	4.9	15	1.3
Net sample	10,331	4.6	1785	79.6	1018	86.3
Net sample	10,331	100	1785	100	1018	100
Systematic losses	7825	75.7	489	27.4	127	12.5
Household refusal	5873	56.9	186	10.4	34	3.3
Respondent refusal	1707	16.5	278	15.6	85	8.3
Break off	245	2.4	25	1.4	8	0.8
Complete interviews	2506	24.3	1296	72.6	891	87.5
Response rate based on gross sample				57.8		75.6

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