Putting interethnic attitudes in context

The relationship between neighbourhood characteristics, interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour

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Putting interethnic attitudes in context

The relationship between neighbourhood characteristics, interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour

Interetnische attituden in context

De relatie tussen buurtkenmerken, interetnische attituden en keuzes op de woningmarkt

(*met een samenvatting in het Nederlands*)

PROEFSCHRIFT

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Chapter 1

Framework and overview of the research

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Background and position in the literature

In the past few decades, immigration processes have caused European cities to be increasingly characterised by a socioeconomically and culturally diverse ethnic minority population (Musterd, 2005). The spatial distribution of ethnic minority groups is strongly linked to their history of settlement (Kullberg, 2011). In the Netherlands, ethnic minority groups are likely to be concentrated in the economic urban centres in the Western part of the country and in the (former) industrial areas in the East and South (Zorlu & Latten, 2009). Within cities, ethnic residential concentration is particularly visible at the neighbourhood level: ethnic minority groups are highly overrepresented in some neighbourhoods, whereas they are largely absent in other neighbourhoods (Musterd, 2005; Zorlu & Latten, 2009).

Both scientists and urban policy-makers worry about the negative effects of ethnic residential concentration for the structural and cultural integration of ethnic minorities as well as for the social cohesion in the neighbourhood as a whole (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). A specific focus in this debate is directed to the assumed negative consequences of ethnic residential concentration for interethnic relations. In addition to interethnic contacts, scholars in the field of interethnic relations are in-

terested in interethnic attitudes, trying to appoint the way in which ethnic groups *feel* and *think* about each other (e.g., Allport, 1954; Bobo, 1999). It has been argued that ethnic residential concentration restricts interethnic contact (opportunities) and provides a basis for interethnic competition and threat which would, in turn, evoke negative interethnic attitudes. As in many other countries, the Dutch government attempts to reduce ethnic residential concentration by actively intervene in the neighbourhood via different housing mix policies, such as urban renewal and social diversification and dispersal programmes (Bolt, 2004; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). An ideal mix of (ethnic and socioeconomic) populations in a neighbourhood is expected to positively influence interethnic relations. As described in the Letter of Integration by the former minister of *Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration Affairs* (Wonen, Wijken en Integratie; VROM/WWI, 2009), encounters between different ethnic groups in a safe and liveable environment are supposed to improve interethnic attitudes:

> "*Living together – taking note of each other's opinions, addressing problems together and building on a common future – requires that Dutch citizens meet each other in a safe and liveable environment crossing borders of different backgrounds. Doing things together in the neighbourhood creates a sense of collectiveness, differences will be less threatening and there will be even room for differences. Segregation obstructs this.*"
> (Letter of Integration, VROM/WWI, 2009, p. 11; own translation).

Concerns about ethnic residential concentration were specifically fuelled by studies in the United States, finding that whites who live in a rather black neighbourhood were more likely to endorse prejudicial attitudes towards blacks (e.g., Giles & Evans, 1986; Taylor, 1998). In addition, the influential study by Putnam (2007) claiming that ethnic diversity poses a threat to interethnic relations, attracted considerable research attention to the question under what conditions and by which mechanisms the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has an effect on the interethnic attitudes of neighbourhood residents (for example, see Gijsberts, Van der Meer, & Dagevos, 2012b; Lancee & Dronkers, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). Topics that are debated in the field of interethnic relations concern, amongst others, the conceptualisation of the ethnic neighbourhood composition (i.e., gen-

eral measures of ethnic concentration or specific measures of the presence of particular ethnic minority groups), the impact of the ethnic composition over and above its relation to socioeconomic disadvantage and the differential effects of neighbourhood composition for ethnic majority and minority residents. In this dissertation, I build on the interethnic relations literature and closely examine the relationship between the neighbourhood of residence and interethnic attitudes.

Apprehension about the residential concentration of ethnic minority populations is not a new phenomenon. The study of urban neighbourhoods and their related problems of concentrated poverty and disadvantaged minority populations has a long tradition in the field of urban sociology (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; Skogan, 1992; Taub, Taylor, & Dunham, 1984; Wilson, 1987). In his book *The truly disadvantaged*, Wilson (1987) describes detrimental consequences of growing up in poor black urban areas in the city of Chicago. Overall, urban sociologists emphasise the mutual relationship between the neighbourhood and the attitudinal and behavioural outcomes of residents (Hedman & Galster, 2013). Urban sociology builds our understanding about the conditions under which neighbourhoods have an impact on their residents and the mechanisms by which these so-called neighbourhood effects arise (Dietz, 2002; Friedrichs, 1998; Galster, 2012). The neighbourhood is seen as a spatially defined set of opportunities and restrictions affecting a wide range of outcomes such as employment, health or life satisfaction (Friedrichs, 1998). According to Friedrichs (1998) and Galster (2012), the neighbourhood affects its residents via two main mechanisms: the social-interactive mechanism and the environmental mechanism.

First of all, the social-interactive mechanism argues that neighbourhoods determine which kind of people characterised by what kind of attitudes and behaviours residents are exposed to and will actually meet. For example, residents who grow up in a poverty neighbourhood might lack positive role models and access to information and resources that potentially could help them finding a job. It has been argued that in today's society (with increased communication and transport facilities) residents' social contacts are enacted to a great extent outside of the neighbourhood and that, therefore, the relevance of the local neighbourhood for the lives of residents might have declined (Friedrichs, 1998; Van Kempen,

1999). Nevertheless, research shows that the neighbourhood still matters for today's social contacts. On average, almost 20 percent of people's network consists of neighbours (Völker, Flap, & Lindenberg, 2007) and there is evidence that social networks might be even more localised in deprived neighbourhoods (Gesthuizen, Van der Meer, & Scheepers, 2008; Pinkster, 2007).

Second, the environmental mechanism suggests that attitudes and behaviours are not only affected via personal social contact and exposure to particular groups in the neighbourhood, but also by the socioeconomic and physical conditions in which residents find themselves and interact with fellow-residents (e.g., exposure to violence or physical decay). Applying this to the field of interethnic relations, the neighbourhood of residence affects the likelihood that residents are exposed to and actually meet other ethnic groups, the characteristics of these other ethnic groups and the environmental conditions in which interactions between ethnic groups come about.

In addition to neighbourhood effects, research within urban sociology investigates neighbourhood selection, aiming to explore the factors that determine who lives where and why (Crowder & South, 2008; Hedman & Galster, 2013). Residents' attitudes and perceptions play a substantial role in individual decisions to stay in the neighbourhood or move away; or to invest in their property or to let it go down (Galster, 2001; Taub et al., 1984). In this way, the neighbourhood of residence does not only affect the attitudes of residents, attitudes in turn may also influence future neighbourhood developments. For example, unsatisfied majority residents who decide to move out of an ethnically mixed neighbourhood might have significant consequences for the ethnic composition of that neighbourhood in the future, particularly if vacant dwellings will be occupied by ethnic minority residents (Schelling, 1971). Hence, the attitudes of individual residents and the choices they make may affect neighbourhood development, and (changing) attributes of the neighbourhood context in turn may influence how residents feel and what kind of residential choices they (intent) to make (Galster, 2001; Taub et al., 1984).

1.1.2 Aims and research questions

In this dissertation, I combine and expand upon insights from research in the fields of interethnic relations and urban sociology. More specifically, the focus of this dissertation is on the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics, interethnic attitudes of neighbourhood residents and residential intentions and behaviour (for a graphical overview, see Figure 1.1). Research on interethnic relations examines the relationship between the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes but it unsatisfactorily addresses the environmental *circumstances* in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods as well the *consequences* of interethnic attitudes for residential intentions and behaviour. In urban sociology, on the other hand, residents' interethnic attitudes have received relatively little attention as compared to structural outcomes like income and employment status (e.g., Hedman & Galster, 2013) and attitudes such as perceived social cohesion and trust (e.g., Sampson et al., 1997). Yet, in times of growing ethnic residential concentration and ethnic tensions at the neighbourhood level, it is particularly interesting to inquire the extent to which the neighbourhood affects the *interethnic* attitudes of residents and the degree in which these attitudes are reflected in the residential choices people make.

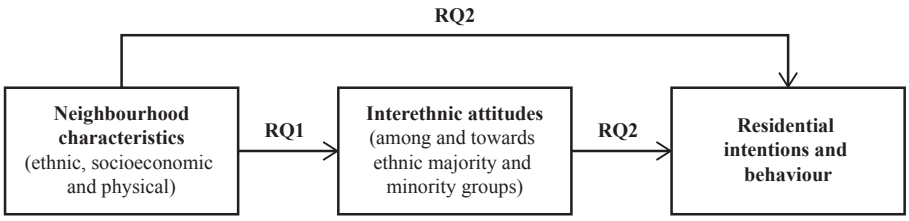
Against this background, my first goal is to understand more fully the specific ethnic, socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood characteristics that affect interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents. The second goal of this study is to examine the extent to which aspects of the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes are related to residential intentions (i.e., the wish to leave the neighbourhood) and actual behaviour (i.e., the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which residents search for housing). Two research questions are put central in this dissertation:

1. *To what extent are ethnic, socioeconomic and physical characteristics of neighbourhoods related to interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents?*

2. *To what extent are neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes related to residential intentions and behaviour of ethnic majority and minority residents?*

Concepts that are important throughout this dissertation are the neigh-

Figure 1.1: Graphical overview of the dissertation and research questions (RQ).



bourhood, interethnic attitudes and residential intentions and behaviour. I define neighbourhoods in this study as *geographically* defined contexts, delineated by styles of architecture and building periods or administrative boundaries (see also section 1.6.1). Interethnic attitudes can be defined as the positive or negative evaluation of members of ethnic outgroups or the ethnic outgroup as a whole (Liska, 1984). In the literature, different components and conceptualisations of interethnic attitudes are studied (Jackman, 1977): a *cognitive* component including prejudicial and stereotypical beliefs, an *affective* component, e.g., feelings of dislike for a particular ethnic group and a *behavioural-orientation* component such as preferences for interethnic contact or residential integration policies. Both the affective and the behavioural-orientation component of interethnic attitudes will be addressed in this dissertation (see also sections 1.3, 1.4 and Table 1.1). Attitudes of individuals are, in turn, expected to affect overt behaviour, by guiding people's behavioural intentions (Liska, 1984). In this dissertation, the focus is on *residential* intentions and behaviour in particular, which I define as people's wishes and actions with respect to their choice for a neighbourhood of residence.

1.2 Previous research and theoretical background

In the context of the two research questions that are central in this dissertation, this section elaborates on previous research and its theoretical foundation in more detail. Subsequently, the specific contributions of this study to the current literature are summarised.

1.2.1 Relative outgroup size and interethnic attitudes

The focus of the first research question is on the extent to which the neighbourhood of residence has an influence on the interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents. Previous research predominantly focussed on the *ethnic* composition of the neighbourhood to explain variations in interethnic attitudes across neighbourhoods (e.g., Pettigrew et al., 2010; Taylor, 1998). Two main theories in the field of interethnic relations have been proposed to explain this relationship: intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954) and ethnic competition theory (Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002). Although both theories emphasise the social-interactive mechanism behind neighbourhood effects, expecting relative sizes of ethnic groups in the neighbourhood to affect interethnic attitudes, the nature of the relationship is presumed to be different.

Firstly, *intergroup contact theory* (Allport, 1954) rests on the premise that interethnic contact reduces ethnic prejudice, suggesting that first hand interethnic contact increases mutual knowledge and understanding by countering preconceptions regarding values, beliefs and life-style of that other ethnic group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Powers & Ellison, 1995). The basic claim of the intergroup contact theory has been widely confirmed by empirical research, showing that those who have interethnic contact are more positive towards other ethnic groups (for an overview on this topic, see Forbes, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This rationale has been applied to the study of urban neighbourhoods, suggesting that the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is an indicator of interethnic contact opportunities. Subsequently, it is expected that the larger the size of an ethnic outgroup in the neighbourhood, the more contact residents will have with this ethnic group and the more positive attitudes they will endorse towards that group (e.g., Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma, & Hagendoorn, 2011b; Stein, Post, & Rinden, 2000).

The intergroup contact theory describes several conditions that interethnic contact should meet in order to reduce ethnic prejudice. Optimally, ethnic contact should be close (such as friendships), based on cooperation, take place between groups of equal status and supported by an authority (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It has been questioned if interethnic contact between neighbourhood residents always meets these

optimal conditions. For example, the presence of other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for interethnic contacts between neighbours to arise (Forbes, 1997). Furthermore, if contact is established, contacts between neighbours may not always be close, but they may be casual when passing on the street or meeting in a shop. Allport (1954) argues that these casual contacts might even increase prejudice rather than reduce it, as false preconceptions about groups may be confirmed instead of countered by this kind of contact. Others have argued, however, that close contact may not be necessary and that even impersonal exposure to ethnic groups in the neighbourhood creates a feeling of 'public familiarity' (Blokland, 2003, who derived this terms from Fischer, 1982, p. 60). Just the feeling of recognising fellow residents in the neighbourhood might create a trusting environment, even in the absence of close interethnic contact (Blokland, 2003). Indeed, a review study by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) shows that, although interethnic contact that meets the aforementioned optimal conditions reduces prejudice most, interethnic contact that does not meet the optimal conditions also reduces prejudice.

Secondly, proponents of the *ethnic competition theory* (Scheepers et al., 2002) argue that negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups are rooted in (perceived) competition between ethnic groups. Interethnic competition may derive from conflicting social and economic interests (e.g., over jobs) as well as cultural and religious issues (e.g., conflicting lifestyles, norms and values) (Coenders, 2001). Actual and perceived competition are expected to encourage perceived ethnic threat, which subsequently promotes unfavourable attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Applied to urban neighbourhoods, the presence of (large shares of) other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood is considered a proxy for an ethnic competitive and threatening environment (Quillian, 1996). Accordingly, it has been presumed that the attendance of ethnic outgroups in the neighbourhood increases feelings of ethnic threat and, in turn, promotes negative interethnic attitudes (e.g., Savelkoul et al., 2011b). In the neighbourhood context, particularly perceptions of cultural threat might be relevant, as conflicting lifestyles and different norms and values might be prominently visible and experienced in everyday encounters in the neighbourhood. Economic competition, on the other hand, might also take place in settings

outside the own neighbourhood, such as the (regional) labour market. In relation to interethnic threat, also the impact of a rapid *change* in relative outgroup size has been frequently discussed (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Olzak, 1994). A rapid influx of ethnic outgroups in the neighbourhood might increase feelings of threat more strongly than stable outgroup sizes.

In testing these theories, research in the United States examined the relationship between the relative sizes of different racial and ethnic minority groups in the neighbourhood and white's prejudicial attitudes. The majority of outcomes on black prejudice in the United States are in line with ethnic competition theory, showing that the presence of African-Americans in a neighbourhood leads to more negative attitudes towards blacks (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Dixon, 2006; Giles & Evans, 1986; Glaser, 1994; Taylor, 1998). The share of Hispanics in the neighbourhood, on the other hand, was unrelated to the interethnic attitudes of whites (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Dixon, 2006; Taylor, 1998). The impact of the share of Asians in the neighbourhood on the interethnic attitudes of whites is less consistent. While Dixon (2006) and Shang (2010) found, in line with predictions of intergroup contact theory, that neighbourhood exposure to Asians elicited more positive interethnic attitudes, Rudolph & Popp (2010) and Taylor (1998) do not find such a relationship.

In Europe, the ethnic neighbourhood composition has been generally measured as the share of a neighbourhoods' ethnic minority population as a whole and most studies focussed on the impact thereof on the attitudes of the native majority group. Studies have arrived at mixed conclusions with regard to the predictions of intergroup contact and ethnic competition theory (which in part might be due to the examination of different local levels: neighbourhoods versus larger districts). Studies in Germany (Pettigrew et al., 2010; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006) support contact theory, showing that German neighbourhood residents endorse more positive ethnic attitudes in districts with a large share of immigrants, because of increased interethnic contacts. Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007), on the other hand, found that a sudden influx of non-Western ethnic minority groups in neighbourhoods leads to more negative stereotypes between the majority group and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Also Savelkoul et al. (2011b) support the claim of ethnic competition theory as they found that a larger percentage Muslims in the neighbourhood

increased perceived ethnic threat among native Dutch residents which in turn induced the level of anti-Muslim attitudes.

Previous studies predominantly focus on the interethnic attitudes of the majority group. However, in America and Europe, urban neighbourhoods are increasingly characterised by a diverse ethnic minority population and interethnic relations are nowadays not only a matter of the relations of the majority group with ethnic minority groups, but also a matter of relations among minority groups. Nevertheless, the extent to which predictions of the intergroup contact theory and ethnic competition theory regarding the relationship between ethnic outgroups size and interethnic attitudes also hold for ethnic minority groups, received comparatively little attention in the literature (but see Gay, 2006; Oliver & Wong, 2003, in the United States and Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007; Havekes, Uunk, & Gijsberts, 2011, for the Netherlands). Yet, for the understanding of the importance of the ethnic neighbourhood composition for interethnic attitudes of residents and the extent to which interethnic attitudes potentially affect future neighbourhood developments by influencing residential intentions and behaviour, also a minority perspective is necessary.

1.2.2 Cultural and socioeconomic group differences

Intergroup contact theory and ethnic competition theory suggest opposite effects of relative outgroup size in the neighbourhood on interethnic attitudes. It is therefore interesting to investigate when neighbourhood exposure to other ethnic groups result in positive interethnic attitudes and when in negative interethnic attitudes. It has been argued that the nature of the relationship between outgroup size and interethnic attitudes depends on the situational context in which ethnic groups interact (Forbes, 1997; Pettigrew, 2008). A first situational condition that is relevant here, relates to the cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the ethnic groups a neighbourhood is composed of. Allport (1954) already acknowledged that neighbourhood contact is more likely to reduce prejudice if the ethnic outgroup is culturally more similar. Moreover, interethnic threat may not only be a function of the relative size of the ethnic group in the neighbourhood, but also of the cultural and socioeconomic differences between groups (Forbes, 1997). Insights from the *belief congruency the-*

ory (Rokeach, Smith, & Evans, 1960) and *social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) can be used to further elaborate on the impact of the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the ethnic (minority) groups the neighbourhood is composed of. The belief congruency theory argues that people are more attracted to ethnic outgroups with whom they share similar beliefs and values. Cultural similarities are assumed to promote positive ethnic attitudes as they produce mutual understanding and they validate the ethnic ingroups' attitudes, beliefs and behaviour (Kalmijn, 1998). In addition, social identity theory asserts that having contact with members of high-status groups enhances your own status and self-esteem, whereas contact with members of low-status groups will harm your status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). High-status groups provide more economic and cultural resources and are therefore more attractive to be in contact with (Völker et al., 2007). As a result, individuals prefer having contact with groups that are positively valued and occupy high status over contact with low-status groups, which is considered a threat towards their own social status.

Indeed, previous research has shown that people feel less attracted to ethnic groups that are perceived to be culturally distinct from their own (e.g., Dustmann & Preston, 2007) and to groups that are of a lower socioeconomic status (e.g., Hagendoorn, 1995). Furthermore, research in the United States (as described above) provides evidence for the hypothesis that interethnic attitudes are not solely a function of the size of ethnic outgroups in the neighbourhood, but also of the *characteristics* of the specific outgroup (Dixon, 2006). Neighbourhood proximity to blacks, which are generally seen as culturally distinct and of relatively lower socioeconomic status, elicits negative attitudes among residents, whereas the presence of Asians, which are better economically integrated, has in some instances found to reduce prejudice among whites. Previous studies in Europe have mainly examined the impact of the relative size of a neighbourhood minority population as a whole, and thus they generally do not take into account culturally and socioeconomically intergroup differences (but see Bowyer, 2009, in England and Havekes et al., 2011, in the Netherlands). Consequently, relatively little is known about how the co-existence of multiple ethnic (minority) groups in a neighbourhood influences interethnic attitudes among residents of different ethnic origins.

1.2.3 The impact of socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood characteristics

The neighbourhood of residence does not only structure the opportunities for interethnic contact and the characteristics of ethnic groups residents come across, it also determines the socioeconomic and physical circumstances in which these interactions take place. These residential circumstances are expected to have implications for the attitudes and behaviours of residents, emphasising the environmental mechanism underlying neighbourhood effects (Gay, 2004; Skogan, 1986).

The *racial proxy perspective* (Harris, 2001) suggests that the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood has a more powerful influence on interethnic attitudes than the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Ethnic and socioeconomic neighbourhood characteristics are often interrelated and proponents of the racial proxy perspective claim that studies that find an effect of the ethnic neighbourhood composition on interethnic attitudes, insufficiently control for socioeconomic neighbourhood circumstances. It has been argued that whites' negative attitudes towards blacks may be a reaction to socioeconomic disadvantage rather than to the presence of blacks in the neighbourhood. Or as Oliver & Mendelberg (2000) put it: socioeconomically deprived neighbourhoods activate "negative psychological states" including anxiety, fear, demoralisation as well as generalised derogation of outgroups (p. 576). The *social disorganisation theory* (Shaw & McKey, 1969) can be used to explain the way in which residential circumstances influence interethnic attitudes in more detail. Its main focus is neighbourhood disorder, which is defined as all visible neighbourhood conditions and cues that indicate a breakdown of the local social order (Ross & Mirowsky, 1999). Social disorder refers to a lack of control related to residents' behaviour (e.g., street harassment and public drinking), whereas physical disorder includes visual signs of negligence and unchecked decay (e.g., litter and graffiti) (Skogan, 1992). Visible signs of social and physical neighbourhood disorder are emphasised to be important for the general understanding of urban neighbourhoods, as these visible cues show residents information and an impression of the neighbourhood lifestyle and common behaviour (Krysan, Couper, Farley, & Forman, 2009; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Subsequently, the social disorganisation theory as-

serts that disorder weakens the social organisation within neighbourhoods (Sampson et al., 1997). According to Ross, Mirowsky, & Pribesh (2001), disorderly neighbourhoods are threatening environments, showing residents that social control is weak, that fellow residents are not willing to cope with problems, and that neighbours are not respectful towards one another. Ultimately, they argue that such kind of environments teach residents that others cannot be trusted.

Prior studies provide evidence for the importance of social and physical neighbourhood disorder for trust among residents; people who report much disorder in the neighbourhood also put less trust in fellow-residents (Ross & Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001). Importantly, it has been argued that concerns about social and physical disorder not only relate to less trust in other neighbours in general, but that it might particularly manifest in negative attitudes towards neighbours of other ethnic groups. The idea that everyday neighbourhood grievances are likely directed to neighbours of another ethnic background is in line with notions of Allport's (1948) *scapegoat theory* and the concept of *racialised resentment* (Hudson, Philips, Ray, & Barnes, 2007, p. 42). According to Allport (1948) negative attitudes are likely to be directed towards highly visible outgroups with salient characteristics, even though they might not be the original source of the frustration. Ethnic outgroups are therefore likely to be convenient objects, because of their different languages, religions and unfamiliar customs.

In addition to the direct influence of living in a socioeconomically poor and disorderly neighbourhood, it has been argued that the impact of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood may depend on socioeconomic and physical conditions in the neighbourhood. It is plausible that socioeconomic and physical circumstances influence the likelihood that positive interethnic contacts will be established between neighbours and that residents feel threatened by other ethnic groups. Based on notions of the ethnic competition theory, Quillian (1996) argues, for example, that residents feel more threatened by the presence of other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood when economic conditions are poor.

Previous studies tested the relative impact of the ethnic and socioeconomic neighbourhood attributes on interethnic attitudes by including aggregated measures of residents' income and/or educational level. In the

United States, Canada and in the United Kingdom it was found that interethnic attitudes of the (white) majority group are more negative in lower socioeconomic status neighbourhoods, but, in contrast to the racial-proxy hypothesis, an independent effect of the ethnic neighbourhood composition remained (Blake, 2003; Branton & Jones, 2005; Laurence, 2011; Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). Findings in the Netherlands on the impact of the socioeconomic population composition show less consistent findings: both Gijsberts, Vervoort, Havekes, & Dagevos (2010) and Tolsma, Lubbers, & Coenders (2008) do not find a significant effect of neighbourhood socioeconomic disadvantage. Branton & Jones (2005) also found evidence in the United States for what they call the 'maximum threat context': whites where less supportive of racial social issues when living in a highly racially diverse *and* highly socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood, while they were more supportive of such issues when residing in highly diverse and socioeconomic advantaged neighbourhoods. Nevertheless Oliver & Mendelberg (2000) do not find support for such an interaction effect between the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood.

Again, studies that examine the impact of the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood on interethnic attitudes of ethnic minority groups are limited (but for a notable exception, see Oliver & Wong, 2003). Furthermore, although much research examined how interethnic attitudes are affected by the socioeconomic population composition of a neighbourhood, relatively little is known on the impact of the specific social and physical problems associated with ethnic concentration and socioeconomic disadvantage, as focussed on within the social disorganisation theory. As such, the extent to which predictions of the racial-proxy perspective and social disorganisation hold with respect to the interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents remains understudied.

1.2.4 Residential behaviour and its relation to interethnic attitudes

The second research question deals with residential intentions and behaviour and how these are related to characteristics of the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes of neighbourhood residents. A vast body of literature

in urban sociology investigates residential mobility behaviour. In this field of research, also known as neighbourhood attainment research, the focus is on the actual sorting process of who lives where and why (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1993; Crowder, 2000; Crowder & South, 2008; Quillian, 2002; Zorlu & Latten, 2009). This research usually investigates to what extent individual demographic characteristics such as socioeconomic status and household composition are able to predict in what types of neighbourhoods residents live (e.g., the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood) (Sampson & Sharkey, 2008). In the Unites States, the evidence for racial and ethnic segregation is large and consistent: whites, blacks and Latinos predominantly reside in neighbourhoods with a substantial amount of co-ethnics, while they tend to avoid neighbourhoods in which their own group is in a minority (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1993; Quillian, 2002). Also in Europe, ethnic minorities tend to cluster in particular cities and neighbourhoods, but the levels of ethnic residential concentration are substantially lower than in cities in the United States and entail a larger mix of different ethnic minority groups (Musterd, 2005).

Typically, three theoretical models are used to explain the causes of ethnic residential concentration. First, the *spatial assimilation model* (Massey, 1985) focusses on individual resources of residents and argue that households translate human capital (e.g., income, education, knowledge) into good neighbourhoods (Adelman, 2005; Quillian, 2002). Since neighbourhoods are not only ethnically but also socioeconomically segregated, it has been argued that racial and ethnic segregation can be explained by socioeconomic disparities between racial and ethnic groups. Nevertheless, since segregation along racial and ethnic lines is larger than we would expect from merely racial and ethnic differences in socioeconomic resources (e.g., Quillian, 2002; Zorlu & Latten, 2009), the debate about the causes of residential segregation has extended to the impact of discrimination practices and racial and ethnic preferences.

The *place stratification model* (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1993) focuses on institutional barriers that have their origin outside of the household, particularly, discrimination practices in the housing market. Although racial and ethnic discrimination against homebuyers and renters in the United States has generally declined over the years, Turner & Ross (2005) argue that geographic steering by housing agents and brokers has become

increasingly important (Turner & Ross, 2005). It has been found, for example, that whites are encouraged to consider predominantly white and more affluent neighbourhoods whereas blacks and Latinos are steered to less affluent minority neighbourhoods (Farley, 1996; Turner & Ross, 2005). Opinions on housing discrimination in the Netherlands are mixed: while Bolt & Van Kempen (2002, p. 404) argue that due to the use of 'colour blind' allocation models discrimination in the social rented sector has disappeared, (Aalbers, 2011) provides evidence that ethnic minorities are still not treated on equal footing when searching for housing. Determining the exact amount of ethnic discrimination is difficult and the extent to which ethnic discrimination practices contribute to the current level of segregation is hotly debated (for a discussion on the role of discrimination, see Clark, 1986 and Galster, 1988.

More recently, increasing attention has been paid to the role of ethnic preferences. In this perspective, persisting racial and ethnic segregation is explained by residents simply having a preference for living in a neighbourhood with a substantial number of their own group (Clark, 1992). Studies on residential mobility indirectly confirm this idea via the study of moving wishes and actual moving behaviour (but without including a measure of preferences): ethnic majority residents of neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of ethnic minorities are more likely to express a wish to leave (e.g., Van Ham & Feijten, 2008) and are also more likely to actually move out of the neighbourhood (Bolt, Van Kempen, & Van Ham, 2008; Crowder, 2000; Van Ham & Clark, 2009; Van Ham & Manley, 2009). In his influential study *Dynamic models of segregation*, Schelling (1971) experimentally models and manipulates ethnic residential preferences and his experiment confirms that even a relatively small preference for same-race neighbours can lead to significant levels of residential segregation at the neighbourhood level.

The possibility of residential preferences causing segregation generated a wide interest in stated ethnic neighbourhood preferences, especially in the Unites States (e.g., Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Charles, 2005, 2000; Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson, & Reeves, 1994; Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi, 2004; Lewis, Emerson, & Klineberg, 2011, but see Van Londen (2012) for an example in the Netherlands). A widely used technique in these studies to investigate neighbourhood preferences is the show card method in which

respondents have to judge hypothetical neighbourhoods with more or less coloured houses, representing the racial composition of that neighbourhood. Using this method, it has been consistently found that whites prefer predominantly white neighbourhoods, while blacks prefer integrated neighbourhoods (i.e., a 50 % white, 50 % black neighbourhood) and see 'all white' but also 'all black' neighbourhoods as least desirable (e.g., Farley et al., 1994). Also Latinos favour a 50 % Latino, 50 % white neighbourhood over an 'all Hispanic' neighbourhood (Charles, 2005).

More recently, studies seek to uncover the factors that underlie ethnic neighbourhood preferences. Based on notions of the racial proxy perspective (Harris, 2001), scholars have argued that ethnic neighbourhood preferences may be (partly) driven by the socioeconomic composition of neighbourhoods rather than its ethnic composition. That is, both whites and blacks may dislike predominantly black neighbourhoods because they want to avoid the problems associated with socioeconomic disadvantage in these neighbourhoods. Using the factorial survey technique, prior studies indicate that part of the racial preference patterns found in studies using the show card method should indeed be attributed to neighbourhood attributes that are related to race, such as poverty, criminality and bad school quality (Emerson, Yancey, & Chai, 2001; Krysan et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the racial and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood continues to be an important factor in shaping residential preferences. It is in this context that proponents of the opposite *pure-race perspective* (term derived from Harris, 2001) argue that the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has an impact on residential preferences over and above its relation to socioeconomic disadvantage. This perspective anticipates that ethnic residential preferences may be driven by either ethnic 'ingroup' preferences or ethnic 'outgroup' rejection (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). First, according to Clark (1992), people like to live among a substantial amount of co-ethnics because they like the sense of community and cohesion within their own group (this is also related to the rationale of the belief congruency theory discussed earlier). Second, preferences for a particular ethnic composition might be motivated by prejudicial attitudes towards other ethnic groups; majority residents might not want to live in an ethnically minority concentrated neighbourhood because they have negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011).

Although important for the understanding of the role individual preferences play in ethnic residential concentration processes, few studies link ethnic neighbourhood preferences and interethnic attitudes to residential behaviour(al) (intentions), such as moving wishes, the search for housing and actual mobility. Clark (1992) rightly argues, however, that to understand the role preferences and attitudes play in racial and ethnic segregation processes, we should not only know the preferences ethnic majority and minority residents hold but also how well they line up with actual choices in different stages of the residential selection process.

1.2.5 Contributions of the study

In this dissertation, I will build on insights from the fields of interethnic ethnic relations and urban sociology to understand more fully the specific ethnic, socioeconomic, and physical neighbourhood conditions that affect interethnic attitudes of both ethnic majority and culturally and socioeconomically distinct minority groups. Furthermore, I will analyse the possible consequences of neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes for residential selection choices. More specifically, this study tries to expand upon the scientific literature in three ways.

First, this research takes a *multi-group perspective* in examining interethnic attitudes and residential intentions and behaviour. It investigates the attitudes of ethnic majority residents towards multiple ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, it also includes the perspectives of ethnic minority groups towards the ethnic majority group and multiple ethnic minority groups. Moreover, the residential intentions and behaviours of both the ethnic majority group and different ethnic minority groups are analysed. For the understanding of the extent to which the neighbourhood affects the interethnic attitudes of residents and how interethnic attitudes potentially affect future neighbourhood developments by influencing residential intentions and behaviour, also a minority perspective is necessary.

Second, this study considers and disentangles a wide range of *ethnic and non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics*. First, in addition to analysing the influence of the size of the ethnic minority population as a whole, I consider the specific ethnic (minority) groups of which neighbourhoods are composed of. Also the change in the size of the ethnic minority popu-

lation in the neighbourhood will be examined. In addition, I examine how interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour of majority and minority residents are related to the socioeconomic population composition of the neighbourhood, the amount of social and physical neighbourhood disorder and whether or not neighbourhood disorder has increased over the years. Disentangling the effects of ethnic, socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood characteristics informs us about the neighbourhood conditions that trigger either positive or negative interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour.

Third, this dissertation considers both attitudes and *residential intentions and behaviour*. I will address the way in which neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes are translated into actual choices in the local housing market that potentially could affect neighbourhood developments, i.e., moving wishes and the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which people search for housing.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I sketch the further setup of this dissertation. First of all, I will describe the focus of the five empirical chapters and how they contribute to answering my research questions. After that, the context in which this study takes place and the data and methods used to meet the research goals will be addressed.

1.3 Part 1: The relationship between the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes

This dissertation consists of five empirical chapters, divided into two parts with each part focussing more in-depth on one of the two research questions (Table 1.1 at the end of this chapter summarises the 5 empirical chapters in this dissertation). The first part of the dissertation (chapters 2, 3 and 4) inquires the extent to which ethnic, socioeconomic and physical characteristics of neighbourhoods are related to interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents. Chapter 2 considers the influence of the (specific) ethnic composition of the neighbourhood on interethnic attitudes, whereas chapter 3 studies the influence of socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood circumstances on interethnic attitudes. With the use of a vignette experiment, chapter 4 tries to disentangle the different

processes and conditions that trigger either positive or negative attitudes in urban neighbourhoods. Consistent among the chapters is that they include the attitudes of ethnic majority residents towards (multiple) ethnic minority groups as well as the perspectives of ethnic minority groups towards the ethnic majority group and (multiple) ethnic minority groups.

1.3.1 Chapter 2: Cultural and socioeconomic status differences between ethnic groups in the neighbourhood

In chapter 2, the focus is on the relationship between the relative sizes of different ethnic (minority) groups in the neighbourhood and the interethnic attitudes of residents. In this chapter, I study the mutual interethnic attitudes between the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) and the native Dutch majority population, and relate the share of a particular ethnic outgroup in the neighbourhood to the attitudes towards that particular ethnic outgroup. Based on notions of the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954) and ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002), I test conflicting hypotheses on the relationship between (an increase in) relative ethnic outgroup size and interethnic attitudes. In addition, I argue in this chapter that particularly in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, the nature of the relationship between ethnic outgroup size and outgroup attitudes depends on the (characteristics of a) particular ethnic outgroup as well as on the ethnic origin of the neighbourhood resident itself. Building on insights from the belief congruency theory (Rokeach et al., 1960) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), I propose that the processes of interethnic contact and interethnic threat in the neighbourhood depend on cultural and socioeconomic differences between ethnic groups. The direction of the effect of outgroup size on outgroup attitudes – and, thus, whether processes of interethnic threat or contact dominate – might vary, depending on the particular ethnic outgroup in the neighbourhood. In addition, based on notions of the racial-proxy perspective, I study the impact of relative outgroup size while controlling for the socioeconomic population composition. Chapter 2 adds to previous research by considering a) the mutual interethnic attitudes between the ethnic majority group and various ethnic minority groups, b) the different ethnic (minority) groups

neighbourhoods are composed of and c) the socioeconomic population composition. In this chapter, I study the affective component of interethnic attitudes, namely, the extent of positive feelings towards the different ethnic outgroups. Overall, the research question that is answered in chapter 2 is:

> *How do residents of different ethnic origin evaluate different ethnic (minority) outgroups based on the shares of these particular ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood?*

1.3.2 Chapter 3: The impact of neighbourhood disorder and decline on interethnic attitudes

While chapter 2 focuses on the characteristics of the ethnic groups that meet each other in the neighbourhood, chapter 3 specifically takes into account the social and physical circumstances in the neighbourhood. In this chapter the focus is on the relationship between neighbourhood disorder and interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority neighbourhood residents in the Netherlands, while taking into account the ethnic and socioeconomic population composition. Based on arguments derived from social disorganisation theory (Shaw & McKey, 1969), the concept of 'racialised resentment' (Hudson et al., 2007) and scapegoat theory (Allport, 1948), I discuss in this chapter the extent to which dissatisfaction with the quality of the social and physical environment manifests in negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups. In addition to current neighbourhood problems and ethnic composition, chapter 3 examines the influence of neighbourhood *decline* (i.e., increasing disorder) and the *influx* of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, I test if the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood continues to affect interethnic attitudes once we take into account (increasing) neighbourhood disorder and the socioeconomic population composition. Additionally, the specific ethnic compositions that buffer or strengthen the effect of neighbourhood disorder and decline on interethnic attitudes are addressed. Chapter 3 expands upon previous research by considering a) the amount and increase of neighbourhood disorder, b) an interaction between neighbourhood disorder and the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, and c) the interethnic attitudes

of both ethnic majority and minority residents. Similar to Chapter 2, the affective component of interethnic attitudes is studied. The research question that I try to answer in chapter 3 is:

> *To what extent are neighbourhood disorder and decline related to interethnic attitudes of majority and minority residents, and to what extent is this relationship dependent on the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood?*

1.3.3 Chapter 4: Ethnic encounters in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods

The fourth chapter aims to disentangle the different conditions that trigger either positive or negative attitudes in urban neighbourhoods. While chapter 2 and 3 focus on the degree to which interethnic attitudes of residents differ across various types of neighbourhoods, chapter 4 investigates whether the same person would judge otherwise identical residents differently when encountered in different neighbourhood environments. Furthermore, it investigates whether some ethnic groups are judged based more on their neighbourhood environment than other groups. In this chapter, it is examined which features of ethnic-outgroup neighbours (i.e., ethnicity, work status, religion and problem behaviour) and which neighbourhood conditions (i.e., ethnic composition, socioeconomic composition and physical disorder) trigger negative or positive responses in urban neighbourhood encounters between residents of different ethnic origin. A new photo-vignette experiment conducted in the Netherlands, is used to distinguish between the ethnic and ethnic-related characteristics of residents and neighbourhoods that are usually confounded in daily life. Ethnic majority and minority respondents in the Netherlands had to judge six fictitious neighbourhood residents in which the ethnicity of the resident (Moroccan, Surinamese, native Dutch) varied independently of other resident characteristics (i.e., work status, religion and problem behaviour) and the neighbourhood environment (i.e., ethnic composition, socioeconomic composition and physical disorder). Based on the racial-proxy and pure-race perspectives, competing hypotheses can be derived about the relative importance of ethnicity and ethnic-related characteristics of the resident that

may affect interethnic attitudes. Moreover, because neighbourhood characteristics that are correlated in real-life are varied independently in the experiment, the impact of different stereotype-consistent and -inconsistent neighbourhood environments on interethnic attitudes can be studied. The experimental set-up of the research in chapter 4 adds to previous literature in three ways: a) it allows to estimate the net impact of the ethnicity of the resident as compared to other resident characteristics, b) it studies the net impact of different (stereotype-(in)consistent) neighbourhood environments and c) it studies interethnic attitudes among the ethnic majority group and different ethnic minority groups. Again, chapter 4 focusses on the affective component of interethnic attitudes. The main research question in chapter 4 reads:

To what extent are attitudes towards neighbourhood residents affected by the ethnicity of the resident and by the aspects of the neighbourhood environment in which residents meet?

1.4 Part 2: The relationship between the neighbourhood, interethnic attitudes and residential intentions and behaviour

Whereas the first part of the dissertation inquires the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes, the research question that is central in part two considers the extent to which neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes are related to residential intentions and behaviour of ethnic majority and minority residents. Empirical chapters 5 and 6 aim to investigate the relationship between the neighbourhood, interethnic attitudes and two types of residential choices, i.e., moving wishes (chapter 5) and the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which people searched for housing (chapter 6). In this way, it is examined to what extent interethnic attitudes translate into actual choices in different stages of the residential selection process. Both chapters inquire residential intentions and behaviour of ethnic majority and ethnic minority residents.

1.4.1 Chapter 5: The wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods and the role of interethnic attitudes

Chapter 5 focusses on the role interethnic attitudes play in ethnic majority and minority residents' decision to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. More specifically, the impact of interethnic attitudes on moving wishes is analysed next to other possible explanations of moving wishes, i.e., a lack of perceived social cohesion and important neighbourhood (e.g., socioeconomic status), housing (e.g., tenure) and household (e.g., family composition) explanations of moving behaviour. Based on the racial proxy perspective (Harris, 2001), I first of all predict that residents try to avoid ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods simply because they want to avoid the social and economic problems that are more likely to occur in these neighbourhoods. Alternatively, based on notions of the pure-race perspective, I argue that ethnic composition of a neighbourhood is important in itself in addition to its association with socioeconomic neighbourhood problems. Based on this perspective and supplemented with ideas of the belief congruency theory (Rokeach et al., 1960) and ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002), different hypotheses are derived arguing that the wish to move out of an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood may be driven by either 'ingroup' preferences (i.e., residents simply like the sense of community and cohesion within their own group) or 'outgroup' rejection such as negative interethnic attitudes. Unlike the previous chapters, chapter 5 focusses on the behavioural-orientation component of interethnic attitudes. Ethnic outgroup attitudes are defined as the level of distance people feel towards other ethnic groups, including the willingness to accept a member of another ethnic group as a boss, neighbour or son in law. An advantage of studying moving wishes over realised moving behaviour is that it includes those residents who want to leave ethically concentrated neighbourhoods but are unable to do so because of financial reasons or other restrictions (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Chapter 5 goes beyond previous research on moving wishes by a) examining the role of interethnic attitudes and perceived social cohesion as well as structural neighbourhood and housing characteristics and b) it compares moving wishes of ethnic majority and minority residents. The research question that is addressed is:

To what extent do ethnic outgroup attitudes and perceived social cohesion explain ethnic majority and minority residents' moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods?

1.4.2 Chapter 6: The discrepancy between ethnic neighbourhood preferences and residential selection choices

The final empirical chapter, chapter 6, investigates the extent to which ethnic neighbourhood preferences correspond with actual choices in the residential selection process. Instead of moving wishes, this chapter studies actual search behaviour in the local housing market of the Chicago metropolitan area. More specifically, I systematically relate people's ethnic neighbourhood preferences to the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which people have searched for housing and the ethnic composition of people's current neighbourhood. Commonly used models to explain residential mobility and neighbourhood attainment (i.e., spatial assimilation model, place stratification and information theories) are used to elaborate on the discrepancy between neighbourhood preferences and the ethnic composition of search locations and current neighbourhood. Chapter 6 aims to investigate if ethnic majority and minority groups encounter constraints when searching for housing (e.g., because people are simply unaware of neighbourhoods that reflect their preferences) or that they do search in preferred neighbourhoods but that discrepancies particularly arise when actual choices have to be made (e.g., by a lack of economic resources). Similar to chapter 5, the focus is on the behavioural-orientation component of interethnic attitudes: i.e., the preferences for a particular ethnic neighbourhood composition. The research in chapter 6 adds to previous literature in three ways: a) it relates ethnic neighbourhood preferences to residential choices in a real local housing market, b) it incorporates the search process and c) it permits a comparison between the discrepancies of three racial/ethnic groups. The main research question that is answered in Chapter 6 is:

Do whites, blacks and Latinos search for housing and reside in neighbourhoods they say they prefer in terms of the neighbourhood's racial and ethnic composition and, if not, what factors contribute to people having a discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviour?

1.5 Context of the study

1.5.1 Ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands

The empirical chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 examine interethnic attitudes in the Dutch neighbourhood context. The Netherlands has become an immigration country since the beginning of the 1960s (for an overview of the Dutch immigration history, see Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Today, 12 percent of the Dutch population is of non-Western ethnic minority origin (Statistics Netherlands, 2013, for a definition of the non-Western ethnic category, see below). The composition of the ethnic groups in the Netherlands is strongly linked to the colonial past and the need for cheap labour forces and, in this way, comparable to other immigration countries in Europe like, for example, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and France. The former colonies of the Netherlands have provided immigration flows from these countries overseas. Directly after the Second World War many immigrants came from Indonesia, and lately also from the Caribbean, namely Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. The Indonesians have blended in with the native Dutch population rather well and are nowadays labelled 'Western Immigrants' in governmental registrations. The immigrants from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles arrived since the 1970s. Initially most came with the aim to gain a degree in higher education, but later immigrants had predominantly socioeconomic reasons to migrate. The Moroccan and the Turkish immigrant-streams started in the 1960s and were a response to the shortages on the labour market at that time in the Netherlands. The labourers were invited by the national government to come to the Netherlands and work here, while usually living in temporary boarding. After a few years it became clear that they were not going back, and the Moroccan and Turkish populations have increased due to family formation and reunification policies (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

The ethnic minority groups studied in this dissertation, i.e., Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans, belong to the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. According to the standard definition of *Statistics Netherlands*, ethnicity is defined by country of birth such that people are considered a member of an ethnic minority group when they themselves (first generation immigrants) or at least one parent is born in a foreign country (second generation immigrants). People

belong to the ethnic majority group when *both* of their parents are born in the Netherlands. This definition of ethnicity is generally used in all kinds of statistics, registrations and scientific research in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the Dutch statistics distinguish between Western and non-Western ethnic minorities and these categories are based on region of the home country (of the parents) as well as the socioeconomic and cultural position of immigrant groups. Groups belonging to the category of non-Western ethnic minorities generally hold lower socioeconomic positions and are more culturally distinct from the native Dutch as compared to Western ethnic minorities (from e.g., other European counties or the US). The non-Western ethnic minority category includes immigrants (and their children) from Turkey and all countries in Africa, Latin-America and Asia (except for Indonesia and Japan). In contrast to the Western groups, non-Western ethnic minorities and in particular Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans, are highly discussed in the public and policy debate and they are generally a target population of Dutch integration policies and (survey)registrations. Nevertheless, the group of non-Western ethnic minorities is diverse in terms of their cultural and socioeconomic background. Integration successes and public opinion of these immigrant groups partly relate to their socioeconomic situation and exposure to Dutch culture in their home country (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Overall, Surinamese hold better socioeconomic positions than the other ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, because of colonial history, both Surinamese and Antilleans had already some affinity with Dutch culture and good proficiency in the Dutch language before arrival in the Netherlands. However, Turks and Moroccans generally hold lower socioeconomic positions, are mostly Muslim and adhere to more traditional family and religious beliefs compared to the native majority population as well as the other minority groups (Gijsberts, Huijnk, & Dagevos, 2012a; Uunk, 2003).

The spatial distribution of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands is strongly linked to their history of settlement (Kullberg, 2011). Except for the Antillean group (which makes up 1 percent), each group makes up more than 2 percent of the total Dutch population, but these groups are far more represented in the larger cities. For example, in 2013 approximately one-third of the population in the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) belongs to

a non-Western ethnic minority group (Statistics Netherlands, 2013). Immigrant groups are likely to reside in social housing and to be concentrated in the pre- and post-WWII neighbourhoods of the larger cities in the Western part of the Netherlands and in the (former) industrial areas in the East (textile industries) and South (coal mine) (Zorlu & Latten, 2009). In 2011, more than halve of the minority populations lived in one of the four largest cities or its surrounding municipalities and suburbs in the Western part of the country (Kullberg, 2011). Furthermore, 25 percent of the ethnic minority groups resides in a so-called ethnic concentration neighbourhood in which more than 50 percent of the population is of ethnic minority origin (Kullberg, 2011).

Compared to black residential concentration in the US, levels of ethnic minority residential concentration in the Netherlands are moderate, but levels are very average compared to other countries in Europe, like Germany and the UK (Musterd, 2005). Moreover, typical for the Netherlands (and other European counties) is that ethnic residential concentrations are highly diverse in terms of countries of origin (Musterd, 2005). Aside from neighbourhoods with predominantly ethnic majority residents, mono-ethnic neighbourhood are scarce and neighbourhoods with high concentration of ethnic minorities are characterised by a socioeconomically and culturally diverse minority population. It is therefore important to consider the specific ethnic (minority) groups of which neighbourhoods are composed of and the Netherlands provide an interesting case for studying the effect of socioeconomic and cultural group differences on interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods.

1.5.2 Racial and ethnic groups in the Chicago metropolitan area

The research in the final empirical chapter of this dissertation situates in the Chicago metropolitan area, Illinois, United States of America. The study of the American context in addition to the European (or more particularly the Dutch) context is interesting as both contexts have a different immigration history, have different levels of ethnic and socioeconomic concentration (as discussed above) and ethnic concentrations are composed of different ethnic and racial groups. Since the foundation of Chicago in

1833, its population consisted mostly of (white) European immigrants, i.e., skilled workers from Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany and England, and later on (from the 1890s) also more unskilled workers from Eastern and Southern Europe such as Poland and Italy (for an overview of the Chicago immigration history, see Holli & Jones, 1995). The years between 1916 and 1970 are known as the period of the Great Migration, in which a large wave of black African-Americans moved from the south of the country to the urban cities in the North, including Chicago. From the 1940s on, also Latino/Hispanic immigrants arrived in Chicago, initially mainly from Mexico and Puerto Rico but later on also from Central and South America. Today, the three main racial and ethnic groups in Chicago are (non-Hispanic) whites (32 %), (non-Hispanic) blacks (33 %) and Hispanics (28 %) (Social Explorer, 2005-2013). Furthermore, Chicago has a high level of ethnic residential segregation: on average all groups reside in a neighbourhood of which the majority of residents belongs to their own racial/ethnic group, though this pattern is stronger for whites and blacks than for Latinos (Iceland, Weinberg, & Steinmetz, 2002). In this way, Chicago's racial and ethnic make-up is comparable to that of most other large Midwestern and North-eastern cities in the United States.

1.6 Data sources and methods

1.6.1 Individual level survey data and neighbourhood level context data

To answer the research questions, I first of all used large-scale survey data enriched with information on the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which respondents lived (see chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6). Survey data provide generalisable outcomes on the relationship between the neighbourhood, interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour and permits a meaningful comparison between ethnic majority and (different) ethnic minority groups. Chapter 4, on the other hand, shows the results of a new photo-vignette experiment which will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

In chapters 2 and 3, data were drawn from the 2005 *Life Situation of Urban Ethnic Minorities Survey* (LAS2005) which was conducted by

the *Netherlands Institute for Social Research* (SCP). This survey aims to monitor the integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands and includes, amongst others, information about interethnic attitudes. The research sample ($N = 4,097$) is representative for the native Dutch majority population and the population of the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups (i.e., Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese and Antilleans) between 15 and 65 years of age living within the 50 largest municipalities in the Netherlands. These 50 municipalities (of in total 467 municipalities) cover 42 percent of the total Dutch population and 75 percent of the non-Western ethnic minority population. Respondents were randomly selected from each ethnic category as defined by *Statistics Netherlands* (see section 1.5.1).

In both chapters 2 and 3, information on the ethnic and socioeconomic population composition of respondents' neighbourhoods was obtained from the online register database *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods* (KFDN) from *Statistics Netherlands* (Statistics Netherlands, 2013). Neighbourhood borders are defined by styles of architecture and building periods and refer to relatively small, socioeconomically homogenous areas, with an average population of approximately 1.400 residents (Gijsberts et al., 2010). In 2005, there are approximately 11,000 neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, distributed over 467 municipalities. The LAS2005 data are composed of 1,435 neighbourhoods (within 50 cities) with, on average, 3.2 respondents per neighbourhood. In addition, the *Liveability Monitor* (Leefbaarometer; LBM) of the Dutch Ministry of *Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment* was used to obtain information on the amount of social and physical disorder in the neighbourhood in chapter 3 (Leidelmeijer, Marlet, Van Iersel, Van Woerkens, & Van der Reijden, 2008).

In chapter 5, I make use of the first (and at this moment only available) wave of the 2009 *Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study* (NELLS2009; (De Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp, & Monden, 2010b). The main topics addressed in this survey are social cohesion, norms and values and inequality, but it also includes information on interethnic attitudes and moving wishes. The data were collected among 5,312 individuals between 15 and 45 years of age in 35 municipalities in the Netherlands. The municipalities include the four biggest cities in the Netherlands (i.e., Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), the other 31 municipalities were the outcome of

a stratified random sample and cover different regions in the Netherlands (West, North/East and South) and different degrees of urbanization (De Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp, & Monden, 2010a). Within the cities, respondents were randomly sampled from the population register based on age and country of birth, with an oversampling of respondents of Turkish and Moroccan origin. Based on the neighbourhood classification of *Statistics Netherlands*, NELLS2009 consists of approximately 800 neighbourhoods (in 35 cities). Again, information on the ethnic and socioeconomic population composition of the neighbourhood were derived from the online register database *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods* as adopted by *Statistics Netherlands*.

Finally, chapter 6 employs the 2004/2005 *Chicago Area Study* (CAS 2004/2005) which is a large-scale survey conducted to study topics related to racial and ethnic segregation. This cross-sectional survey ($N = 789$) consists of a multistage area probability sample (stratified by neighbourhood racial/ethnic composition) and is representative of adults 21 years and older living in households in Cook County, Illinois (which includes the city of Chicago). Furthermore, black and Latino respondents and those living in racially mixed neighbourhoods were oversampled. In contrast to chapters 2, 3 and 5, neighbourhoods in chapter 6 are delineated by administrative boundaries. Inside the city of Chicago, the communities represent so-called Communities Area's that the city uses to define demographic boundaries. Suburban communities are administrative boundaries defined by the census as 'census designated places' that usually align with community jurisdiction boundaries. Information about the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods was derived from *US census data*.

1.6.2 Photo-vignette experiment

In addition to the use of large-scale survey data, I performed a vignette experiment (also known as a factorial survey) to be able to study more fully the different conditions that trigger either positive or negative interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods. Vignette experiments are particularly suitable for providing insight into the mechanisms underlying interethnic attitudes: it allows determinants that are interrelated in real-life settings to be disentangled and it is possible to present respondents with concrete

and detailed descriptions of the contextual situation in which judgments are made (St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995; Wallander, 2009). Factorial surveys aim to analyse the factors that drive human judgments by letting respondents respond to a series of vignettes. Vignettes present hypothetical situations in which the factors that are thought to influence the judgment of that situation are independently varied (Alexander & Becker, 1978; Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). In the experiment presented in chapter 4, a single vignette consisted of a picture showing a resident in a particular neighbourhood context along with a *description* of the characteristics of the resident. Subsequently, majority and minority respondents in the Netherlands had to judge six fictitious neighbourhood residents in which the ethnicity of the resident (Moroccan, Surinamese, native Dutch) varied independently of other resident characteristics (i.e., work status, religion and problem behaviour) and the neighbourhood environment (i.e., ethnic composition, socioeconomic composition and physical disorder). Respondents were selected from the TNS-NIPO Base, a large-scale internet panel that includes over 200,000 respondents. This panel is carried out by the *Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion* (TNS-NIPO), one of the largest market research institutes in the Netherlands. For the purpose of this study, a subsample of 429 respondents was selected from the panel, consisting of respondents of native Dutch ($N = 97$), Moroccan ($N = 81$), Turkish ($N = 88$), Surinamese ($N = 83$) and Antillean ($N = 80$) origin.

1.6.3 Method of analysis

In analysing the survey data, I performed multilevel regression analysis, which is optimally suited to analyse data from respondents within the same neighbourhood that are not independent (Hox, 2002). This method allows for the estimation of the effects of both individual-level and neighbourhood-level predictors on interethnic attitudes and residential intentions and behaviour to be estimated simultaneously, while correcting for neighbourhood clustering. Two levels were discerned in the analyses: the respondent level (level 1) and the neighbourhood level (level 2). In chapter 2, I also include the municipality level (level 3). Data of the vignette experiment were also analysed using multilevel regression analysis, because responses to the different vignettes, i.e., the observations (level 1), are nested within respond-

ents (level 2). Accordingly, the assumption of independent observations in linear regression analysis is violated as responses within respondents and within vignettes are likely to be more similar than responses between respondents and vignettes. The use of multilevel techniques is a good way to account for this so-called intraclass correlation.

The following chapters describe the theory, analyses and results of the five empirical studies conducted to answer the research questions. After summarising the findings of the empirical chapters, the concluding chapter of this dissertation (chapter 7) formulates the answers to the research questions, addresses the study's contributions and limitations and discusses directions for future research in the field.

Table 1.1: Overview of the five empirical chapters.

Chapter	Main research question	Interethnic attitudes	Dependent variable	Sample	Data sources[a]
Part 1: To what extent are ethnic, socioeconomic and physical characteristics of neighbourhoods related to interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents?					
2	How do residents of different ethnic origin evaluate different ethnic (minority) outgroups based on the shares of these particular ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood?	Affective component: - feeling thermometer	Attitudes towards the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch ethnic group	The Netherlands: Native Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans	- LAS2005 (I) - KFDN (C)
3	To what extent are neighbourhood disorder and decline related to interethnic attitudes of majority and minority residents, and to what extent is this relationship dependent on the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood?	Affective component: - feeling thermometer	Attitudes towards ethnic minorities in general (incl. Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) and towards native Dutch	The Netherlands: Native Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans	- LAS2005 (I) - KFDN (C) - LBM (C)
4	To what extent are attitudes towards neighbourhood residents affected by the ethnicity of the resident and by the aspects of the neighbourhood environment in which residents meet?	Affective component: - feeling thermometer	Attitudes towards Moroccan, Surinamese and native Dutch residents	The Netherlands: Native Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans	- Photo-vignette experiment
Part 2: To what extent are neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes related to residential intentions and behaviour of ethnic majority and minority residents?					
5	To what extent do ethnic outgroup attitudes and perceived social cohesion explain ethnic majority and minority residents' moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods?	Behavioural-orientation component: - willingness to have a neighbour, boss or son-in-law of another ethnic group	Having the wish to move out of the neighbourhood	The Netherlands: Native Dutch, Turks and Moroccans	- NELLS2009 (I) - KFDN (C)
6	Do whites, blacks and Latinos search for housing and reside in neighbourhoods they say they prefer in terms of the neighbourhood's racial and ethnic composition and, if not, what factors contribute to people having a discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviour?	Behavioural-orientation component: - ethnic neighbourhood preferences (ideal neighbourhood)	Discrepancy between ethnic composition of ideal neighbourhood, actual search locations and current neighbourhood	US, Chicago: Whites, blacks, Latinos	- CAS2004/2005 (I) - US census data (C)

Notes:
[a] (I) individual level data; (C) contextual level data; LAS2005 – *Life Situation of Urban Ethnic Minorities Survey*; KFDN – *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods;* LBM – *Liveability Monitor*; NELLS2009 – *Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Survey*; CAS2004/2005 – *Chicago Area Study.*

Part 1

The relationship between the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes

Chapter 2

The impact of ethnic concentration on interethnic attitudes: The role of cultural and socioeconomic group differences*

2.1 Introduction

Urban neighbourhoods in Western Europe are increasingly characterised by a culturally and socioeconomically diverse minority population (Musterd, 2005). Urban policy-makers worry about the negative consequences of ethnic concentration and diversity for the structural and cultural integration of ethnic minorities as well as for the social cohesion and liveability of a neighbourhood as a whole (Gijsberts et al., 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). An important focus in this debate is the assumed negative effect of ethnic concentration on prejudicial attitudes, which is mainly based on studies in the United States finding that the share of blacks in the neighbourhood negatively affects white's anti-black prejudice (Giles & Evans, 1986; Taylor, 1998). Consequently, also in Europe a substantial number of studies examined the relationship between the size of the neighbourhood

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minority population and interethnic attitudes of the majority group (Pettigrew et al., 2010; Wagner et al., 2006). Yet, unlike ethnic homogeneous neighbourhoods in the United States, European neighbourhoods are usually ethnically mixed, consisting of a wide variety of ethnic minorities from different countries of origin (Musterd, 2005; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Relatively little is known, however, about how the co-existence of multiple ethnic (minority) groups in a neighbourhood influence interethnic attitudes among residents of different ethnic origins. In the current study we argue that particularly in these ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, interethnic attitudes may not only depend on relative outgroup sizes, but also on ethnic group differences in cultural beliefs and socioeconomic status.

Varying interpretations have been proposed to explain the link between ethnic outgroup size and interethnic attitudes. First, based on intergroup contact theory, it has been suggested that the presence of ethnic outgroups in a neighbourhood is an indicator of interethnic contact opportunities, and subsequently, particularly close and sustained contact is expected to increase outgroup attraction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Second, ethnic competition theory postulates that negative ethnic attitudes are driven by feelings of ethnic threat, and these feelings are expected to be particularly promoted in neighbourhoods with a large share of outgroups (Quillian, 1995). European studies on the relationship between the share of an ethnic minority population in a neighbourhood on the interethnic attitudes of the majority group have arrived at mixed conclusions (which in part might be due to the examination of different local levels: neighbourhoods versus larger districts). Studies in Germany (Pettigrew et al., 2010; Wagner et al., 2006), show that German residents endorse more positive ethnic attitudes in districts with a large share of immigrants, because of increased interethnic contacts. Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) on the other hand, found that a sudden influx of non-Western ethnic minority groups in neighbourhoods leads to more negative stereotypes between the majority group and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Also Savelkoul et al. (2011b) found that a larger percentage Muslims in the neighbourhood increased perceived ethnic threat among native Dutch residents which in turn induced the level of anti-Muslim attitudes. Nevertheless, Tolsma et al. (2008) and Gijsberts et al. (2010) do not find such a relationship between ethnic outgroup size and outgroup attitudes of majority residents in Dutch neighbourhoods.

Previous studies in Europe generally measured ethnic concentration as the share of the ethnic minority population as a whole and focussed mostly on the impact thereof on the attitudes of majority group residents (Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011). We propose, however, that the nature of the relationship between ethnic outgroup size and outgroup attitudes depends on the (characteristics of a) particular ethnic outgroup as well as on the ethnic origin of the neighbourhood resident itself. In doing so, we build upon research in the United states that showed substantial differences in people's reaction to different ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood. For example, it has been shown that while the presence of African Americans in a neighbourhood increases whites' prejudice towards this group, neighbourhood exposure to Asians elicits more positive interethnic attitudes among whites, whereas the share of Latino's in a neighbourhood is not related to attitudes towards Latinos (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Dixon, 2006; Taylor, 1998). Also in Europe there is evidence that people might distinguish between different ethnic outgroups. Bowyer (2009) found for England that whites who live in neighbourhoods with large proportions of blacks reveal less ethnic hostility towards immigrants in general, while residential proximity to Pakistanis and Bangladeshis is associated to less positive attitudes towards immigrant groups.

Interethnic attitudes are also affected by the ethnic origin of the residents themselves. For instance, Bobo & Hutchings (1996) showed that African Americans perceive more competitive threats from Latinos than Asians do. Oliver & Wong (2003) concluded, furthermore, that people who live among more people of their own race or ethnicity tend to endorse more negative stereotypes about minority groups, but this was not true for Asians. Furthermore, a study by Havekes et al. (2011) on interminority attitudes in the Netherlands indicated that outgroup attitudes become more positive as the outgroup shares similar cultural characteristics with the residents' ethnic ingroup.

So, although previous research suggest in- and outgroup differences, few studies investigated how different ethnic outgroups affect the attitudes of residents of various ethnic origin. The present study adds to this line of research and addresses the question how residents of *different* ethnic origins evaluate *different* ethnic outgroups based on the shares of these *particular* ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood. We argue that distinguishing

between ethnic in- and outgroups with different cultural and socioeconomic characteristics may partly explain previous mixed findings and it provides more insight into different interpretations regarding the nature of the relationship between ethnic concentration and prejudice. Cultural and socioeconomic differences between ethnic (minority) groups imply that the direction of the effect of outgroup size on outgroup attitudes – and, thus, whether processes of interethnic threat or contact dominate – might vary, depending on the specific ethnic composition of the neighbourhood.

We study our ideas using data covering both ethnic majority and minority residents residing in the 50 largest cities of the Netherlands in 2005. Like most European cities, Dutch cities are characterised by a culturally and socioeconomically diverse minority population (Musterd, 2005). Therefore, this context is optimally suited to test the impact of different types of ethnic concentrations on interethnic attitudes among residents of different ethnic origins. Using large-scale survey data, we analyse mutual attitudes between the native Dutch majority population and the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands: Turks and Moroccans (former guest workers and their children) and Surinamese and Antilleans (immigrants from former colonies in the Caribbean) (for more information on the immigration history of the Netherlands and specific information on these ethnic groups, see section 1.5.1). We first test the influence of the share of a particular outgroup in a neighbourhood on the overall feeling towards that outgroup and we control for neighbourhood socioeconomic disadvantage. Additionally, we test variations in the nature of outgroup size effects according to cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the ethnic in- and outgroup in the neighbourhood.

2.2 Theoretical background

2.2.1 Ethnic competition and intergroup contact theory

Both ethnic competition theory and intergroup contact theory expect relative outgroup size to affect ethnic outgroup attitudes, but the nature of the relationship is presumed to be different. Ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002) states that negative outgroup attitudes are based on (perceived) competition between ethnic groups. Interethnic competition

may derive from conflicting social and economic interests (e.g., over jobs, housing or social prestige) as well as cultural and religious issues (e.g., conflicting lifestyles, norms and values) (Coenders, 2001).[1] Actual and perceived competition are expected to encourage perceived ethnic threat, which subsequently promotes unfavourable outgroup attitudes (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). At the neighbourhood level, a large proportion of an ethnic outgroup is considered a proxy for an ethnic competitive environment (Quillian, 1995; Savelkoul et al., 2011b). Accordingly, it has been presumed that the larger an outgroup in a neighbourhood is, the more negative outgroups attitudes are. Besides, particularly an increase of an ethnic outgroup in the neighbourhood may cause feelings of competition and threat. Residents may be accustomed to a certain outgroup size, but a sudden influx of ethnic outgroups in a neighbourhood makes the presence of ethnic outgroups more salient and threatening (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005).

Intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), on the other hand, argues that negative outgroup attitudes result from of a lack of contact between ethnic groups. Intergroup contact theory rests on the premise that intergroup contact reduces ethnic prejudice. First hand interethnic contact is expected to increase mutual knowledge and understanding by countering preconceptions regarding values, beliefs and life-style of that other ethnic group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). To predict the influence of relative outgroup size on outgroup attitudes, it has been suggested that a larger outgroup size leads to more interethnic contact and, hence, more positive ethnic outgroup attitudes. The intergroup contact theory describes several conditions which interethnic contact should meet in order to promote positive outgroup attitudes. Optimally, ethnic contact should be close and intimate and take place between groups of equal status (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Of course, interethnic contact between neighbourhood residents generally does not meet all these conditions. Contact between

[1] In the neighbourhood context, particularly perceptions of cultural threat might be relevant, as conflicting lifestyles and different norms and values might be prominently visible in everyday encounters in the neighbourhood. With a larger outgroup size, residents might feel less at home in their own neighbourhood (Permentier, Bolt, & van Ham, 2011; Stolle, Soroka, & Johnston, 2008). On the other hand, economic competition might also take place in settings outside the own neighbourhood, such as the (regional) labour market and the struggle for political power and group rights.

neighbours may not always be personal, but may be superficial and casual when passing on the street or meeting in a shop. Yet, some have argued that close contact may not be necessary and that even impersonal exposure to ethnic groups in the neighbourhood may create a feeling of 'public familiarity' (Blokland, 2003; Fischer, 1982). Recognising fellow residents in the neighbourhood creates a trusting environment even in the absence of personal contact (Blokland, 2003). In addition, a review study by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) shows that, although interethnic contact that meets the aforementioned optimal conditions reduces prejudice most, interethnic contact that does not meet the optimal conditions also reduces prejudice. Hence, these conditions are facilitating conditions, but not necessary conditions in order to reduce prejudice.

2.2.2 Belief congruency theory and social identity theory

Insights from the belief congruency theory and social identity theory are used to formulate expectations on ethnic group differences regarding the nature of the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes. We propose that the processes of interethnic contact and interethnic threat in the neighbourhood depend on cultural and socioeconomic differences between ethnic groups. The direction of the effect of outgroup size on outgroup attitudes – and, thus, whether processes of interethnic threat or contact dominate – might vary, depending on the particular ethnic outgroup in the neighbourhood. Previous research has suggested, for example, that people feel less attracted to ethnic groups that are perceived to be culturally distinct from their own (e.g., Dustmann & Preston, 2007) and to groups that are of a lower socioeconomic status (e.g., Hagendoorn, 1995). Taking into account the characteristics of different ethnic outgroups in the neighbourhood informs us about the conditions under which processes on interethnic threat (as predicted by ethnic competition theory) and interethnic contact (as predicted by intergroup contact theory) are more likely to arise.

First, the belief congruency theory (Rokeach et al., 1960) has been used to explain why people are more attracted to ethnic outgroups with whom they share similar beliefs and values. Findings have indeed supported the claim that ethnic groups that are judged to be most similar are

evaluated most positively (e.g., Berry & Kalin, 1979). Cultural similarities are assumed to promote positive ethnic attitudes as they produce mutual understanding and they validate the ethnic ingroups' attitudes, beliefs and behaviour (Kalmijn, 1998). Additionally, culturally distinct ethnic groups are competing over traditional values and beliefs. Cultural competition may lead to feelings of ethnic threat and, hence, promote unfavourable outgroup attitudes. Therefore, we expect that cultural similarity would increase processes of interethnic contact (rather than threat) and, thus, produce positive outgroup attitudes, whereas cultural dissimilarity would elicit processes of ethnic threat (rather than contact), resulting in less positive outgroup attitudes. Hence, we propose that *the presence of culturally similar outgroups is positively related to positive ethnic outgroup attitudes, whereas the presence of culturally distinct ethnic outgroups is negatively related to positive outgroup attitudes* (H1).

The ethnic groups under study differ in socio-cultural values and beliefs systems. Generally, Turks and Moroccans adhere to more traditional religious and family values than Surinamese, Antilleans and the native Dutch majority population (Uunk, 2003). Moreover, Turks and Moroccans are mostly Muslim, whereas the majority population has a Christian religious background and is more secular compared to minority groups. The religious background of Surinamese and Antilleans is mixed; they are predominantly Christian, but some are Hindu or Islamic. Finally, Surinamese and Antilleans have a higher proficiency in the Dutch language than Turks and Moroccans (Turkenburg & Gijsberts, 2007). These cultural differences suggest that for Surinamese, Antilleans and the native majority population, the presence of Turks and Moroccans in the neighbourhood is negatively related to positive attitudes, while the presence of the other outgroups (i.e., Surinamese, Antilleans and natives) is more likely to be positively related to positive outgroup attitudes. Similarly, for Turkish and Moroccan residents it is expected that the presence of Surinamese, Antilleans and native Dutch residents is negatively related to positive outgroup attitudes, while the presence of Turks and Moroccans would be positively related to positive outgroup attitudes.

In addition to cultural differences, the social status position of ethnic groups may affect the nature of the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes. Social identity theory asserts that having con-

tact with members of high-status groups enhances your own status and self-esteem, whereas contact with members of low-status groups will harm your status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). High-status groups provide more economic and cultural resources and are therefore more attractive to be in contact with (Völker et al., 2007). As a result, individuals prefer having contact with groups that are positively valued and occupy high status over contact with low-status groups, which is considered a threat towards their own social status. Members of both majority and minority groups are therefore assumed to hold negative attitudes towards low-status ethnic groups. While the ethnic majority group uses negative attitudes to justify and strengthen their high social status position within society, lower-placed minority groups use negative attitudes to differentiate from other low-status groups (Hagendoorn, 1995). Based on the notions of social identity theory, we expect that the presence of high status groups is more likely to elicit processes of interethnic contact (rather than threat) and, thus, produces positive outgroup attitudes. The presence of low status groups, on the other hand, is more likely to increase processes of ethnic threat (rather than contact), resulting in less positive outgroup attitudes. Accordingly, we expect that: *for all ethnic groups, the presence of low-status outgroups is negatively related to positive outgroup attitudes and the presence of high-status groups is positively related to positive outgroup attitudes* (H2).

The social status position that ethnic groups hold in society is mainly based on their socioeconomic status. Ethnic groups in the Netherlands differ in their socioeconomic status, with the native majority population holding the highest position. Overall, when comparing ethnic minority groups in terms of education, (un)employment, social benefits and income, Surinamese hold a better socioeconomic position than the other ethnic minority groups (Dagevos, 2007). For example, in 2005, 22 percent of the Surinamese population had a low income, whereas among the other groups this percentage was 30 (Dagevos, 2007). Therefore, we expect that the presence of low-status groups in a neighbourhood, that is, Moroccans, Antilleans and Turks, is negatively related to positive outgroup attitudes, while the presence of higher-status groups (Surinamese and the native majority population) is positively related to positive outgroup attitudes.

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Data

The hypotheses were tested using the 2005 survey *Life Situation of Urban Ethnic Minorities* (LAS2005), conducted by the *Netherlands Institute for Social Research* (SCP). This cross-sectional survey is representative for the Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch majority population between 15 and 65 years of age, living within the 50 largest cities in the Netherlands. The 50 largest municipalities (of in total 467 municipalities) in the Netherlands cover 42 percent of the total Dutch population. According to the official definition by *Statistics Netherlands*, ethnicity is defined by country of birth such that people are considered a member of an ethnic minority group when at least one parent is born in a foreign country. This definition was used to create five separate samples for each ethnic group from which respondents were randomly selected. The data were gathered through face-to-face interviews and, when necessary, Turkish and Moroccan respondents were approached by bilingual interviewers using translated questionnaires.

Information on neighbourhood characteristics was obtained from the 2005 register database *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods* (KFDN) of *Statistics Netherlands* (Statistics Netherlands, 2013). Via unique neighbourhood codes, neighbourhood information was matched to the data of the LAS2005 survey. Neighbourhood borders are defined by styles of architecture and building periods, representing homogeneous areas with respect to socioeconomic composition, which are likely to be perceived by residents as their own neighbourhood. In 2005, there are approximately 11,000 neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, distributed over 467 municipalities. The LAS2005 data are composed of 1,435 neighbourhoods with, on average, 3.2 respondents per neighbourhood. For 123 respondents in the survey, proper information about their place of residence was absent and they were removed from the analyses.

2.3.2 Dependent variable: ethnic outgroup attitudes

In this chapter the affective component of interethnic attitudes is studied and ethnic outgroup attitudes were measured using a 'feeling thermo-

meter' (see chapter 1). Respondents were asked to imagine a thermometer at which they could indicate how they felt about specific ethnic groups in the Netherlands: i.e., Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans and native Dutch.[2] They could choose any temperature between 0 and 100, where a score of 0 referred to very negative feelings and a score of 100 indicated very positive feelings towards the particular outgroup. Respondents did not evaluate their own ethnic group. The feeling thermometer is a commonly used instrument in international studies for the assessment of interethnic attitudes (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). This measurement has a high test-retest reliability and it correlates with other (multi-item) scales of prejudice (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). To avoid order effects, the feeling thermometers for the four ethnic outgroups were presented in a random order to the respondents.

Note that on average 8 percent of the respondents were reluctant or did not know how to evaluate at least one of the other ethnic groups (and these missing values were listwise deleted), but the number of missing values varied across ethnic groups and the ethnic outgroups that were evaluated. Unfortunately, these missing values were not completely random but certain groups refused the evaluation more often than others: respondents of Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean background, older people, lower-educated and women are over-represented in those that did not want to answer the questions. The total number of cases in the analyses varies between 2,561, for the analysis on the attitudes towards Antilleans, and 3,121 when the attitudes towards native Dutch are examined.

2.3.3 Neighbourhood level characteristics

Ethnic outgroup size was measured as the percentage of Moroccans, Surinamese, Turks, Antilleans, and the native majority population in a neighbourhood. We included the percentage of a specific target outgroup in a

[2]The survey question reads as follows: "How do you think about different populations? Imagine yourself a thermometer at which you could indicate this. You can choose any temperature between 0 and 100 degrees; 100 degrees means you have very positive feelings and 0 means you have very negative feelings. You are completely free to choose your answer. You can assign different temperatures or similar temperatures". Then the interviewer reads the questions about the different ethnic groups: e.g., "How do you feel about Moroccans?". The evaluations involve the outgroup as a whole, also when the respondent did not know anybody from that group personally.

neighbourhood to explain the attitudes towards that particular outgroup. Additionally, we included the influx of non-Western ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, which was measured as the 5-year mutation in the share of non-Western ethnic minorities. Unfortunately, data on the influx of specific target outgroups were unavailable.

The ethnic composition of a neighbourhood is often closely connected to the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood. Therefore, it has been argued that residents' prejudicial attitudes may derive from a more general frustration with local social problems that are prominent in low-status neighbourhoods (e.g., Branton & Jones, 2005). Based on the mean income of residents in a neighbourhood, the share of low-income groups and the share of benefit recipients we constructed a mean index of socioeconomic disadvantage, which showed considerable reliability ($\alpha = 0.79$). Additional analyses show positive correlations between the share of Turks (0.65), Moroccans (0.50), Surinamese (0.22) and Antilleans (0.32) in a neighbourhood and socioeconomic disadvantage. Moreover, the share of natives is negatively associated with disadvantage (-0.63). However, inspection of the variance inflation factors (VIF) showed no problems with multicollinearity between ethnic outgroup size and socioeconomic disadvantage.

Finally, people do not only spend time in their neighbourhood but are probably also affected by contexts outside their neighbourhoods, such as the municipality. Because ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are more often found within the largest cities in the Western part of the country, our analyses control for the percentage of a particular outgroup in the municipality.

2.3.4 Individual level characteristics

To determine whether neighbourhood variation in interethnic attitudes is caused by neighbourhood characteristics rather than by attributes of individual residents, we controlled for individual characteristics in the analyses. First, educational attainment was measured as the highest completed (or current in case of students) level of education either in the Netherlands or abroad, on a scale from 0 (no education) to 7 (university degree).[3] Furthermore, we included a dummy variable for unemployment. Moreover,

[3]Missing data ($n = 32$) on education were substituted by the mean level of education.

income was measured as the monthly after-tax family income, based on 16 categories ranging from (1) lower than 500 euro to (16) more than 4,000 euro. We used the midpoints of each income category in our analyses and set the last category at 4,500 euro. Missing income data (32 % of the total sample) due to the fact that respondents were children that still lived with their parents (40 % of the missing values) or because respondents did not know or did not want to disclose their income, were given the mean income score of their ethnic ingroup. In addition, the analyses include a dummy variable to account for these missing values. Religious participation was measured as the frequency of visits to a religious service (e.g., church or Mosque) on a scale from 0 (never) to 6 (daily). Furthermore, we controlled for Dutch language ability. We included a dummy variable indicating whether people have any difficulties with the speaking Dutch.[4] Finally, we controlled for age (in years)[5] and included dummy variables for sex (ref = women), migration generation (ref = second generation[6]) and ethnic ingroup (Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans and native Dutch).

Descriptive statistics of the measures are summarised in Table 2.1. It is shown that, on average, one fifth of the respondents belongs to one of the five ethnic groups. Furthermore, 67 percent of the respondents pertains to the first generation of one of the four minority groups, 16 percent of our respondents is of native Dutch origin, which means that the other 17 percent of the respondents belongs to the second generation.

2.3.5 Method of analysis

To estimate neighbourhood effects, we used multilevel regression analysis, which is optimally suited to analyse data from respondents within the same neighbourhood (and municipality) that are not independent (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). We distinguish three levels in our models: in addition to the individual and neighbourhood level, we take into account the municipality level, to control for the interethnic contact opportunities in the wider municipality. We ran separate analyses for each of the five target outgroup

[4] Native Dutch respondents were assigned to the 'not having language difficulties' category.

[5] Missing data ($n = 101$) on age were substituted by the mean age.

[6] Native Dutch respondents were assigned to the 'second generation' category.

Table 2.1: Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables: range, mean/proportion (M/p) and standard deviation (sd).

	Range	**M/p**	**sd**
Dependent variables			
Positive attitudes towards target outgroup:			
Moroccans	0 - 100	44.81	23.5
Antilleans	0 - 100	47.80	23.4
Turks	0 - 100	56.51	21.2
Surinamese	0 - 100	58.77	21.4
Native Dutch	0 - 100	69.35	18.6
Neighbourhood level predictors			
Percentage target outgroup:			
Percentage Moroccans	0 - 49	7.31	8.4
Percentage Antilleans	0 - 15	2.19	2.1
Percentage Turks	0 - 60	7.77	8.0
Percentage Surinamese	0 - 39	6.63	7.1
Percentage native Dutch	6 - 99	58.29	21.2
Influx of ethnic minorities	0 - 31	4.35	4.2
Socioeconomic disadvantage	8 - 47.50	29.77	4.9
Municipality level predictors			
Percentage Moroccans	0 - 9	4.55	3.0
Percentage Antilleans	0 - 3	1.63	0.9
Percentage Turks	0 - 9	4.86	2.3
Percentage Surinamese	0 - 10	5.12	3.8
Percentage native Dutch	43 - 93	60.87	14.0
Individual level predictors			
Ethnic ingroup			
Moroccan	0 / 1	0.22	
Turk	0 / 1	0.24	
Antillean	0 / 1	0.20	
Surinamese	0 / 1	0.18	
Native Dutch	0 / 1	0.16	
Men	0 / 1	0.45	
Age	16 - 65	36.33	12.7
Education	0 - 7	3.54	1.9
Monthly income (in euros)	250 - 4,500	1,697	765.5
Missing value on income	0 / 1	0.32	
Unemployed	0 / 1	0.11	
1st migration generation	0 / 1	0.67	
(vs. 2nd generation and native Dutch)			
Dutch language difficulties	0 / 1	0.32	
Religious participation	1 - 6	2.15	1.4

Source: LAS2005; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

attitudes. Since respondents did not evaluate their own ethnic group, we compare the outgroup attitudes of four ethnic groups (e.g., Moroccan respondents are excluded from the analyses explaining the attitudes towards Moroccans).

First, we estimated the impact of the percentage of a particular target outgroup in the neighbourhood on the attitudes towards that particular outgroup, controlled for neighbourhood socioeconomic disadvantage, percentage target outgroup in the municipality and individual level predictors (Table 2.4). Subsequently, Table 2.5 presents the effects of percentage target outgroup in the neighbourhood on attitudes towards the target outgroup, for each ethnic group separately. To examine the extent to which the relationship between target outgroup size and outgroup attitudes was significantly different from zero for the different ethnic groups, we included cross-level interaction terms between target outgroup size and the ethnic origin of the respondent. In these interaction models, the main effect of percentage target outgroup in the neighbourhood, refers to the effect of outgroup size for the reference category of ethnic origin. By repeatedly changing the reference category of ethnic origin, we tested for the (significance of the) relationship between target outgroup size and outgroup attitudes for each ethnic group separately. Note that although Table 2.5 only presents the main effects of the percentage target outgroup in the neighbourhood (for each ethnic group separately), cross-level interaction effects were included in the models. Similarly, for clarity reasons, all neighbourhood, municipality and individual level control variables were left out of Table 2.5, but they were included in the analyses.

Note that as we use cross-sectional data, we have to be careful to interpret our results in terms of causation. Like in all cross-sectional research on neighbourhood effects, results might be affected by a selection bias since the ethnic neighbourhood composition might not only affect ethnic outgroup attitudes, but outgroup attitudes might also influence neighbourhood choices (i.e., reversed causality). Plausibly, people who have positive attitudes towards a particular outgroup might have consciously chosen to live in a neighbourhood with a larger outgroup size, whereas those with negative attitudes already moved out of these neighbourhoods. Hence, in case of a strong selection bias, the relationship found between outgroup size and positive outgroup attitudes might in fact be less positive (or more

Table 2.2: Mean positive attitudes towards each ethnic target outgroup by ethnic origin of the respondent (0 - 100).

Ethnic origin respondent	Attitudes towards Moroccans	Attitudes towards Antilleans	Attitudes towards Turks	Attitudes towards Surinamese	Attitudes towards native Dutch
Moroccan	-	50.3	60.8	59.4	69.3
Antillean	43.8	-	52.9	63.9	70.1
Turkish	42.3	41.1	-	51.1	67.3
Surinamese	43.8	48.6	53.6	-	70.7
Native Dutch	45.0	51.5	58.2	61.4	-
Overall	*44.8*	*47.8*	*56.5*	*58.7*	*69.3*

Source: LAS2005.

negative). We return to this issue in the discussion of this chapter, as well as the final concluding chapter of this dissertation.

2.4 Results

First of all, Table 2.2 shows how the five ethnic groups evaluate each other. On average, the Moroccan group is least positively evaluated, followed by Antilleans, Turks and Surinamese, while attitudes towards the native Dutch majority group are most positive. In line with previous research (Hagendoorn, 1995), it is shown that the rank order in interethnic attitudes is rather consistent across ethnic majority and minority groups.

Table 2.3 estimates the individual, neighbourhood and municipality level variances in the mean positive outgroup attitudes towards each ethnic target outgroup (the so-called intercept-only models). Furthermore, it specifies the intraclass correlation which indicates the proportion of the variance in outgroup attitudes that is explained by differences between neighbourhoods (Hox, 2002). Table 2.3 indicates that although most of the variance in outgroup attitudes is at the individual level, significant differences in outgroup attitudes between neighbourhoods (as well as municipalities) were found. The percentage of the variance in outgroup attitudes that could be explained by differences between neighbourhoods varied from 7 percent for the attitudes towards Surinamese to 2 percent for the attitudes towards native Dutch.

In the following, we examine the extent to which the variance in ethnic

outgroup attitudes can be explained by percentage target outgroup in the neighbourhood, controlled for other neighbourhood, municipality and individual level predictors. Table 2.4 presents a multilevel regression analysis of the positive attitudes towards each specific ethnic target group. First, we shortly discuss the effects of the individual level predictors, then we describe the outcomes of the impact of the percentage of a particular target outgroup in the neighbourhood on the attitudes towards that particular outgroup. Finally, we reflect on our hypotheses.

Table 2.4 shows that, generally, the effects of the individual level predictors are consistent with previous research and rather similar across outgroup attitudes: especially lower educated, members of the first migration generation and those who do not regularly visit a religious service are less likely to endorse positive attitudes towards ethnic outgroups. Furthermore, Antilleans and Moroccans hold more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups, whereas Turks generally hold more negative attitudes.

Attitudes towards Moroccans. Model 1 of Table 2.4 presents a multilevel regression analysis of the positive attitudes towards Moroccans. It appears that neither the percentage Moroccans in the neighbourhood nor in the municipality is related to the attitudes towards Moroccans. However, a sudden influx of non-Western ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood reduces positive attitudes towards Moroccans. The socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood is unrelated to attitudes towards Moroccans (also when we do not take into account the ethnic neighbourhood composition).

Table 2.5 shows for each ethnic group the influence of the percentage of an ethnic target outgroup in the neighbourhood on the attitudes towards that target outgroup. Although we did not find an overall effect of the percentage Moroccans in the neighbourhood, it appears that the negative effect of the share of Moroccans in the neighbourhood is significant for Turkish residents (model 1 of Table 2.5). Turks who reside in a neighbourhood with relatively large shares of Moroccans endorse less positive attitudes towards Moroccans. For Antilleans, Surinamese and native Dutch residents the percentage of Moroccans in their neighbourhood does not affect their attitudes towards Moroccans.

Attitudes towards Antilleans. Outcomes of a multilevel regression analysis of the positive attitudes towards Antilleans are presented in Model 2 of Table 2.4. Model 2 indicates that the share of Antilleans in a neighbour-

hood is not related to the attitudes towards Antilleans. Moreover, the percentage Antilleans in the municipality, neighbourhood socioeconomic status and the influx of ethnic minorities are also not related to residents' attitudes towards Antilleans. Interestingly, Table 2.5 shows that the percentage Antilleans in the neighbourhood does have a significant effect for Turks: Turks who live in the proximity of Antilleans evaluate Antilleans less positively. Again, this relationship does not hold among the other ethnic groups.

Attitudes towards Turks. As shown in Model 3 of Table 2.4, the presence of Turks in a neighbourhood (as well as in the municipality) is not associated with attitudes towards the Turkish outgroup. Table 2.5 (model 3) indicates that this is true for all ethnic groups, except for Moroccans. It is shown that for Moroccans, the percentage Turks in the neighbourhood has a positive effect on their attitudes towards Turks. Furthermore, socioeconomic disadvantage does not relate to residents' attitudes towards Turks. However, residents of neighbourhoods who experienced an influx of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood evaluate Turks less positively.

Attitudes towards Surinamese. Model 4 of Table 2.4 shows no significant relationship between the percentage of Surinamese in a neighbourhood (and in the municipality) and the attitudes towards Surinamese. Moreover, attitudes towards Surinamese are neither influenced by a sudden influx of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, nor by the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood. Once more, Table 2.5 (model 4) specifies that although there is no overall effect of the share of Surinamese, for Turkish residents the share of Surinamese in the neighbourhood is associated with less positive attitudes towards Surinamese.

Attitudes towards natives. Finally, Model 5 of Table 2.4 indicates that neither the share of natives nor the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood relates to residents' attitudes towards the native majority population. Table 2.5 (model 5) shows that the non-significant relationship between the share of natives and the attitudes towards Natives holds true for each ethnic group, expect for Turks. Turkish residents of neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of native Dutch evaluate native Dutch more positively than Turks residing in neighbourhoods with fewer native Dutch neighbours. Remarkably, attitudes towards the majority population seem to be less influenced by individual-level characteristics. For example, higher

educated minority members do not have more positive attitudes towards the majority group than lower educated members.

Overall, it seems that for most ethnic groups their attitudes towards other ethnic groups seem not to be affected by the share of that particular ethnic group in their neighbourhood. However, three of the five significant relationships between neighbourhood outgroup size and positive outgroup attitudes that we did find, turned out to be negative, suggesting that for some ethnic groups the share of a particular ethnic outgroup in their neighbourhood is associated with less positive attitudes towards that group. The other two effects we found were positive, signifying that in some cases neighbourhood proximity is associated with more positive outgroup attitudes.

What do these outcomes tell us about the hypotheses? Our first hypothesis proposed that the presence of cultural similar outgroups promotes positive outgroup attitudes, whereas the presence of cultural dissimilar outgroups promotes negative outgroup attitudes. Our analyses do not support this hypothesis. Regarding the attitudes towards Moroccans, for example, it is the Turks (the group that is culturally most similar to Moroccans) that report less positive attitudes towards Moroccans in neighbourhoods with relatively larger shares of Moroccans. Furthermore, the presence of Turks or Moroccans does not negatively influence the outgroup attitudes of culturally dissimilar Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch residents. However, the positive effect of the percentage Turks in the neighbourhood on the attitudes towards Turks for Moroccans, could be interpreted in favour of the cultural similarity hypothesis.

The finding that Turkish' attitudes towards Surinamese and Antilleans are negatively affected by the share of Surinamese and Antilleans in their neighbourhood could also be interpreted in favour of the first hypothesis, as Antilleans and Surinamese are culturally different minority groups. However, as Turks also report less positive attitudes towards Moroccans in neighbourhoods with a relatively larger share of Moroccans, these outcomes do not consistently relate to considerations of cultural similarity.

The second hypothesis proposed that the presence of low-status outgroups (Moroccans, Antilleans, Turks) in a neighbourhood leads to negative attitudes towards that outgroup, while the presence of high-status groups (Surinamese and Natives) would promote positive outgroup atti-

Table 2.3: Individual and neighbourhood level variances in the mean positive attitudes towards each ethnic target outgroup.

	Positive attitudes towards target group:									
	1. Moroccans		**2. Antilleans**		**3. Turks**		**4. Surinamese**		**5. Native Dutch**	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	45.3	(0.84) **	48.2	(1.05) **	55.5	(0.89) **	58.5	(0.86) **	69.5	(0.77) **
Municipality level variance	17	(7.09) **	32	(10.47) **	17	(7.00) **	20	(7.84) **	17	(6.27) **
Neighbourhood level variance	28	(8.54) **	27	(8.85) **	19	(6.79) **	31	(7.80) **	7	(3.83) *
Individual level variance	510	(15.30) **	489	(15.33) **	416	(12.61) **	412	(12.57) **	331	(9.03) **
Intraclass correlation (nbh level)	0.05		0.05		0.04		0.07		0.02	
N	*2,792*		*2,561*		*2,708*		*2,753*		*3,121*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
Source: LAS2005; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

Table 2.4: Multilevel regression analysis of the positive attitudes towards each specific target outgroup; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a,b]

	Positive attitudes towards target group:									
	1. Moroccans		**2. Antilleans**		**3. Turks**		**4. Surinamese**		**5. Native Dutch**	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	32.15	(5.24) **	42.44	(4.95) **	47.70	(4.78) **	48.77	(4.25) **	69.81	(6.35) **
Neighbourhood characteristics										
Percentage target[c] outgroup	−0.14	(0.11)	−0.42	(0.31)	0.11	(0.09)	−0.05	(0.11)	0.04	(0.03)
Socioeconomic disadvantage	0.18	(0.13)	−0.01	(0.11)	−0.16	(0.12)	0.01	(0.10)	0.06	(0.11)
Influx of ethnic minorities	−0.28	(0.13) *	−0.15	(0.12)	−0.24	(0.11) *	−0.06	(0.12)	0.00	(0.09)
Municipality characteristics										
Percentage target outgroup	0.30	(0.35)	−1.20	(1.21)	−0.04	(0.39)	0.26	(0.93)	−0.03	(0.08)
Individual characteristics										
Ethnicity										
Moroccan			3.27	(1.89)	9.27	(1.68) **	1.23	(1.64)	−0.31	(1.03)
Antillean	6.10	(1.77) **			−0.42	(1.61)	5.18	(1.59) **		ref
Turk	2.11	(1.82)	−4.24	(1.90) *			−6.34	(1.63) **	−1.93	(1.02)
Surinamese	2.05	(1.70)	1.92	(1.73)	−0.39	(1.54)			0.58	(1.02)
Native Dutch		ref		ref		ref		ref		-
Age	−0.03	(0.04)	0.00	(0.04)	0.08	(0.03) *	−0.00	(0.04)	0.01	0.03
Men	0.17	(0.87)	−0.82	(0.90)	2.51	(0.79) *	2.06	(0.79) **	1.64	(0.68) **
Education	1.78	(0.27) **	1.44	(0.27) **	1.58	(0.24) **	1.64	(0.23) **	0.11	(0.21)
Unemployed	−1.81	(1.47)	−1.01	(1.51)	−1.32	(1.29)	−1.15	(1.25)	−0.08	(1.04)
Income	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00) *	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
First generation	−3.06	(1.32) *	−3.69	(1.34) **	−3.76	(1.21) *	−2.47	(1.23) *	−1.88	(0.95) *
Religious participation	1.01	(0.35) **	1.27	(0.35) **	0.58	(0.31)	0.91	(0.29) **	−0.12	(0.24)
Dutch language difficulties	−1.18	(1.21)	−1.37	(1.22)	−2.29	(1.08) *	−1.47	(1.00)	−0.86	(0.80)
Variance components										
Municipality level	12	(6.13) *	25	(8.57) **	22	(8.19) **	14	(5.94) **	14	(5.79) **
Neighbourhood level	21	(7.56) **	15	(7.35) *	14	(5.88) **	19	(6.53) **	7	(3.79) *
Individual level	492	(14.66) **	466	(14.47) **	390	(11.79) **	382	(11.58) **	327	(8.93) **
N	*2,792*		*2,561*		*2,708*		*2,753*		*3,121*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] Controlled for having a missing on income.
[b] The ethnic target group is excluded from the analyses.
[c] The percentage target outgroup refers to the percentage of the particular ethnic group in the neighbourhood or municipality to which the attitudes are directed. For example, model 1 estimates the influence of the percentage of Moroccans in a neighbourhood on the attitudes towards Moroccans.
Source: LAS2005; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

Table 2.5: Overview of the influence of the percentage of an ethnic target outgroup in the neighbourhood on the positive attitudes towards the target outgroup by ethnic origin of the respondent; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a]

Ethnic origin respondents	**The influence of:** **1. % Moroccans on attitudes towards Moroccans**		**2. % Antilleans on attitudes towards Antilleans**		**3. % Turks on attitudes towards Turks**		**4. % Surinamese on attitudes towards Surinamese**		**5. % natives on attitudes towards natives**	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Moroccan			−0.23	(0.55)	0.27	(0.12) *	−0.00	(0.15)	0.02	(0.04)
Antillean	0.05	(0.17)			0.01	(0.13)	−0.00	(0.13)	−0.01	(0.05)
Turkish	−0.25	(0.12) **	−1.27	(0.46) **			−0.39	(0.17) *	0.09	(0.04) *
Surinamese	0.00	(0.15)	0.02	(0.43)	0.04	(0.13)			0.03	(0.05)
Native Dutch	−0.25	(0.27)	0.40	(0.73)	−0.18	(0.22)	0.36	(0.23)		
Overall	−0.14	(0.11)	−0.42	(0.32)	0.11	(0.08)	−0.05	(0.11)	0.04	(0.03)
N	*2,792*		*2,561*		*2,708*		*2,753*		*3,121*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] Based on the analyses as displayed in Table 2.4 (including all neighbourhood, municipality and individual level control variables) and including cross-level interaction terms between outgroup size and ethnic origin of the respondent. To estimate if the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes was significant from zero for each ethnic group separately, we estimated different models and repeatedly changed the reference category of ethnic origin.
Source: LAS2005; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

tudes. Some outcomes seem to be in accordance with this line of reasoning: for example, for Turks the presence of native Dutch in the neighbourhood (considered a high status group) promotes positive attitudes towards natives. However, the overall pattern does not show that especially the presence of lower status outgroups elicits negative outgroup attitudes.

2.5 Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this chapter has been to investigate the impact of ethnic concentrations on ethnic prejudice of ethnic majority and minority neighbourhood residents in the Netherlands. Previous research examined the relationship between the size of the neighbourhood minority population and outgroup attitudes of the majority group. However, as to date European neighbourhoods are highly ethnically mixed, we examined how residents of various ethnic origins evaluated different ethnic outgroups based on the shares of these particular ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood.

Overall, for most ethnic groups, the analyses in this chapter show no significant relationship between target outgroup size and the attitudes towards that particular ethnic outgroup. Apparently, people's attitudes towards specific ethnic groups are not so much determined by the presence of these particular groups in their direct neighbourhood environment, as we predicted from intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954) and ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002). Nevertheless, we found two instances where a larger neighbourhood outgroup size was related to more positive outgroup attitudes, as inferred from intergroup contact theory. In three other cases, the size of a particular ethnic outgroup was associated with less positive outgroup attitudes, which corroborates with expectations of ethnic competition theory, proposing that the presence of other ethnic groups elicits feelings of ethnic threat and, subsequently, less positive attitudes. Outcomes indicate that particularly the outgroup attitudes of Turkish residents are affected by the size of the ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood: the presence of Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese in the neighbourhood is associated with less positive attitudes towards these minority groups, whereas the share of native Dutch residents is positively related to the attitudes towards natives. Yet, the group differences in the relationship between ethnic outgroup size and outgroup attitudes that we

found do not consistently correspond with cultural group differences (as expected from the belief congruency theory) and socioeconomic status group differences (as expected from social identity theory). It is not particularly concentrations of culturally dissimilar outgroups and low-status groups in a neighbourhood that elicit negative outgroup attitudes. These outcomes deviate from the study by Havekes et al. (2011) who found that the more cultural similar the ethnic in- and outgroup, the more contact opportunity leads to positive outgroup feelings among ethnic minority groups. Nevertheless, it is difficult to compare these studies directly as we study urban neighbourhoods (while Havekes et al. (2011) also include smaller cities and the countryside), take into account the ethnic majority group in the analyses and control for the socioeconomic circumstances in which ethnic groups interact.

Our analyses indicate that the presence of other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood does not consistently influence residents' attitudes towards these groups and when it does, it depends on the type of ethnic outgroup and the ethnic origin of the resident itself. Our results provides some evidence that previous mixed findings in Europe, regarding the impact of the neighbourhood minority population in general, might be due to the fact that neighbourhoods that have been researched differ in the particular ethnic groups they are composed of. Nevertheless, overall, we find only few effects of neighbourhood outgroup size so it can be questioned if attitudes towards *specific* ethnic groups are really influenced by the presence of these *particular* groups in the neighbourhood. In particular with respect to the interethnic threat mechanism, it can be speculated if other factors might be more important. In the Netherlands, the different ethnic minority groups are often (more or less positively) discussed in the media on the basis of which people form an opinion and general feeling about these groups. For example, especially the Antillean and Moroccan group are generally associated with crime and causing problems in the street. Some studies have argued that the negative portrayal of particular ethnic groups in the media may have a negative impact on the public opinion on these groups (Lubbers, Scheepers, & Wester, 1998; Vergeer, 2000). Ethnic threat might therefore not only be caused by the direct exposure to other groups in the neighbourhood, but also indirectly via negative information read in newspapers or seen on television. So today's impact of national media may

be an explanation of why interethnic attitudes towards particular ethnic groups seem not that much influenced by the presence of these particular groups in people's direct neighbourhood environment.

In addition, we see that an influx of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood is associated with less positive attitudes towards Turks and Moroccans, suggesting that it might not so much the *current* share of Turks and Moroccans but an *increasing* percentage of Turks and Moroccans that promotes interethnic threat and reduces resident's positive attitudes towards these groups. The importance of neighbourhood changes is also acknowledged in previous studies on interethnic relations in a neighbourhood environment (see also chapter 3). It has been found, for example, that an increase in ethnic concentration negatively affect residents' general interethnic attitudes and neighbourhood satisfaction (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). Changing neighbourhood conditions may cause stress as neighbourhood characteristics no longer meet the preferences or needs of its residents (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). It has been argued that in an effort to cope with external frustrations born of, for example, economic and social instabilities in the neighbourhood, people tend to express negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Glick, 2008). The influence of neighbourhood changes suggests that also perceptions of neighbourhood conditions might be important and that what residents feel that happens in their neighbourhood might play a more pivotal role that than what they actually experience. It is therefore perhaps not so much the specific ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods that affect residents' attitudes, but a general effect of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods and the perceptions that residents have about how their neighbourhood is developing.

We analysed the influence of outgroup size on positive outgroup attitudes, taken into account the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood. Overall, ethnic outgroup attitudes are not related to the socioeconomic status in the neighbourhood. This is in contrast to research in the United States that finds that whites report more negative racial attitudes in low socioeconomic status neighbourhoods (Branton & Jones, 2005; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011), but in line with other research in the Netherlands (Gijsberts et al., 2010). Differences in the impact of socioeconomic disadvantage might be due to a larger degree of income segregation in the United States

than in most European cities.

The analyses in this chapter have some limitations which give rise to suggestions for future research. First, unfortunately, we were unable to include measures of interethnic threat and contact that could explain the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes, as proposed by ethnic competition and intergroup contact theory. Previous research showed the influence of outgroup size on interethnic contact and perceived ethnic threat among majority residents in the Netherlands (Savelkoul et al., 2011b), but few datasets include measures of interethnic threat and contact from a multigroup perspective. As a result, relatively little is known about the extent to which ethnic minority groups feel threatened by other minority groups in their neighbourhood and how many contacts they maintain with different minority group neighbours. This would be of interest for the current study as interethnic threat and contact may depend on cultural and socioeconomic differences between groups. Related to this, interethnic threat and contact could also be conditional on individual characteristics of respondents such as religious affiliation or socioeconomic class. It might be the case, for example, that for some socioeconomic groups a larger outgroup size increases perceptions of ethnic threat, while for others interethnic contact will be stimulated. Indeed, Scheepers et al. (2002) found that the larger the percentage of non-EU citizens in a country, the more manual workers are in favour of ethnic exclusionism as compared to the service class. Accordingly, future research should profoundly investigate interethnic threat and contacts between different ethnic groups but also consider differences between social categories within ethnic groups.

Moreover, because at first sight cultural and socioeconomic group differences seem not appropriate to explain group differences in the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes, there might be other mechanisms behind the relationship between outgroup size and outgroup attitudes. An alternative explanation for why particularly Turkish residents seem to be negatively affected by the presence of ethnic outgroups in a neighbourhood may be their strong ingroup orientation. Research shows that Turkish residents have the least interethnic contact, are more likely to have friends and acquaintances from Turkish origin and more often rely on their own language when speaking with friends and family compared to other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005). Particularly

those residents that strongly identify with their ethnic ingroup may feel uncomfortable and threatened around other groups in their neighbourhood.

Furthermore, using cross-sectional data, we cannot make strong conclusions on causation. Plausibly, those residents who have positive attitudes towards a particular outgroup are also more likely to choose to live in a neighbourhood with a larger outgroup size whereas intolerant people would relocate. Hence, panel data should clarify the extent to which ethnic attitudes play a decisive role in relocation choices (but also see chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation). Socioeconomic differences between ethnic groups make some migration patterns more likely for particular ethnic groups than others. For example, the native majority population has on average better economic opportunities to leave certain neighbourhoods that do not fit their ethnic preferences than minority groups.

In closing, the primary contribution of this chapter is the multi-ethnic approach to the relationship between ethnic concentration and interethnic attitudes. Future neighbourhood effects research should keep in mind that different types of ethnic concentrations could possibly have different effects on interethnic attitudes of residents of different ethnic origin. Yet, research in this chapter also suggests that interethnic attitudes towards *particular* ethnic groups seem not that much influenced by the presence of these *particular* groups in people's direct neighbourhood environment. At the same time, further research is necessary to understand under which conditions and by which mechanisms the specific ethnic composition of the neighbourhood affects interethnic attitudes towards specific ethnic groups.

Chapter 3

Interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods: The impact of neighbourhood disorder and decline*

3.1 Introduction

Many studies of ethnic relations have investigated the influence of a neighbourhood's ethnic composition on the prejudicial attitudes of its neighbourhood residents (e.g., Dixon, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Putnam, 2007; Taylor, 1998; Wagner et al., 2006). This interest emerged from the notion that ethnic concentration would hamper interethnic contacts, that it would provide a basis for ethnic threat and ultimately evoke negative interethnic attitudes. However, ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are also neighbourhoods in which residents must deal with poor socioeconomic circumstances and such problems as vandalism, physical decay and the nuisances of neighbours. Neglecting the relationship between a neighbourhood's problems and its ethnic composition could lead researchers to overestimate the impact of ethnic concentration on interethnic attitudes. In

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particular, previous studies have shown that unfavourable attitudes (such as distrust, low perceived social cohesion and prejudice) could emerge from frustration born of poor socioeconomic circumstances rather than from an aversion to living near ethnic minority members per se (Emerson et al., 2001; Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Krysan et al., 2009). However, to date, little is known about how the interethnic attitudes of residents are affected by the specific social and physical problems that are common in poor neighbourhoods, nor the extent to which this relationship depends on the specific ethnic composition of the neighbourhood.

A growing amount of research investigates the negative consequences of disorder in urban neighbourhoods. Disorder refers to those visible conditions and cues in the neighbourhood that indicate a breakdown of the local social order, such as junk and trash, public drinking, graffiti or vandalism (Ross & Mirowsky, 1999; Skogan, 1992). Research indicates that residents of disorderly neighbourhoods, independent of ethnic concentration, report lower levels of trust (Ross & Jang, 2000; Ross et al., 2001), neighbourhood satisfaction (Harris, 2001; Stipak & Hensler, 1983) and security (Ross & Jang, 2000; Taylor & Covington, 1993). Although neighbourhood disorder is often strongly related to ethnic concentration, little is known yet about how interethnic attitudes are affected by neighbourhood disorder. In this study, we try to investigate if the dissatisfaction of residents in disorderly neighbourhoods is especially directed to neighbours of another ethnic origin. Furthermore, in this context we are particularly interested in how interethnic attitudes are affected by declining neighbourhood circumstances. Previous studies have shown the importance of including indicators of neighbourhood change in addition of static neighbourhood characteristics. It has been found, for example, that an increase in ethnic concentration and a decline in socioeconomic status negatively affect residents' interethnic attitudes and neighbourhood satisfaction (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). Especially changing conditions might cause stress as neighbourhood characteristics no longer meet the preferences and needs of its residents (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). Concerning neighbourhood disorder, residents are probably accustomed to a certain amount of problems in their neighbourhood, but particularly an increase in problems might be experienced as threatening and may heighten anxieties associated with future neighbourhood developments (Taub et al.,

1984).

Against this background, we inquire into the effects of neighbourhood disorder and decline (by which we mean *increasing* disorder) on the interethnic attitudes of residents. Furthermore, we investigate the interaction between disorder and ethnic neighbourhood composition by examining which ethnic compositions strengthen (or buffer) the effects of neighbourhood disorder and decline on interethnic attitudes. In particular, based on arguments derived from social disorganisation theory (Shaw & McKey, 1969), the concept of 'racialised resentment' (Hudson et al., 2007) and scapegoat theory (Allport, 1948) we hypothesise that neighbourhood disorder and decline evoke negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, especially in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minority residents.

Employing a large-scale geocoded dataset that covers 1,435 neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, research in the present chapter builds and improves on existing literature in several ways. First, we analyse the extent to which residents' interethnic attitudes are influenced by objective and subjective indicators of social and physical disorder and decline, taking into account the neighbourhood's ethnic and socioeconomic population composition. Second, we investigate the extent to which the effects of neighbourhood disorder and decline on interethnic attitudes vary among neighbourhoods with different ethnic compositions. Finally, whereas many studies examine interethnic attitudes from a majority perspective, we are able to analyse the interethnic attitudes among the five major ethnic groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans, and the ethnic majority population), exploring the extent to which the relationships between neighbourhood disorder and decline and interethnic attitudes differ among ethnic majority and minority residents.

3.2 Theoretical background

3.2.1 Ethnic and socioeconomic population composition

To explain neighbourhood differences in interethnic attitudes, previous studies have focussed largely on the neighbourhood's ethnic and socioeconomic population composition. First, following the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), the presence of other ethnic groups in a neighbourhood

would increase contact opportunities among residents from different ethnic groups. Positive and close contact experiences in particular would lead to mutual understanding regarding beliefs, values and life style, resulting in positive interethnic attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Alternatively, the ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002) argues that negative outgroup attitudes are based on (perceived) competition between ethnic groups, emerging from conflicting material interests (e.g., over jobs or housing) or from cultural and religious differences (e.g., conflicting lifestyles). Because neighbourhoods with large proportions of ethnic outgroups are seen as competitive environments, this theory would suggest that the co-existence of different ethnic groups in a neighbourhood leads to interethnic threat and ultimately to negative ethnic attitudes (Quillian, 1995). Previous studies have found mixed support for both theories. Congruent with contact theory, some have found a positive relationship between outgroup size and positive outgroup attitudes (Oliver & Wong, 2003; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Wagner et al., 2006). Alternatively, other studies have found a negative relationship between these variables, as would be expected from ethnic competition theory (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005; Savelkoul et al., 2011b; Taylor, 1998).

According to the racial proxy perspective, it is not the ethnic composition but the socioeconomic aspects of neighbourhoods that lead to undesirable outcomes (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). Because of the strong connection between the ethnic and the socioeconomic aspects of urban neighbourhoods, researchers have argued that negative ethnic attitudes may be a reaction to the deprived socioeconomic deprivations associated with ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000). To test the relative influence of ethnic and socioeconomic neighbourhood attributes on interethnic attitudes, previous studies have included aggregated measures of residents' income and educational level. Research in the United States and in the United Kingdom has found that interethnic attitudes are indeed more negative in lower socioeconomic status neighbourhoods (Blake, 2003; Branton & Jones, 2005; Laurence, 2011; Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011) whereas findings in the Netherlands are mixed (Gijsberts et al., 2010; Tolsma et al., 2008).

3.2.2 Neighbourhood disorder and decline: social disorganisation theory

Although much research examined how interethnic attitudes are affected by the ethnic and the socioeconomic population composition of a neighbourhood, relatively little is known on the impact of the specific social and physical problems associated with ethnic concentration and socioeconomic disadvantage. Social disorganisation theory focuses explicitly on the negative consequences of neighbourhoods' social and physical problems. Its main focus is neighbourhood disorder, which can be defined as all visible neighbourhood conditions and cues that indicate a breakdown of the local social order (Ross & Mirowsky, 1999). Social disorder refers to a lack of control related to residents' behaviour (e.g., street harassment and public drinking), whereas physical disorder comprises visual signs of negligence and unchecked decay (e.g., litter and graffiti) (Skogan, 1992). Acts of social and physical disorder violate shared values, and minor forms of public disorder might eventually lead to more serious acts of crime and a downward spiral of urban decline (Skogan, 1992). Unlike crime, however, disorder often has no individual victims but has collective consequences for the neighbourhood population as a whole (Skogan, 1992).

Proponents of the social disorganisation theory assert that such disorderly environments weaken neighbourhood organisation (Sampson et al., 1997). Social neighbourhood organisation refers to the extent of a neighbourhood's social cohesion and entails a degree of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbours. In addition, it entails a behavioural component that refers to social control and an actual willingness to intervene in problematic situations (Sampson et al., 1997). According to Ross et al. (2001), disorderly neighbourhoods are threatening environments and give residents the perception that social control is weak, that fellow residents are not willing to cope with problems and that neighbours are not respectful towards one another. Ultimately, they argue that such kind of environments teach residents that others cannot be trusted. Indeed, previous research demonstrate that individuals in disorderly neighbourhoods report higher levels of mistrust, fear and dissatisfaction (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Ross & Jang, 2000; Taylor & Covington, 1993).

We argue that beyond on-going neighbourhood problems, increasing

disorder negatively affects the attitudes of residents. Declining neighbourhood conditions may cause stress as neighbourhood characteristics no longer meet the preferences or needs of its residents (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). Residents are probably accustomed to a certain amount of problems within their neighbourhood, thus it might be particularly rapid changes in the neighbourhood that capture residents' attention and elicit discomfort with the neighbourhood itself (Hopkins, 2010). It is in declining neighbourhoods that residents might begin to worry about future neighbourhood conditions. According to Skogan (1992), relatively 'harmless' elements of disorder within a neighbourhood eventually stimulate more serious acts of crime in that neighbourhood, leading to a spiral of decline.

3.2.3 Disorder and interethnic attitudes: racialised resentment and scapegoating

Previous studies have shown that neighbourhood disorder and decline can negatively affect the attitudes of residents with respect to trust and solidarity. We argue that neighbourhood disorder and decline also influence the *interethnic* attitudes of residents. Negative ethnic attitudes in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods could be a reaction to the deprived socioeconomic conditions and problems in these neighbourhoods (Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000). Exposure to social and physical disorder activates "negative psychological states" including anxiety, fear, demoralisation as well as generalised derogation of outgroups (Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000, p. 576). More generally, in an effort to cope with external frustrations born of, for example, economic and social changes and instabilities, people tend to express negative attitudes (towards other ethnic groups (Glick, 2008; Walters, 2011). Iganski (2008) argues that these feelings are common in 'ordinary' people in the context of their ordinary lives, such as passers-by in the street. Literature on social cohesion in ethnically diverse communities refers to this phenomenon as "racialised resentment" (Hudson et al., 2007, p. 42). Socioeconomic disadvantage and dissatisfaction with the quality of the social and physical environment manifest in negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and in blaming them for problems that often already existed (Hickman, Crowley, & Mai, 2008; Valentine, 2008; Hudson et al., 2007).

The idea that everyday neighbourhood grievances are likely directed to neighbours of another ethnic background is in line with notions of Allport's (1948) scapegoat theory. Allport (1948) additionally defines the characteristics of the groups that are particularly vulnerable to become victims to abreact frustrations. Negative attitudes are likely to be directed towards highly visible outgroups with salient characteristics, even though they might not be the original source of the frustration. Ethnic outgroups are therefore likely to be convenient objects, because of their different languages, religions and unfamiliar customs. Furthermore, Allport (1948) also argued such frustrations are more easily directed towards more *accessible* objects, such as groups that are frequently encountered in daily life. Therefore, in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, feelings of fear, mistrust and dissatisfaction can manifest themselves and become directed towards members of other ethnic groups. As was also showed in the studies on racialised resentment, in neighbourhoods with many ethnic outgroups, outgroup members are visible and available targets to abreact frustration with the local environment (Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). Hence, the fact that people have a tendency to look for scapegoats to cope with external frustrations suggests that residents might blame other ethnic groups for neighbourhood problems. Accordingly, based on notions of racialised resentment and scapegoat theory we, first of all, expect that *neighbourhood disorder is negatively associated with positive ethnic outgroup attitudes* (H1). Moreover, we expect that *neighbourhood decline (i.e., an increase in neighbourhood disorder) is negatively associated with positive ethnic outgroup attitudes* (H2).

Besides visibility and accessibility, Allport (1948, p.26) argued that weaker low-prestige groups constitute vulnerable targets from whom scapegoaters can expect "little possibility for retaliation". We therefore expect that particularly ethnic minorities would be vulnerable targets of scapegoating because of their lower prestige and socioeconomic status in the Dutch society. First, compared to the majority population, ethnic minority groups hold a low position in the ethnic hierarchy, which represents the social position of ethnic groups based on differences in social prestige, socioeconomic status and cultural status (Hagendoorn, 1995). Second, ethnic minority groups have a lower socioeconomic status than the majority population in terms of income, (un)employment, social benefits and edu-

cation (Dagevos, 2007). It is this context that leads us to expect that a neighbourhood's social and physical problems are associated with negative attitudes towards ethnic minority groups in particular, and less so towards members of the higher status majority group. Moreover, we expect that this association is even more pronounced in cases where more ethnic *minority* residents are present. Accordingly, we hypothesise that *the negative impact of (a) neighbourhood disorder and (b) decline on positive ethnic outgroup attitudes is stronger in neighbourhoods with a large share of ethnic minorities* (H3a/b) *and in neighbourhoods where the share of ethnic minority groups has been increasing* (H4a/b). Finally, we propose that *the impact of neighbourhood disorder and decline is more pronounced with regard to attitudes towards ethnic minority groups than with regard to attitudes towards the ethnic majority group* (H5).

3.3 Methods

3.3.1 Data

We use the 2005 survey *Life Situation of Urban Ethnic Minorities* (LAS-2005), conducted among residents between 15 and 65 years of age who live in one of the 50 largest Dutch municipalities (constituting 42 percent of the total Dutch population). The LAS data ($n = 4,097$) consists of a stratified sample based on municipality and ethnicity. According to the standard definition of *Statistics Netherlands*, ethnicity is defined by country of birth such that people are considered a member of an ethnic minority group when they or at least one of their parents are born in a foreign country (see also section 1.5.1). This definition is widely used in all kinds of statistics, registrations and reports in the Netherlands. Within each municipality, separate random samples of five ethnic groups were drawn, i.e., the native Dutch population and the four largest non-Western[1] ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands: Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. Furthermore, in order to be able to make meaningful comparisons between ethnic groups, ethnic minorities were oversampled. Within each ethnic group, the data are representative for that population as a whole in the 50 largest municipalities in the Netherlands.

[1] For a definition of non-Western ethnic minority groups, I refer to section 1.5.1.

In order to link information on the neighbourhood of residence to the information in the LAS2005 survey, we used neighbourhood codes from *Statistics Netherlands*. In 2005, the Netherlands consisted of 467 municipalities covering approximately 11,000 neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods are categorised by styles of architecture and time period and refer to relatively small, socioeconomically homogenous areas, with average population of approximately 1,400 residents (Gijsberts et al., 2010). The LAS2005 survey contains data on 1,435 neighbourhoods. For 123 respondents in the survey, proper information about their place of residence was absent and they were removed from the analyses.

3.3.2 Dependent variables

Like in chapter 2, we use a 'feeling thermometer' to measure interethnic attitudes towards different ethnic groups in Dutch society (hence, this study relates to the affective component of interethnic attitudes). This is a commonly used instrument in international studies for the assessment of interethnic attitudes (e.g., see Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). On a scale from 0 to 100, or from 'cold' to 'warm' feelings, respondents evaluated each ethnic group (i.e., Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans and native Dutch), presented in a random order. For the purposes of this chapter we created three distinct dependent variables. First, to measure *ethnic outgroup attitudes* we calculated the mean of the scores of each outgroup evaluation. Respondents did not rate their own ethnic group, so in the case of outgroup attitudes of Turkish respondents, their scores refer to the mean score of their attitudes towards Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and the ethnic majority group. Additional analyses suggested that the distinct subgroup evaluations for all ethnic groups represent a single dimension, forming a reliable scale (with α ranging between 0.79 for Surinamese and 0.87 for Native Dutch respondents). Note that on average 8 percent of the respondents were reluctant to evaluate at least one of the other ethnic groups, but the number of missing values varied across ethnic group and the ethnic outgroups that were evaluated. We only calculated ethnic outgroup attitudes if respondents had no more than one missing value on the subgroup evaluations ($n = 3,363$ constituting of 574 native Dutch and 2,789 ethnic minority respondents).

In addition, we created a second dependent variable for attitudes towards ethnic minority groups. We calculated this variable separately for native Dutch respondents ($n = 574$) and ethnic minority respondents ($n = 2,793$). Note that for native Dutch respondents, this measure is similar to the first measure of ethnic outgroup attitudes. Finally, for ethnic minority respondents we created a third dependent variable measuring attitudes towards *native Dutch* ($n = 3,067$). Note that because the number of missing values differed across the ethnic outgroups that were evaluated (and, thus also among the three dependent variables created), the sample size for ethnic minorities per analysis varies.

3.3.3 Explanatory variables: neighbourhood characteristics

The *Liveability Monitor* of the Dutch *Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment* was used to obtain information on neighbourhood disorder and decline. The monitor has been developed as an instrument for municipalities to measure and monitor the liveability in specific neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (Leidelmeijer et al., 2008), and it has been used in previous research on local neighbourhoods (Bakens, Mulder, & Nijkamp, 2013). The overall index consists of six standardised liveability dimensions (i.e., population composition; social cohesion; public environment; safety and nuisance; public facilities; and housing stock) between 1998 and 2012. We took the 2006 'safety and nuisance' index as an indicator of *neighbourhood disorder* (note that the 2006 measure is based on year averages of 2005, the year in which the LAS survey was conducted). The scores on the 'safety and nuisance' index is a weighted average of both objective and subjective indicators of social and physical disorder in a neighbourhood (Leidelmeijer et al., 2008). First of all, it includes subjective indicators of nuisance of youth and fellow residents, drug use, street litter and graffiti derived from survey data of the Police Monitor. These items are based on the percentage of residents who observe these specific forms of nuisance in their neighbourhood. Furthermore, it includes objective indicators of the yearly number of reported actions of vandalism and disturbance of public order derived from official registration data of the Dutch National Police (Korps Landelijke Politiediensten, KLPD). Finally, two common crime statistics are included (i.e., objective indicators

of the yearly number of reported actions of violent crime and car theft, derived from official registration data of the Dutch National Police). This index is considered a reliable measurement to compare safety and nuisance between neighbourhoods and over time (Leidelmeijer et al., 2008; Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007).

The *Liveability Monitor* reports standardised index scores which run from -50 to 50, with zero referring to average "safety and nuisance" scores, a positive score referring to neighbourhoods that do better than average with respect to "safety and nuisance" and a negative score refers to neighbourhoods that do worse than average. To create a measure of neighbourhood disorder, we changed the sign of the index so that a positive score refers to neighbourhoods with more disorder than average while a negative score refers to neighbourhoods with less disorder than average. In addition, based on the disorder scores in 2006 and 1998 we calculated *neighbourhood decline*, which refers to the relative change in disorder between 1998 and 2006. The measure of neighbourhood decline was computed by subtracting the disorder score of 1998 from the disorder score of 2006. Consequently, a positive score refers to a *relative increase* in neighbourhood disorder between 1998 and 2006.

Information on the ethnic and socioeconomic population composition of a neighbourhood was obtained from the 2005 register database *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods of Statistics Netherlands* (KFDN). To measure the ethnic neighbourhood composition, we used the *percentage non-Western ethnic minorities* in the neighbourhood, which includes the percentage of Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans and other non-Western ethnic minority groups (e.g., African immigrants). This indicator is commonly used in previous research on ethnic concentration in the Netherlands (e.g., Tolsma et al., 2008). Note that for Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean respondents, this measure includes not only minority *outgroups* but the ingroup as well. However, mono-ethnic neighbourhoods are rare in the Netherlands and ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods tend to be ethnically diverse. As a result, the correlation between the proportion of ethnic minorities and the proportion of *other* minority groups (not including the ethnic minority ingroup) is 0.92 (based on additional calculations using the 2005 KFDN). Consequently, we choose to use the percentage non-Western ethnic minorities so it is comparable to

other research.

In addition to assessing the present conditions, the *influx of ethnic minorities* in a neighbourhood between 2000 and 2005 was used as a measure of the change in a neighbourhood's ethnic composition. The influx of ethnic minorities refers to the change in percentage points in the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood between 2000 and 2005. Our measure of the socioeconomic population composition is based on three different items: the average disposable year income per resident divided by 1000, the percentage of low income groups and the percentage of welfare recipients in the neighbourhood. Because we want to measure socioeconomic disadvantage we multiplied the income variable by -1, so a high value refers to a low disposable year income. Subsequently, we first standardised these three items to make them comparable in scale. In a second step, we constructed a scale of socioeconomic disadvantage by calculating the mean score of these three standardised items. The three items load on one factor and constitute a reliable scale ($\alpha = 0.79$). Unfortunately, a measure of socioeconomic status change could not be created from the data.

Finally, because ethnically concentrated and socioeconomically poor neighbourhoods are more often found within the larger cities in the Western part of the country, our analyses take into account if the neighbourhood is located in one of the four largest cities in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague.

3.3.4 Control variables

In addition to neighbourhood level predictors, individual level characteristics explain a sizeable amount of the variation in interethnic attitudes. To determine whether the variation in interethnic attitudes between neighbourhoods is caused by neighbourhood characteristics instead of the personal characteristics of neighbourhood residents, our analyses include demographic, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of neighbourhood residents.

First, we examined *educational attainment*, measured as the highest completed educational degree either in the Netherlands or abroad on a

scale from 0 (no education) to 7 (university degree).[2] We also employed a dummy variable for *unemployment*. Furthermore, *income* refers to monthly after-tax family income, based on 16 categories ranging from (1) lower than 500 euro to (16) more than 4,000 euro. Because of the relatively large amount of missing data on this variable (32 % of the total sample)[3], we employed missing substitution based on regression of income on sex, ethnicity, education, age, migration generation, being currently in school and unemployment. We also included a measure of *interethnic contact* that represents those who often have contact with (other) ethnic minorities in their leisure time. *Religious participation* was measured as the frequency of visits to a religious service (e.g., church, Mosque), on a scale from 1 (never) to 6 (daily). Finally, we controlled for *age* in years[4] and included dummy variables for *men* (ref = women), *first generation migrants* (ref = second generation migrants and the ethnic majority group) and for respondent's *ethnic origin* (i.e., Moroccan, Turk, Surinamese, Antillean, ref = ethnic majority group). Descriptive statistics are summarised in Table 3.1.

3.3.5 Method of analysis

We applied a multilevel regression analysis to account for the dependence between residents living in the same neighbourhood. In the analyses we distinguished between the individual level (level 1) and the neighbourhood level (level 2). The so-called multilevel intercept-only model estimates the variance in the mean ethnic outgroup attitudes (first dependent variable) at the individual and neighbourhood level. Analyses indicate substantial neighbourhood level variance in ethnic outgroup attitudes: 10 percent of the variation in outgroup attitudes is caused by differences among neighbourhoods, 90 percent of the variance in outgroup attitudes is due to individual differences between residents (figures not shown).

To test our hypotheses, we first estimated the influence of neighbourhood disorder and decline on interethnic attitudes, controlling for the so-

[2] Missing data ($n = 32$) on education were substituted by the mean level of education.

[3] Missing values were due to young respondents who lived with their parents (60 % of the missing values), and because respondents did not know or did not want to share their income (40 % of the missing values).

[4] Missing data ($n = 101$) on age were substituted by the mean age.

Table 3.1: Descriptive statistics: range, mean/proportion (M/p) and standard deviation (sd).

	Range	**M/p**	**sd**
Dependent variables			
Positive ethnic *outgroup* attitudes[a]	0 - 100	55.65	17.66
Positive attitudes towards *ethnic minorities*[b]	0 - 100	51.35	22.00
Positive attitudes towards *native Dutch*[c]	0 - 100	69.42	18.64
Neighbourhood-level predictors			
Neighbourhood disorder	−40.67 - 50.00	31.74	18.84
Neighbourhood decline	−30.27 - 61.94	12.02	12.37
Percentage non-Western ethnic minorities	0 - 91	31.67	22.35
Influx of non-Western ethnic minorities	0 - 27	4.34	4.11
Socioeconomic disadvantage	−4.19 - 2.97	0.00	0.91
Located in one of the four large cities	0 / 1	0.49	
Individual-level predictors			
Ethnic origin			
Moroccan	0 / 1	0.21	
Turk	0 / 1	0.22	
Antillean	0 / 1	0.21	
Surinamese	0 / 1	0.19	
Native Dutch	0 / 1	0.17	
Men	0 / 1	0.47	
Age (in years)	16 - 65	36.95	12.75
Education	0 - 7	3.65	1.92
Monthly household income	1 - 16	5.70	3.19
Unemployed	0 / 1	0.11	
First generation migrant	0 / 1	0.65	
(vs. 2nd generation and native Dutch)			
Religious participation	1 - 6	2.14	1.37
Often contact with ethnic minorities	0 / 1	0.19	

Notes:
[a] For both native Dutch ($n = 574$) and ethnic minority respondents ($n = 2,789$)
[b] For both native Dutch ($n = 574$) and ethnic minority respondents ($n = 2,793$).
[c] Only for ethnic minority respondents ($n = 3,067$).
Source: LAS2005; *Liveability Monitor*, 2006; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

cioeconomic and ethnic composition and individual characteristics of residents. Next, we estimated interaction effects between neighbourhood disorder and decline and a neighbourhood's ethnic composition on ethnic outgroup attitudes. To interpret the interaction terms in a meaningful way, all continuous variables in the analyses were centered around the (grand) mean. Finally, we examined the extent to which these relationships differed examining the attitudes towards the ethnic majority group (analyses for minority respondents only) and examining the attitudes towards ethnic minority groups (analyses for both majority and minority respondents).

3.4 Results

3.4.1 The impact of neighbourhood disorder and decline

Table 3.2 displays the estimates of the relationship between neighbourhood disorder and decline and interethnic attitudes, taking into account the ethnic and socioeconomic population composition of a neighbourhood. Contrary to hypothesis 1, model 1 indicates that ethnic outgroup attitudes are not affected by the current amount of disorder in a neighbourhood. Residents who have to deal with social and physical problems do not report less positive attitudes than residents of orderly neighbourhoods. However, residents seem to be influenced by neighbourhood decline. As predicted in hypothesis 2, residents who experienced an increase in the amount of social and physical problems report less positive interethnic attitudes. Regarding the ethnic population composition, Table 3.2 (model 1) indicates that the proportion of non-Western ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood is associated with less positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups. On the other hand, an influx in the proportion of ethnic minorities does not influence interethnic attitudes. Finally, we do not find an effect of socioeconomic disadvantage on interethnic attitudes. We consider the effects of neighbourhood decline and the proportion of ethnic minorities substantial. On a scale from negative (0) to positive (100) attitudes, the maximum difference in ethnic outgroup attitudes between residents of neighbourhoods with the maximum increase (61.94) and maximum decrease (-30.27) in neighbourhood disorder is 7.4 ($[61.94 - (-30.27)] \times -0.08$). Similarly, the difference in outgroup attitudes between residents of neighbourhoods without eth-

Table 3.2: Multilevel regression analysis of *positive ethnic outgroup attitudes*; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a]

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	50.61	(1.01) **	50.00	(1.08) **	50.62	(1.02) **
Neighbourhood characteristics						
Neighbourhood disorder	0.03	(0.02)	0.06	(0.04)	0.03	(0.03)
Neighbourhood decline	−0.08	(0.03) **	−0.15	(0.04) **	−0.09	(0.03) **
Percentage ethnic minorities	−0.07	(0.03) *	−0.13	(0.04) **	−0.08	(0.03) **
Influx of ethnic minorities	−0.10	(0.11)	0.06	(0.11)	−0.04	(0.11)
Socioeconomic disadvantage	0.04	(0.60)	0.16	(0.60)	0.08	(0.61)
Interaction effects						
Disorder × share of ethnic minorities			0.00	(0.00)		
Decline × share of ethnic minorities			−0.01	(0.00) **		
Disorder × influx of ethnic minorities					−0.00	(0.01)
Decline × influx of ethnic minorities					−0.01	(0.01)
Control variables						
Moroccan (vs. native Dutch)	10.01	(1.28) **	10.08	(1.29) **	10.02	(1.29) **
Turk (vs. native Dutch)	1.43	(1.27)	1.60	(1.27)	1.46	(1.26)
Antillean (vs. native Dutch)	8.00	(1.25) **	8.11	(1.25) **	7.99	(1.25) **
Surinamese (vs. native Dutch)	3.81	(1.21) **	3.91	(1.21) **	3.81	(1.21) **
Men	1.40	(0.59) *	1.36	(0.59) *	1.28	(0.58) *
Age (in years)	0.01	(0.03)	0.01	(0.03)	0.01	(0.03)
Education	1.26	(0.17) **	1.27	(0.17) **	1.26	(0.18) **
Monthly household income	0.18	(0.10)	0.17	(0.10)	0.18	(010)
Unemployed	−1.01	(0.95)	−1.04	(0.95)	−0.99	(0.95)
First generation migrant	−3.19	(0.84) **	−3.13	(0.84) **	−3.17	(0.84) **
Religious participation	0.70	(0.22) **	0.71	(0.22) **	0.71	(0.22) **
Often contact with ethnic minorities	4.17	(0.75) **	4.13	(0.75) **	4.18	(0.75) **
Located in one of the four large cities	1.50	(1.04)	1.18	(1.06)	1.62	(1.05)
Variances						
Individual-level variance	261		262		261	
Neighbourhood-level variance	20		18		20	
Deviance (-2LL)	28473		28465		28471	
N	*3,363*		*3,363*		*3,363*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] Analysis includes both native Dutch ($n = 574$) and ethnic minority respondents ($n = 2,789$).
Source: LAS2005; *Liveability Monitor*, 2006; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

nic minorities and the maximum proportion of ethnic minorities, which is 91 percent, is 6.4 (91×-0.07). To compare, the maximum difference in interethnic attitudes that might be due to respondent's educational level, considered an important predictor of interethnic attitudes, is 8.8 (7×1.26).

In addition to the impact of education, model 1 of Table 3.2 shows that the individual predictors are generally consistent with previous research on interethnic attitudes: men, members of the second migration generation, those who regularly visit a religious service and those who have often contact with ethnic minorities are more likely to endorse positive ethnic outgroup attitudes. Turks have less positive outgroup attitudes compared to other ethnic minority groups and native Dutch are less positive towards ethnic (minority) outgroups.

3.4.2 Interaction effects between disorder and decline and ethnic population composition

Subsequently, we expected that a greater amount of disorder would negatively affect positive ethnic outgroup attitudes, particularly in neighbourhoods made-up of many ethnic minority residents (H3a) or that had experienced an influx of ethnic minorities (H4a). Contrary to our expectations, Table 3.2 indicates that the effect of neighbourhood disorder on interethnic attitudes is moderated neither by the share of ethnic minorities (model 2) nor by an influx of ethnic minorities (model 3). Thus, the current amount of neighbourhood problems does not relate to less positive interethnic attitudes, even if the presence of ethnic minority groups in the neighbourhood is large or increasing.

Next, we investigated the interaction effects between neighbourhood decline and ethnic population composition (H3b and H4b). In line with hypothesis 3b, Table 3.2 (model 2) shows that an increase in social and physical problems in a neighbourhood is associated with less positive outgroup attitudes, especially in neighbourhoods with a large proportion of ethnic minorities. However, contradictory to hypothesis 4b, we did not find that neighbourhood decline leads to less positive interethnic attitudes when the share of ethnic minorities has increased.

3.4.3 Differences in the attitudes towards majority and minority groups

Finally, hypothesis 5 conjectured that the influence of neighbourhood disorder, an increase in neighbourhood disorder and the interaction between neighbourhood disorder and a neighbourhood's ethnic composition would be stronger regarding attitudes towards ethnic minority groups than regarding attitudes towards the ethnic majority group. Accordingly, we conducted two separate analyses: one for attitudes towards the *ethnic majority group* (Table 3.3; only for ethnic minority respondents) and one for the attitudes towards *ethnic minority groups* (Table 3.4; for both majority and minority respondents).

We first describe the findings for ethnic minority respondents. Overall, the analyses show some support for the group differences as predicted in hypothesis 5. Model 1 of Table 3.3 indicates that neighbourhood de-

cline does not influence minorities' attitudes towards the ethnic majority group. However, neighbourhood decline was associated with less positive attitudes towards other minority groups, as presented in model 1 of Table 3.4. Accordingly, an increase in neighbourhood disorder negatively affects how ethnic minority residents think about other ethnic minority groups, but does not affect their attitudes towards the majority population. Again, the impact of neighbourhood decline is substantial: the maximum difference in the attitudes towards (other) minority groups that can be caused by neighbourhood decline is 9.2 ($[61.94 - (-30.27)] \times -0.10$), on an attitude scale running from 0 to 100. Similar to the general model, the current amount of neighbourhood disorder did neither affect minorities' attitudes towards the ethnic majority group (model 1, Table 3.3) nor their attitudes towards ethnic minority groups (model 1, Table 3.4). Notably, Turkish respondents, women and members of the first generation are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards native Dutch. Education, religious participation and contact with other ethnic minorities do not have an effect on the attitudes towards native Dutch, while they do influence ethnic minorities' attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups.

Interaction effects with the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood are presented in models 2 and 3 of Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Table 3.3 (model 2) shows no significant interactions between neighbourhood disorder/decline and the share/influx of ethnic minorities on the attitudes towards the ethnic majority group. Table 3.4 (model 2) suggests that among ethnic minorities, increasing disorder relates to less positive ethnic attitudes towards other minority groups, especially in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities. We do not find significant interaction effects between neighbourhood disorder, decline and an influx of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood.

For majority respondents, model 4 of Table 3.4 indicates that attitudes towards minority groups are not related to neighbourhood disorder and decline. However, the analyses reveal some significant interaction effects. Similar to the attitudes of ethnic minorities, also for majority respondents we find that in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities, increasing disorder relates to less positive ethnic attitudes towards ethnic minority groups (Table 3.4, model 5). Moreover, in neighbourhoods that experienced an increase in ethnic minorities, an increase in neighbourhood dis-

Table 3.3: Multilevel regression analyses of *positive attitudes towards native Dutch*; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a]

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	71.49	(1.25) **	70.79	(1.34) **	72.39	(1.25) **
Neighbourhood characteristics						
Neighbourhood disorder	0.03	(0.03)	0.09	(0.04) *	0.05	(0.03)
Neighbourhood decline	−0.02	(0.03)	−0.05	(0.04)	−0.02	(0.03)
Percentage ethnic minorities	−0.06	(0.03)	−0.13	(0.04) **	−0.07	(0.03)
Influx of ethnic minorities	0.03	(0.11)	0.16	(0.12)	−0.01	(0.12)
Socioeconomic disadvantage	0.23	(0.68)	0.37	(0.68)	0.18	(0.68)
Interaction effects						
Disorder × share of ethnic minorities			0.00	(0.00)		
Decline × share of ethnic minorities			−0.00	(0.00)		
Disorder × influx of ethnic minorities					0.01	(0.01)
Decline × influx of ethnic minorities					−0.00	(0.00)
Control variables						
Moroccan (vs. Surinamese)	−1.33	(1.03)	−1.37	(1.03)	−1.31	(1.03)
Turk (vs. Surinamese)	−2.78	(1.02) **	−2.72	(1.03) **	−2.74	(1.03) **
Antillean (vs. Surinamese)	−0.63	(1.03)	−0.75	(1.03)	−0.66	(1.03)
Men	1.79	(0.69) *	1.77	(0.69) *	1.78	(0.69) *
Age (in years)	0.03	(0.03)	0.03	(0.31)	0.03	(0.03)
Education	0.23	(0.21)	0.23	(0.21)	0.22	(0.21)
Monthly household income	−0.02	(0.12)	−0.03	(0.11)	−0.02	(0.11)
Unemployed	−0.04	(1.06)	−0.01	(1.06)	−0.06	(1.06)
First generation migrant	−1.84	(0.93) *	−1.79	(0.93)	−1.85	(0.93) *
Religious participation	−0.17	(0.25)	−0.15	(0.25)	−0.17	(0.25)
Often contact with ethnic minorities	0.49	(0.89)	0.45	(0.89)	0.49	(0.89)
Located in one of the four large cities	−0.22	(1.15)	−0.83	(1.18)	−0.40	(1.17)
Variances						
Individual-level variance	332		332		332	
Neighbourhood-level variance	11		10		11	
Deviance (-2LL)	26599		26593		26597	
N	*3,067*		*3,067*		*3,067*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] Analysis includes only ethnic minority respondents (n = 3,067).
Source: LAS2005; *Liveability Monitor*, 2006; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

order relates to less positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Table 3.4, model 6).[5]

[5]To test for robustness we also applied a shorter time span of neighbourhood decline (difference between 2002-2006). The analyses show that the findings with regard to the interaction between neighbourhood decline and the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood are robust. All interactions between decline and ethnic composition are in the same direction and significant, except for the model in which we estimate the attitudes of the majority group towards ethnic minorities. However, the main effects of decline (measured as a shorter time span) are smaller, and therefore not significant anymore. For the direct effect of neighbourhood decline on interethnic attitudes to appear it seems that the magnitude and variation in neighbourhood decline should be larger.

3.5 Conclusion and discussion

Despite existing social and physical problems in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, previous studies remained unclear on how neighbourhood disorder and decline affect interethnic attitudes of residents. Research in this chapter indicates that it is important to take into account neighbourhood disorder and decline together with indicators of ethnic and socioeconomic population composition. We conclude that for both ethnic majority and minority residents, increasing neighbourhood disorder is associated with less positive attitudes towards ethnic minority groups, particularly in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities. In what follows, we describe and elaborate on our findings in more detail.

This chapter shows that neighbourhood disorder, measured as the existing amount of social and physical neighbourhood problems, is not related to less positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Based on social disorganisation theory, previous studies reported that living under disorderly conditions makes people less trusting of others. We do not find evidence, however, that these feelings of mistrust are directed in particular towards members of other ethnic groups, even if many other ethnic groups are present in the neighbourhood. However, our findings indicate that those residents who had experienced an *increase* in social and physical problems over the last years report less positive interethnic attitudes towards minority groups. Apparently, feelings of racialised resentment are particularly elicited in neighbourhoods where disorder is increasing. In those neighbourhoods, ethnic minorities might be blamed for increasing problems. The importance of neighbourhood changes is also acknowledged in previous studies on interethnic relations in a neighbourhood environment (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). More generally, Walters (2011) argues that anti-social behaviour against ethnic minorities is rooted to the perceived socioeconomic instabilities in people's lives. In response to cope with social and economic changes people might fall back on familiar concepts, resulting in negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups.

Our study shows, furthermore, that neighbourhood decline only affects majority and minority residents' attitudes *towards ethnic minority groups* but not minorities' attitudes towards the ethnic majority group. Moreover,

Table 3.4: Multilevel regression analyses of positive attitudes towards *ethnic minorities*; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).

	A. Ethnic minority respondents[a]						B. Native Dutch respondents[b]					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	48.64	(1.33)**	47.94	(1.37) **	48.60	(1.33) **	49.48	(2.00) **	49.33	(2.09) **	49.64	(2.00) **
Neighbourhood characteristics												
Neighbourhood disorder	0.03	(0.03)	0.07	(0.05)	0.04	(0.04)	0.00	(0.04)	−0.07	(0.12)	−0.02	(0.06)
Neighbourhood decline	−0.10	(0.04) **	−0.17	(0.05) **	−0.11	(0.04) **	−0.05	(0.05)	−0.29	(0.12) *	−0.15	(0.07) *
Percentage ethnic minorities	−0.09	(0.04) *	−0.15	(0.05) *	−0.08	(0.04) *	−0.05	(0.10)	−0.09	(0.10)	−0.06	(0.09)
Influx of ethnic minorities	−0.12	(0.13)	0.07	(0.14)	−0.09	(0.13)	−0.18	(0.31)	−0.01	(0.33)	−0.04	(0.36)
Socioeconomic disadvantage	−0.06	(0.77)	0.13	(0.77)	−0.05	(0.77)	0.83	(1.27)	1.01	(1.27)	0.92	(1.26)
Interaction effects												
Disorder × share of ethnic minorities			0.00	(0.00)					−0.00	(0.00)		
Decline × share of ethnic minorities			−0.01	(0.00) *					−0.01	(0.01) *		
Disorder × influx of ethnic minorities					−0.00	(0.01)					−0.01	(0.01)
Decline × influx of ethnic minorities					−0.01	(0.01)					−0.04	(0.02) *
Control variables												
Moroccan (vs. Surinamese)	8.45	(1.09) **	8.40	(1.09) **	8.46	(1.09) **						
Turk (vs. Surinamese)	−2.65	(1.08) *	−2.59	(1.08) *	−2.63	(1.09) **						
Antillean (vs. Surinamese)	5.95	(1.06) **	5.90	(1.06) **	5.93	(1.06) **						
Men	1.89	(0.72) **	1.86	(0.72) *	1.88	(0.72) *	−0.88	(1.45)	−1.21	(1.45)	−1.02	(1.45)
Age (in years)	−0.01	(0.03)	−0.01	(0.03)	−0.01	(0.03)	0.04	(0.06)	0.05	(0.06)	0.05	(0.06)
Education	1.38	(0.21) **	1.40	(0.21) **	1.38	(0.22) **	2.29	(0.46) **	2.27	(0.46) **	2.27	(0.46) **
Monthly household income	0.13	(0.12)	0.11	(0.12)	0.13	(0.12)	0.38	(0.21)	0.37	(0.20)	0.36	(0.21)
Unemployed	−1.71	(1.12)	−1.76	(1.12)	−1.71	(1.21)	−0.36	(3.43)	−0.35	(3.42)	−0.42	(3.42)
First generation migrant	−3.56	(0.98) **	−3.48	(0.96) **	−3.55	(0.96) **						
Religious participation	0.99	(0.26) **	1.01	(0.26) **	0.99	(0.26) **	0.14	(0.83)	0.14	(0.82)	0.19	(0.82)
Often contact with ethnic minorities	5.28	(0.92) **	5.24	(0.92) **	5.29	(0.92) **	5.34	(1.94) **	5.12	(1.94) **	5.47	(1.93) **
Located in one of the four large cities	1.75	(1.30)	1.34	(1.33)	1.76	(1.32)	3.33	(2.19)	3.69	(2.25)	3.96	(2.19)
Variances												
Individual-level variance	327		328		327		289		287		286	
Neighbourhood-level variance	28		25		27		0		0		0	
Deviance (-2LL)	24286		24278		24285		4890		4886		4884	
N	*2,793*		*2,793*		*2,793*		*574*		*574*		*574*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] Analysis includes only ethnic minority respondents ($n = 2,793$).
[b] Analysis includes only native Dutch respondents ($n = 574$).
Source: LAS2005; *Liveability Monitor*, 2006; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2005.

we find that especially in neighbourhoods with large proportions of ethnic minorities, neighbourhood decline leads to an increase in negative attitudes towards ethnic minority groups. These outcomes correspond with Allport's (1948) ideas on scapegoating which argue that especially visible and available groups with a lower status are likely to become the target of scapegoating and expressions of racialised resentment. Our results suggest that for both majority and minority residents in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, ethnic minority groups (unlike the majority group) are visible and convenient targets to abreact dissatisfaction with neighbourhood problems. It also stresses, as Iganski (2008) argues, that feelings of racialised resentment are common in the context of people's daily lives, such as the people they meet on the street.

Nevertheless, future research should investigate more specifically the mechanisms that lay behind feelings of racialised resentment in a neighbourhood context. Do residents actually blame other ethnic groups in their neighbourhood for increasing problems in their neighbourhood or are their attitudes the result of a more general mode of coping with instabilities in life? Furthermore, further research should distinguish between subjective and objective measures of neighbourhood decline in relation to feelings of racialised resentment. The fact that only neighbourhood decline, unlike the current amount of problems, negatively affects interethnic attitudes suggests that particularly perceptions of neighbourhood conditions might be important. What residents feel that happens in their neighbourhood might be more important than what they actually experience. This is in line with studies that showed that perceptions of the neighbourhood environment rather than objective neighbourhood conditions influenced feelings of trust in fellow-residents (Ross & Jang, 2000) and risk of crime (Chiricos, McEntire, & Gertz, 2001).

In addition to the effects of neighbourhood disorder and decline, we found that ethnic minority concentration had a significant negative effect on interethnic attitudes: minority residents of neighbourhoods with many ethnic minority residents reported less positive attitudes towards other ethnic minorities. Hence, next to declining neighbourhood conditions, also the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood remains important when trying to understand negative interethnic attitudes of neighbourhood residents. Consequently, our results do not support the racial proxy perspective in

which negative interethnic attitudes in ethnically concentrated neighbourhood are entirely accounted for by the poor socioeconomic circumstances and problems in these neighbourhoods. Ethnic concentration itself has a negative impact on interethnic attitudes, and particularly in combination with declining neighbourhood conditions it might cause feelings of racialised resentment towards ethnic minorities.

The use of cross-sectional data to estimate neighbourhood effects limits our ability to make strong claims about the causal relationship between neighbourhood conditions and interethnic attitudes. Plausibly, those residents who have positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities might have consciously chosen to live in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood, whereas those with negative attitudes had already moved out. However, in the case of strong selective migration based on interethnic attitudes we would have expected a positive relationship between ethnic concentration and positive interethnic attitudes, rather than the negative effect that was found. Nevertheless, the negative relationship between the proportion of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood and positive interethnic attitudes might be underestimated in our analysis. Longitudinal data should provide additional insight into the causal mechanisms relating the ethnic population composition, neighbourhood disorder and decline to interethnic attitudes. Furthermore, the need for longitudinal data is especially important in view of the finding that neighbourhood changes seem to be important predictors of feelings of racialised resentment and negative interethnic attitudes.

In sum, this chapter has shown that it is important to account for the interplay between ethnic and non-ethnic as well as current and dynamic neighbourhood characteristics when analysing interethnic attitudes. We find that the impact of declining neighbourhood conditions on negative interethnic attitudes is stronger in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minority residents. Because policies to decrease ethnic concentration are often (juridical) infeasible, a more convenient way to increase interethnic cohesion in urban neighbourhoods might entail tackling neighbourhood disorder and decline. If it is indeed the case that ethnic minority residents are blamed for increasing neighbourhood problems, policy measures should deal with problems of decline in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods.

Chapter 4

Positive or negative ethnic encounters in urban neighbourhoods? A photo experiment*

4.1 Introduction

In times of growing ethnic diversity and ethnic tensions, understanding the factors that drive interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods is an important task. Previous research on interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods has focused on which ethnic groups are more or less favoured as neighbours (e.g., Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Hagendoorn & Sniderman, 2001) and in which types of neighbourhoods residents are more likely to endorse negative ethnic attitudes (e.g., Branton & Jones, 2005; Dixon, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Quillian, 1995, but also see chapters 2 and 3). Although these studies yield interesting information on the extent and determinants of interethnic attitudes, two questions remain unanswered.

A first important question that remains concerns which particular features of ethnic-outgroup neighbours trigger these negative responses. In daily neighbourhood life, ethnicity tends to be correlated with various

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socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural characteristics of residents, and thus, causal factors of interethnic attitudes are likely confounded (Havekes et al., 2011; Rossi & Anderson, 1982). This complication has meant that previous studies – which mainly relied on traditional survey research – had difficulty disentangling negative attitudes towards minority residents that are based purely on race from negative attitudes that are motivated by characteristics that people associate with race. The effect of ethnicity might be overestimated and negative interethnic attitudes erroneously interpreted as ethnic prejudice. It is, therefore, important to study the net influence of ethnicity and ethnic-related characteristics of ethnic groups on interethnic attitudes between neighbourhood residents. Harris (1999, p. 462) rightly argues that if negative interethnic attitudes towards neighbours result from concerns that people associate with ethnicity, ethnic tolerance might be accomplished by promoting measures that address unwanted non-ethnic characteristics. Consequently, our first objective is to examine the extent to which attitudes towards neighbourhood residents are affected by the ethnicity of the resident, net of other, non-ethnic characteristics of the resident.

Second, we know little about the neighbourhood conditions that trigger either positive or negative interethnic attitudes between neighbourhood residents. The neighbourhood environment determines the social, socioeconomic and physical circumstances in which interactions between residents from different ethnic groups take place. Previous studies have shown that interethnic attitudes differ across neighbourhoods: ethnic, socioeconomic and physical aspects of a neighbourhood affect the ethnic attitudes of its residents (Branton & Jones, 2005; Dixon, 2006; Havekes et al., 2011; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Quillian, 1995; Savelkoul et al., 2011b; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). However, we know considerably less about whether the same person would judge otherwise identical residents differently when encountered in different neighbourhood environments. Previous studies have not taken into account the different neighbourhood environments in which interethnic attitudes may be elicited and therefore implicitly assume that interethnic attitudes are fixed over different situations. However, it is known that attitudes are not fixed and can be triggered by visual cues in the neighbourhood in which interactions take place (Keizer, Lindenberg, & Steg, 2008; for an example on fear of crime, see St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995, 1996).

Negative interethnic attitudes might, therefore, be driven not necessarily by ethnic prejudice but by, for example, the poor neighbourhood circumstances in which interethnic encounters occur. Accordingly, our second aim is to determine the extent to which attitudes towards neighbourhood residents are affected by the aspects of the neighbourhood environment in which residents meet.

To attain these objectives, we use a factorial survey approach (Rossi & Anderson, 1982; Wallander, 2009). A traditional survey approach – in which respondents react to abstract and direct questions about ethnic groups – is insufficient here as relevant causal factors are likely confounded and as the opportunity to describe the neighbourhood context is limited. Factorial surveys, however, are particularly well suited to disentangle causal factors that are normally highly correlated and to present respondents with concrete and detailed descriptions of the contextual situation in which judgments are made (St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995; Wallander, 2009). Factorial surveys aim to analyse the factors that drive human judgments by letting respondents respond to a series of vignettes. Vignettes present hypothetical situations in which the factors that are thought to influence the judgment of that situation are independently varied (Alexander & Becker, 1978; Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). In the present study, a sample of majority and minority respondents in the Netherlands were asked to share their general impressions of fictive neighbourhood residents in which relevant characteristics of the resident and neighbourhood context were experimentally manipulated. To summarise, our contribution to previous studies on interethnic attitudes is twofold. First, we are able to estimate the net impact of the ethnicity of the resident as compared to other resident characteristics. The experimental set-up allows the ethnicity of the vignette resident to vary independently of socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural characteristics of the resident. Second, we study how the general impression of a resident is affected by the ethnic, socioeconomic and physical attributes of the neighbourhood environment.

Finally, we examine attitudes towards two culturally and socioeconomically different types of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, i.e., Moroccans and Surinamese, as well as attitudes towards native Dutch residents.[1]

[1]For an overview of the Dutch immigration history and a more elaborate description of the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, I refer to section 1.5.1.

Previous studies on interethnic attitudes showed substantial differences in attitudes towards different types of ethnic (minority) groups (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Havekes et al., 2011; Oliver & Wong, 2003, but also see chapter 2). In addition, we examine whether effects depend on the ethnicity of the person who experiences the encounters.

4.2 Theoretical background

4.2.1 The net impact of ethnicity

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people have a tendency to evaluate their ingroup positively and ethnic outgroups negatively in order to build self-esteem and a positive social identity. Indeed, a large body of research on interethnic attitudes demonstrates that people are inclined to have a preference for (living among) their own ethnic group and a resistance towards (living among) ethnic outgroups (e.g., Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Farley et al., 1994; Hagendoorn, 1995; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007).

A central discussion in the literature addresses the importance of race and ethnicity in shaping interethnic attitudes and preferences. There are basically two opposite positions in this debate (for an overview, see Harris, 1999, 2001; Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). The pure-race perspective assigns ethnicity a central role in the formation of interethnic attitudes and states that negative attitudes are based purely on an aversion to ethnic outgroup residents themselves (Harris, 1999). Following this reasoning, it would be expected that ethnic outgroup residents would be evaluated negatively, irrespective of any other positive attributes of the resident. Hence, based on the pure-race perspective, we expect a net influence of the ethnicity of the resident on the attitudes directed towards the resident. Accordingly, our first hypothesis reads: *people are less positive towards ethnic outgroup residents, regardless of other characteristics of the resident* (H1).

An alternative to the pure-race perspective is the racial proxy perspective, which argues that negative interethnic attitudes reflect concerns about negative characteristics that people associate with certain ethnic groups, such as a low socioeconomic status, rather than an aversion to the ethnic group per se (Harris, 2001). Support for the prediction of the

racial proxy perspective is found in the literature on ethnic neighbourhood preferences. In these studies, people were presented with descriptions of fictitious neighbourhoods in which relevant neighbourhood characteristics varied independently. Whereas earlier research found that people are resistant to living among ethnic outgroups, more recent factorial survey studies have shown that at least part of this opposition was actually driven by neighbourhood concerns related to race, such as poverty and criminality (Emerson et al., 2001; Krysan et al., 2009; Lewis et al., 2011).

There is also evidence related to the focus of the current chapter – individual's interethnic attitudes – that other, ethnic-related characteristics of residents might affect negative interethnic attitudes between residents. Other theories can be used to indicate which other characteristics of ethnic groups are most important to take into account. A first characteristic that is often related to ethnicity is cultural beliefs. According to the belief congruency theory (Rokeach et al., 1960), people prefer associating with people with whom they share similar beliefs and values. Literature in social psychology supports this proposition, by showing that belief similarity is a more important determinant of interethnic attitudes than ethnicity (Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perrault, 1997; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993). Culturally distinct outgroups are perceived to be a threat to the traditional values of the ingroup. Moreover, cultural similarity leads to smooth interaction between groups by validating the ingroup's behaviour, attitudes and worldview (Kalmijn, 1998). Second, people prefer to be in contact with others of a high socioeconomic status (Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Hagendoorn, 1995), a characteristic that is also often correlated with ethnicity (e.g., see Havekes et al., 2011). Social identity theory asserts that having contact with members of high-status groups enhances one's own status and self-esteem, whereas contact with members of low-status groups harms one's status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). High-status groups provide more economic and cultural resources and are therefore a more attractive option with whom to be in contact (Völker et al., 2007). A final characteristic that is often associated with ethnicity is criminality. Both politics and the media openly discuss the relationship between ethnic origin and involvement in disturbances and crime (Van der Leun, Kromhout, Easton, & Weerman, 2010). Criminality statistics show that ethnic minorities are overrepresented in all stages of the criminal justice system (Van der Leun

et al., 2010). Furthermore, research indicates that people have negative attitudes towards criminality: People prefer not to live next to a neighbour with a criminal record (Atlas of European Values, 2011), and former offenders are discriminated against in the housing and labour markets (e.g., Pager, 2003). In view of this, the racial proxy perspective predicts no net effect of ethnicity, once these other important resident characteristics are taken into account. Rather than ethnicity itself, the cultural, socioeconomic and behavioural characteristics of residents that are correlated with ethnicity drive negative interethnic attitudes.

4.2.2 The impact of the neighbourhood context

To what extent are attitudes towards ethnic outgroup residents dependent on the situational environment in which ethnic encounters take place? The neighbourhood environment determines the ethnic, socioeconomic and physical circumstances in which interactions between residents occur. It has been argued that visible signs in the neighbourhood, such as incivilities, housing type and neighbourhood population, inform people about the attitudes, lifestyle and behaviour of residents in that neighbourhood (St. John & Bates, 1990). Subsequently, people use these visible cues to estimate and evaluate unfamiliar people whom they encounter in the neighbourhood (Quillian & Pager, 2001; St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995). Studies relying on goal framing theory also suggest that environmental cues can trigger the activation of particular norms which, in turn, influence what people think, how they process information and how they behave (Keizer et al., 2008; Lindenberg, 2008).

Previous research informs us that some neighbourhood environments are indeed more fearful than others. More specifically, poor, black and disorderly neighbourhood circumstances trigger feelings of insecurity, fear of crime and distrust among residents (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Quillian & Pager, 2001; Ross et al., 2001; St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995). Also in the Netherlands, Oppelaar & Wittebrood (2006) found that residents of neighbourhoods with a large percentage of ethnic minorities and those who experience physical decay feel less safe in their own neighbourhood. Ross et al. (2001) argue that neighbourhood incivilities and disorder suggest to people that neighbourhood social control is weak, that residents

are unwilling or unable to handle problems and that neighbours are not respectful towards one another. In turn, the authors argue that these circumstances lead residents to believe that they should not trust anyone. In view of this, it is likely that encountering neighbourhood residents in such threatening environments negatively affects attitudes towards these residents. Accordingly, we expect the following about the influence of neighbourhood environment characteristics on attitudes towards neighbourhood residents: *Residents encountered in a poor neighbourhood* (H2), *a minority neighbourhood* (H3) *and a disorderly neighbourhood* (H4) *are evaluated less positively than residents encountered in an affluent, white and orderly neighbourhood, regardless of the ethnicity and other background characteristics of the resident.*

4.2.3 The interplay between ethnicity and the neighbourhood context

Finally, we hypothesise the extent to which attitudes towards residents are influenced by the interaction between a resident's ethnicity and the attributes of the neighbourhood environment. Will some ethnic residents be judged based more upon their environment than others?

According to Oakes, Haslam, & Turner (1994), attitudinal judgments depend not only on the context, but also on the interaction between context and normative fit. Normative fit refers to the consistency between an observed person in a given context and the stereotypical perception we already have about the group to which the person belongs. Information that fits the stereotype about a particular person or group is generally more likely to be noticed and remembered (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Quillian & Pager, 2001). In addition, according to Oakes et al. (1994, p. 118), other people are more likely to be seen in stereotypical terms when normative fit is high, i.e., when the salient group characteristics are consistent with our "background theories" and "implicit knowledge" about that particular group. In other words, the more a person's attributes and context are consistent with the characteristics of the stereotype, the more likely the stereotype will be used (either negatively or positively) in forming judgements about that person (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Quillian & Pager, 2001).

In terms of residents and neighbourhoods, this line of reasoning pre-

sumes that stereotypical environments would lead to more negative (or positive) attitudes towards the resident in the direction of the negative (or positive) stereotype content. For example, in a physically deteriorated neighbourhood, the stereotypical ideas that assume that ethnic minority residents are criminal and cause nuisances would be elicited and would, therefore, lead to more negative attitudes towards, for example, the Moroccan residents. Accordingly, we expect that ethnic minority residents will be more (negatively) judged by a negative neighbourhood environment than native Dutch residents. Based on the notions of normative fit we derive the following hypothesis on the influence of stereotype consistency with neighbourhood environments: *Ethnic minority residents in a poor, minority and disorderly neighbourhood are evaluated less positively than native Dutch residents in a similar neighbourhood environment* (H5).

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Data

To test our hypotheses, we conducted a factorial survey and collected our own data. Respondents were selected from the TNS-NIPO Base, a large-scale internet panel in the Netherlands that includes over 200,000 respondents.[2] The TNS-NIPO Base is a representative sample of the native Dutch population, but older and lower educated ethnic minorities of Turkish and Moroccan origin, in particular, are underrepresented in the panel because of language restrictions. Available information on the ethnicity of panel members allowed us to approach a sufficient number of native Dutch respondents as well as respondents from the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, i.e., Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese and Antilleans. Notably, in the Dutch statistics, ethnicity is defined by country of birth such that people are considered a member of an ethnic minority group when at least one parent is born in a foreign country (see section 1.5.1). People are considered native Dutch when both parents are born in the Netherlands (irrespective of the country where the person was born himself). This definition of ethnicity is generally used in all kinds of

[2]TNS-NIPO is an abbreviation of Taylor Nelson Sofres - Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion, one of the largest market research institutes in the Netherlands. For more information on TNS-NIPO and the panel, please visit: http://www.tns-nipo.com.

statistics, registrations and scientific reports in the Netherlands. For the purpose of this study, a subsample of 429 respondents was selected from the panel, consisting of respondents of native Dutch ($N = 97$), Moroccan ($N = 81$), Turkish ($N = 88$), Surinamese ($N = 83$) and Antillean ($N = 80$) origin. Overall, the response rate was 65 percent, which is comparable to other research conducted among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands in general and by TNS-NIPO in particular. The response rate was highest among native Dutch (87 %) and lowest among Turkish panel members (52 %). Within each ethnic group, the response was representative for the TNS-NIPO panel regarding sex, age and education.

4.3.2 The factorial survey

The first part of the study consisted of a factorial survey. Respondents were given fictive scenarios (the vignettes) by which to judge neighbourhood residents, in which relevant characteristics of the resident and neighbourhood context varied. Specifically, a single vignette consisted of a picture showing a resident in a particular neighbourhood context along with a description of the characteristics of the resident. The sex and age of the resident were kept constant and all vignettes showed a young man of approximately 25 years old. One advantage of using the photos over verbal descriptions is that photos more closely mimic respondents' experiences encountering residents in the street and they require less cognitive effort to visualise the fictitious neighbourhood (Krysan et al., 2009). Moreover, visual representations of neighbourhoods form a joint reference point for all respondents (Vanderveen, 2008).

Below we describe the set-up of our study in more detail, concentrating on the different aspects of a factorial survey: the vignette factors and factor levels, the vignette population and samples and the rating task.

4.3.3 Vignette factors and factor levels

Table 4.1 summarises the vignette factors and corresponding factor levels that were used to construct the vignettes. First, the descriptions of the residents varied on four *resident factors* that we identified, based on theory, as important characteristics of residents that might affect other's attitudes towards them: ethnicity, religious beliefs, socioeconomic status, and

undesirable behaviour. The descriptions of residents were presented underneath the pictures and the order in which the various characteristics were described was randomly assigned for each vignette. First of all, the *ethnicity* of the resident varied. The vignettes presented fictive neighbourhood residents of Moroccan (1), Surinamese (2) and Native Dutch origin (3). We were thus able to compare differences in attitudes towards ethnic majority residents and residents from two socioeconomically and culturally different minority groups. Notably, the ethnicity of the resident was described and was visible from the appearance of the resident in the picture. Subsequently, the socio-cultural attitudes and beliefs of the residents were described. *Religious participation* was considered a proxy for these attitudes. The vignettes separated between non-religious residents (0) and those who regularly attend a religious service either in the Mosque, in case of Moroccan residents, or the Church, in case of Surinamese and native Dutch residents (1). Furthermore, the *socioeconomic status* of the resident was taken into account. The vignettes distinguished between residents who have a good job (0) and residents who are currently unemployed (1). Finally, the extent of the *problem behaviour* of the resident was described. The vignettes varied between residents who never cause trouble (0) and those who regularly cause trouble (1).

Second, the vignette *pictures* varied on three neighbourhood factors that we previously identified as potentially important situational conditions affecting attitudes towards neighbourhood residents. First of all, we took into account the neighbourhood's *socioeconomic status*. The vignettes differentiated between a high-status (0) and low-status (1) neighbourhood. The high-status neighbourhood showed a street with large family homes, whereas the low-status neighbourhood illustrated a street with small social rental flats. We made sure that the housing styles of both streets were not recognisable as typical for a particular part of the country. Hence, hypothetically, one could come across these neighbourhoods in any larger Dutch city. Furthermore, the vignettes discerned between two types of *ethnic compositions*, a "white" (0) and a "minority" (1) neighbourhood, based on the residents who were visible passing by on the street. Each picture contained three residents including at least one women, who were recognisable as either Dutch (e.g., blond hair) or minority members (e.g., head scarf). Lastly, the vignettes varied by the amount of *physical disorder*

in the neighbourhood. The vignettes showed either an orderly neighbourhood without litter and graffiti (0) or a disorderly neighbourhood with litter and graffiti (1).

Figure 4.1 shows two sample vignettes that show the different vignette factors and factor levels. To construct the vignettes we took the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood (streets with different types of houses) as the basis in which we manipulated the resident, ethnicity of the passers-by, and the graffiti and street litter. We ensured that the pictures were similar with respect to composition and light. We also tried to find residents to figure in the pictures who were as similar as possible in age, appearance and posture. Based on a pre-test among 45 social science students, we picked those residents to appear in the photographs who were rated most similarly with respect to attractiveness and sympathetic appearance. Furthermore, we asked all residents to wear a "neutral" grey or black jacket and jeans. We also ensured that pictures did not contain too much information, so people would not recognise the different manipulations as such. A pre-test among 33 social science students indicated that the different neighbourhoods were rated as either low or high status, more or less "white" and more or less disorderly in accordance with the intended manipulations.

4.3.4 Vignette population and samples

There were a total of 192 vignettes. These 192 vignettes were derived by combining the eight ($2 \times 2 \times 2$) neighbourhood contexts with the eight ($2 \times 2 \times 2$) different descriptions of the resident characteristics and the three ethnic origins of the residents ($8 \times 8 \times 3 = 192$). As it was impossible to ask respondents to judge all 192 vignettes, each respondent judged a subsample of 6 vignettes. Most factorial surveys randomly assign a (single) vignette subsample to each respondent (Wallander, 2009). However, according to Atzmüller & Steiner (2010), the use of a random sampling design runs the risk of having too little variation between respondents in factor levels, which might be problematic when estimating interaction effects between vignette factors. Instead of randomly selecting 6 vignettes out of the population for each respondent, the vignette population was divided beforehand into 32 sets of 6 vignettes. The sets were divided in such a way that all

Table 4.1: Overview of the different vignette factors and factor levels and how they are manipulated in the experiment.

Vignette factors	Factor levels	Manipulation	Picture / description
Resident			
(1) Ethnicity	(1) Moroccan	Moroccan origin	Picture and description
	(2) Surinamese	Surinamese origin	
	(3) Native Dutch	Dutch origin	
(2) Religion	(0) Non-religious	Non-religious	Description
	(1) Religious	Going to the Mosque/church every week	
(3) Socioeconomic status	(0) High	Good job	Description
	(1) Low	Unemployed	
(4) Problem behaviour	(0) No problem behaviour	Never causing trouble	Description
	(1) Problem behaviour	Regularly causing trouble	
Neighbourhood			
(5) Socioeconomic status	(0) High status	Housing type: large family houses	Picture
	(1) Low status	Housing type: small social rental flats	
(6) Ethnic composition	(0) White neighbourhood	Native Dutch residents passing on the street	Picture
	(1) Minority neighbourhood	Minority residents passing on the street	
(7) Physical disorder	(0) Order	No street litter and graffiti	Picture
	(1) Disorder	Street litter and graffiti	

Figure 4.1: Two vignette examples that cover the different vignette factors and factor levels.[a,b]

Vignette A

The young man in the left front of the picture resides in this neighbourhood since a couple of years.

He is of Moroccan origin.
Currently, he has a well-paid job.
He goes to the Mosque every week.
He regularly causes trouble.

Vignette B

The young man in the left front of the picture resides in this neighbourhood since a couple of years.

He is of native Dutch origin.
Currently, he is unemployed.
He is non-religious.
He never causes trouble.

Notes:

[a] Vignette A: Resident of Moroccan origin (factor 1 = 1), he is religious (factor 2 = 1), he has a good job (factor 3 = 0) and he regularly causes trouble (factor 4 = 1). Furthermore, the vignette represents a low-status (factor 5 = 1), white (factor 6 = 0), disorderly (factor 7 = 1) neighbourhood.

[b] Vignette B: Resident of native Dutch origin (factor 1 = 3), he is non-religious (factor 2 = 0), he is unemployed (factor 3 = 1), and he never causes trouble (factor 4 = 0). Furthermore, the vignette represents a high-status (factor 5 = 0), minority (factor 6 = 1), orderly (factor 7 = 0) neighbourhood.

192 vignettes were covered and that each set contained enough variation in factor levels. First of all, each set included two residents of Moroccan, two residents of Surinamese and two residents of native Dutch origin. To prevent respondents from having to judge the same person twice, two different fictitious residents were used to represent the Moroccan, Surinamese and native Dutch residents. Although the individual residents looked different in the picture (i.e., two different Moroccan residents), in the design they represent a single factor level, namely, Moroccan ethnicity. Second, within a single set, each vignette differed on at least one neighbourhood factor (in the picture) and one resident factor (in the description). In the end, all 192 vignettes were covered by the 32 sets and each vignette was classified to only one set.

Next, the respondents were randomly assigned to a particular set, but in such a way that each set was equally addressed by respondents of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch origin. Within each set, the vignettes were randomly presented to the respondents to exclude order effects. In the end, all 429 respondents judged 6 vignettes, which resulted in a total amount of 2574 observations. Moreover, on average, each vignette was judged by 13 respondents (429 respondents / 32 sets) and, hence, by 3 respondents from each ethnic group.

4.3.5 Rating task: dependent variable

At the start of the survey, it was explained to the respondents that they would see 6 different pictures and descriptions of neighbourhood residents that they would have to judge afterwards. Respondents were asked about their general impression of the resident, which they could indicate on a scale from 1 (indicating a very negative impression) to 10 (indicating a very positive impression). This measure was used as the dependent variable in the study and is comparable to the feeling thermometer instrument used in chapters 2 and 3, except that it is directed to a single outgroup member rather than the outgroup as a whole. Respondents were required to give an answer in order to go to the next picture. However, they also could indicate that they simply did not know how to score the resident and these observations were treated as missing values in the analyses (which was the case in 19 observations).

In the literature there is a debate about the problem of social desirable responses in factorial surveys in comparison to direct survey questions on race and ethnicity. On the one hand, it has been suggested that vignettes could promote social desirable answers because the detailed presentation of everyday experiences allows people to explicitly recognise the desirability differences between the response options (Stocké, 2004). On the other hand, it has been argued that factorial surveys are less subject to social desirability as vignettes closely mimic everyday situations and are, therefore, thought to better elicit "true" attitudes than abstract survey questions (e.g., Alexander & Becker, 1978; Wallander, 2009). We cannot fully exclude the possibility of social desirable answers among respondents but the set-up of the experiment prevents social desirability to affect respondents' answers as much as possible. First, respondents were not explicitly told about the purpose of the experiment and we kept the introductory texts as non-normative as possible, particularly in terms of ethnicity. Furthermore, we instructed the respondents that there were no right or wrong answers and we guaranteed respondents' anonymity by explicitly mentioning their names would remain unknown and their answers would be treated with confidence. Additionally, respondents were not allowed to return to previous pictures so as to prevent respondents from comparing different response options as much as possible. Finally, all respondents conducted the survey in the private of their own home, without an interviewer being present.

4.3.6 Respondent characteristics

After the vignette experiment, the respondents were asked to fill out additional questions regarding their background characteristics that have previously been found to affect interethnic attitudes. The following respondent characteristics were included in the analyses as control variables: sex (male = 1; female = 0), age (in years), ethnicity (Turk, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch), educational attainment, religious participation, ethnic threat, ethnic contact and ethnic identification. Educational attainment referred to the highest completed education on a scale from 1, referring to elementary school, to 7, indicating university degree. Religious participation was measured as the frequency of a visiting religious service

on a scale from 1 '(practically) never' to 6 'more than once a week'.

Furthermore, we included measures of ethnic threat by Moroccans and Surinamese, the minority residents that appeared in the experiment. It should be noted that Moroccans and Surinamese respondents did not report on ethnic threat by their own ethnic ingroup. Respondents responded to five statements on cultural, socioeconomic and physical threat: e.g., 'The cultural habits of [Moroccans/Surinamese] threaten our way of life' or '[Moroccans/Surinamese] get jobs that do not belong to them'. Respondents could answer on a 5-point scale, from 1 'fully disagree' to 5 'fully agree'. We created a mean index of ethnic threat by Moroccans and by Surinamese, and combined these scales into a reliable scale of general ethnic threat ($\alpha = 0.92$). Notably, for Moroccan residents this scale only consisted of the items of perceived ethnic threat by Surinamese. Similarly, for Surinamese respondents this scale only applied to perceived ethnic threat from Moroccans.

Interethnic contact was measured as contact frequency with people of Moroccan, Surinamese and Native Dutch origin, the ethnic groups that appeared in the vignettes. Again, respondents were not asked to report contact frequency with members of their own ethnic ingroup. Accordingly, contact measures are only included in the separate group analyses, not in the complete model. First, people indicated whether they had personal contact with one or more people of [Moroccan/Surinamese/native Dutch] origin, for example, at work or school, in their family or with friends. If respondents indicated having interethnic contact, they were asked to indicate the contact frequency with the person they had most contact with on a five-point scale, ranging from rarely (once or twice a year) to very often (every week and more). In the end, we created scales of contact frequency with Moroccans, Surinamese and Native Dutch ranging from 0 (no contact) to 5 (very often). Missing observations (234 for contact with Moroccans, 228 for contact with Surinamese and 108 for contact with Native Dutch) were given a score of 0, suggesting no interethnic contact.

Finally, for both minority and majority respondents we computed a scale of native Dutch identification using two items: 'I feel connected to Native Dutch people' and 'I am proud of the Netherlands'. Respondents could indicate their agreement with these statements on a scale from 1 'fully agree' to 5 'fully disagree'. Using these two items, we computed a

Table 4.2: Descriptive statistics of the vignette and respondent characteristics: minimum, maximum, mean/proportion (M/p) and standard deviation (sd).

	min	max	M/p	sd
Dependent variable				
General impression of the resident	1	10	6.36	1.75
Vignette characteristics				
Ethnicity resident				
Native Dutch (reference category)	0	1	0.33	
Moroccan	0	1	0.33	
Surinamese	0	1	0.33	
Low status resident (vs. high status)	0	1	0.50	
Religious resident (vs. non-religious)	0	1	0.50	
Problem behaviour (vs. no problem behaviour)	0	1	0.50	
Low status neighbourhood (vs. high status)	0	1	0.48	
Minority neighbourhood (vs. white)	0	1	0.50	
Disorderly neighbourhood (vs. order)	0	1	0.52	
Respondent characteristics				
Male	0	1	0.49	
Age (in years)	18	88	41	14.83
Education	1	7	4.20	1.63
Ethnicity				
Native Dutch	0	1	0.23	
Turks	0	1	0.20	
Moroccan	0	1	0.18	
Surinamese	0	1	0.20	
Antillean	0	1	0.20	
Religious participation	1	6	2.27	1.76
Ethnic threat (by Moroccans and Surinamese)	1	5	2.53	0.89
Contact frequency Moroccans	0	5	1.91	2.02
Contact frequency Surinamese	0	5	2.02	2.04
Contact frequency Native Dutch	0	5	4.24	1.43
Ethnic identification	1	5	3.82	0.89
Native Dutch identification	1	5	3.75	0.80
N	*2,423*			

mean scale of native Dutch identification with a higher score indicating more identification (for each group correlations between both items were > 0.55).

Descriptive statistics of all vignette and respondent characteristics are summarised in Table 4.2. Taking into account missing observations on the variables of education (54), religious participation (30), ethnic threat (54), and native Dutch identification (42), the final number of cases in the analyses is 2,423.

4.3.7 Method of analysis

We used multilevel regression analysis to test our hypotheses because data of factorial surveys have a nested structure (Hox, 2002). Responses to the different vignettes, i.e., the observations, are nested within respondents as well as within vignettes. Accordingly, the assumption of independent observations in linear regression analysis is violated as responses within respondents and within vignettes are likely to be more similar than responses between respondents and vignettes. The use of multilevel techniques is a good way to account for this so-called intraclass correlation (Hox, 2002). Because we have comprehensive information on the vignette characteristics, no unexplained variance at the vignette level is to be expected. Therefore, we performed a multilevel regression analysis with two levels: the observation level (level 1) and the respondent level (level 2).[3]

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Descriptive analyses

Before describing the results of our hypotheses testing, we can explore the evaluations of the vignettes descriptively. Table 4.2 indicates that respondents are mostly positive towards the residents of the vignettes. The average general impression of the residents was assessed at 6.36 (with a standard deviation of 1.75). The overall attitude towards the residents varied slightly across respondents of different ethnic origin: Moroccans judged the residents most positively (mean: 6.60), while native Dutch respondents were least positive (mean: 6.23). Furthermore, we performed an analysis on the distribution of responses to the 6 vignettes within respondents. Standard deviations in the responses to the vignettes ranged between 0 (respondents who gave evaluations that did not vary between vignettes; $n = 34$) and 4.52 (respondents whose evaluations varied greatly

[3]More specifically, we are dealing with a cross-classified data structure instead of purely hierarchical data: observations are nested within respondents and within vignettes, but respondents and vignettes are crossed with each other (Hox, 2002). At the lowest level, we have the separate observations that belong to a particular respondent-vignette pair. These are, in turn, nested within the cross-classification of respondents and vignettes at the second level. However, additional analyses indicated that the cross-classified model showed similar results as the less complex, two-level hierarchical model.

between vignettes), with a mean standard deviation of 1.28.

Figure 4.2 shows the mean general impression of each vignette-resident by the different vignette factors and factor levels. First, the scores for the different ethnic target groups are shown (Moroccan, Surinamese and native Dutch resident). Note that, by design, the score on a particular vignette factor is controlled for the other vignette factors. Taking into account other resident and neighbourhood characteristics, Native Dutch vignette-residents tend to give a better general impression, but differences are small and insignificant ($F(2)= 0.64$, $p = 0.49$). Table 4.3 shows similar analyses but it separates the outcomes by the ethnic origin of the respondents. Only for native Dutch respondents the differences are significant: Native Dutch respondents rate Surinamese residents significantly less positively (5.97) than they rate native Dutch (6.40) ($F(2)= 2.92$, $p = 0.05$; tested one-sided).

Next, Figure 4.2 provides the evaluations for the different neighbourhood and resident characteristics. Regarding the neighbourhood characteristics, we only find significant differences in evaluations of the residents portrayed in orderly (6.42) and disorderly (6.30) neighbourhood contexts ($F(1) = 2.86$; $p = 0.09$; tested one-sided). Furthermore, residents described as regularly causing trouble (6.30) are more negatively evaluated than residents described as never causing trouble (6.42) ($F(1) = 2.85$, $p = 0.09$; tested one-sided). The differences in evaluation between high and low-status residents, religious and non-religious residents are insignificant. We have to keep in mind, however, that these analyses do not yet take into account possible differences between ethnic groups and other respondent characteristics.

4.4.2 The net impact of ethnicity and the neighbourhood context

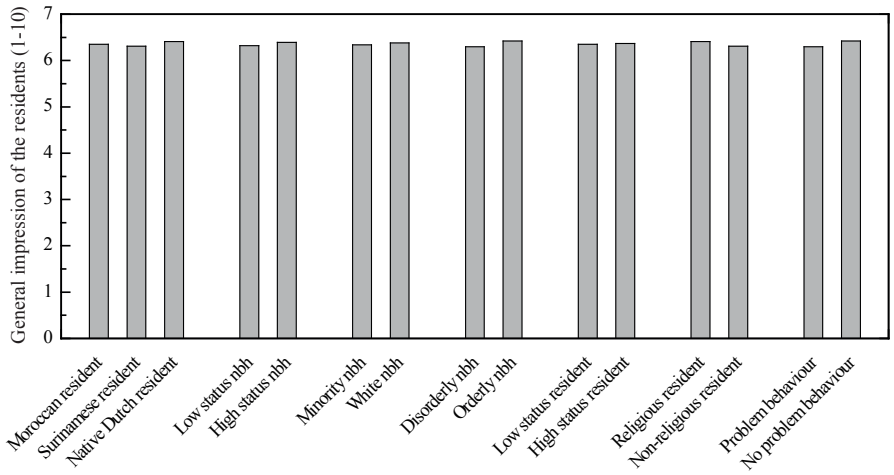
Next, we performed a multilevel regression analysis of the general impression of the resident on vignette characteristics, taking into account the background characteristics of the respondents. Nearly 25 per cent of the variance in the general impression of the resident can be accounted for by differences between respondents (total variance is 3.16; variance at the respondent level is 0.77). Hence, the vast majority of the variance is at the

Table 4.3: General impression of the resident (1-10) by ethnic target group and the ethnic origin of the respondent: means (M) and standard deviations (sd).[a]

	Ethnic origin of respondent:											
	Total		**Natives**		**Moroccans**		**Turks**		**Surinamese**		**Antilleans**	
Ethnic target group	M	sd	M	sd	M	sd	M	sd	M	sd	M	sd
Native Dutch resident	6.41	1.76	6.40	1.88 $^{\Psi}$	6.64	1.97	6.28	1.89	6.44	1.87	6.28	1.50
Surinamese resident	6.31	1.75	5.97	1.81 $^{\Psi}$	6.62	1.80	6.40	1.78	6.34	1.72	6.28	1.58
Moroccan resident	6.35	1.74	6.27	1.88	6.51	1.89	6.31	1.70	6.31	1.67	6.41	1.52
ANOVA [F(df)]	F(2) = 0.64		F(2) = 2.92 *		F(2) = 0.23		F(2) = 0.18		F(2) = 0.25		F(2) = 0.34	
N (observations)	*2,423*		*551*		*435*		*485*		*479*		*473*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; tested one-sided.
[a] The analyses are descriptive and do not yet control for respondent characteristics.
$^{\Psi}$ Means are significantly different from each other.

Figure 4.2: Mean general impression of the resident (1-10) by vignette factors and factor levels: ethnicity of the resident, other characteristics of the resident and neighbourhood characteristics.



Note: nbh = neighbourhood.

observational level (2.39) and could be the result of differences between vignettes, interactions between vignette and respondent characteristics, and measurement errors (Hox, 2002).

First of all, we can examine the impact of ethnicity and other resident characteristics on the general impression of the resident. Model 1 of Table 4.4 estimates the influence of the resident and neighbourhood characteristics on the general impression ratings of the resident, controlling for respondent characteristics. Our first hypothesis predicted a net influence of the ethnicity of the resident. Overall, this hypothesis cannot be supported: The ethnicity of the resident does not have an effect on the rating of the general impression of the resident. Specifically, we supposed that people are less positive towards ethnic outgroup residents, regardless of other characteristics of the resident. Table 4.5 shows the analyses for each ethnic group separately. Model 1 of this table indicates that for native Dutch respondents the ethnicity of the resident affects their attitudes: Native Dutch respondents evaluate the general impression of the Surinamese residents less positively, regardless of the other characteristics of the resident and neighbourhood context. For ethnic minority groups,

we do not find an effect of the resident's ethnicity; therefore, hypothesis 1 cannot be supported. Our finding that overall the ethnicity of the resident does not influence respondents' judgements about the residents does not immediately support the alternative idea of the racial proxy perspective, wherein there would be no net impact of ethnicity after taking into account the non-ethnic characteristics of the resident. Model 1 of Table 4.4 shows no significant effects for cultural, socioeconomic and behavioural resident characteristics. It seems that people do not base their general impression of a resident on the attributes of that resident, either ethnicity or another characteristic. However, again we see some differences between ethnic groups. Table 4.5 (models 4 and 5) indicates that for Antilleans and Surinamese, the problem behaviour of the resident has an impact on their attitudes towards that resident; that is, residents who regularly cause trouble are judged less positively than residents who never cause problems.

Second, we investigate the impact of the neighbourhood environment in which ethnic encounters between residents take place. In hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 we predicted a negative influence of neighbourhood poverty, ethnic concentration and neighbourhood disorder. Congruent with hypothesis 4, Table 4.4 (model 1) demonstrates that residents in a disorderly environment with graffiti and street litter are judged less positively than residents encountered in an orderly environment. However, the socioeconomic status and the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood do not affect respondent's attitudes towards the residents, as predicted by hypotheses 2 and 3. The impact of the neighbourhood environment also differed across ethnic groups. Model 1 of Table 4.5 indicates that only native Dutch respondents respond less positively towards residents in disorderly environments. Neighbourhood disorder does not affect the attitudes of ethnic minorities. However, for both Moroccan and Antillean respondents, residents make a less positive impression when encountered in a low-status environment (models 2 and 5 of Table 4.5).

Third, we find some interesting effects of respondent characteristics. First of all, people who feel threatened by Surinamese and Moroccans evaluate the general impression of the residents less positively. However, additional analyses show that is not the case that people who feel threatened by Surinamese and Moroccan immigrants report more negative attitudes towards Surinamese and Moroccan residents in particular (tested by inter-

Table 4.4: Multilevel regression analysis of the general impression of the resident (1-10) on the characteristics of the resident, the neighbourhood and the respondent; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a]

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	6.69	(0.40) **	6.66	(0.40) **	6.71	(0.40) **	6.76	(0.41) **
Vignette characteristics								
Moroccan resident (vs. native resident)	−0.05	(0.08)	0.01	(0.11)	−0.02	(0.11)	−0.15	(0.11)
Surinamese resident (vs. native resident)	−0.09	(0.08)	−0.02	(0.11)	−0.21	(0.11) *	−0.15	(0.11)
Low status resident	0.03	(0.06)	0.03	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)	0.03	(0.06)
Religious resident	0.07	(0.06)	0.07	(0.06)	0.07	(0.06)	0.07	(0.06)
Problem behaviour	−0.07	(0.06)	−0.07	(0.06)	−0.07	(0.06)	−0.07	(0.06)
Low status neighbourhood	−0.07	(0.06)	0.02	(0.11)	−0.07	(0.06)	−0.07	(0.06)
Minority neighbourhood	−0.02	(0.06)	−0.03	(0.06)	−0.07	(0.06)	−0.02	(0.06)
Disorderly neighbourhood	−0.11	(0.06) *	−0.11	(0.06) *	−0.11	(0.06) *	−0.21	(0.10) *
Respondent characteristics								
Age	−0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)
Male	−0.13	(0.10)	−0.14	(0.10)	−0.13	(0.10)	−0.14	(0.10)
Education	−0.06	(0.03) *	−0.06	(0.03) *	−0.06	(0.03) *	−0.06	(0.03) *
Ethnic threat (by Surinamese & Moroccans)	−0.26	(0.06) **	−0.26	(0.06) **	−0.26	(0.06) **	−0.26	(0.06) **
Native Dutch identification	0.11	(0.07) *	0.11	(0.07) *	0.11	(0.07) *	0.11	(0.07) *
Religious participation	0.06	(0.03) *	0.06	(0.03) *	0.06	(0.03) *	0.06	(0.03) *
Turk (vs. native Dutch)	−0.03	(0.17)	−0.03	(0.17)	−0.03	(0.17)	−0.03	(0.17)
Moroccan (vs. native Dutch)	0.10	(0.18)	0.10	(0.18)	0.10	(0.18)	0.11	(0.18)
Surinamese (vs. native Dutch)	0.16	(0.16)	0.16	(0.16)	0.15	(0.16)	0.16	(0.16)
Antillean (vs. native Dutch)	0.00	(0.16)	0.00	(0.16)	−0.00	(0.16)	0.00	(0.16)
Interaction terms								
Moroccan resident × low status neighbourhood			−0.11	(0.16)				
Surinamese resident × low status neighbourhood			−0.15	(0.16)				
Moroccan resident × minority neighbourhood					−0.06	(0.16)		
Surinamese resident × minority neighbourhood					0.21	(0.16)		
Moroccan resident × disorderly neighbourhood							0.19	(0.16)
Surinamese resident × disorderly neighbourhood							0.11	(0.16)
Variance								
Respondent level (level 2)	0.65	(0.07) **	0.65	(0.07) **	0.65	(0.07) **	0.65	(0.07) **
Observation level (level 1)	2.29	(0.07) **	2.29	(0.07) **	2.29	(0.07) **	2.29	(0.07) **
Deviance (-2LL)	9288		9288		9286		9288	
N	*2,423*		*2,423*		*2,423*		*2,423*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, tested one-sided.
[a] Analyses are controlled for vignette set.

action between respondents' ethnic threat and ethnicity of the resident). Overall, respondents who feel threatened report less positive attitudes towards Surinamese residents, with additional group analyses showing, interestingly, that this is only the case among Surinamese respondents. In addition, more highly educated respondents, those who do not identify with native Dutch and those who never visit religious services report less positive attitudes towards residents in general. Again, however, we find no support for the idea that these people are more negatively affected by the ethnicity of the resident in their judgment (interactions between respondents' education and religion and the ethnicity of the resident were insignificant).

4.4.3 Interactions between ethnicity and neighbourhood context

Lastly, we investigated possible interaction effects between the ethnicity of the resident and neighbourhood characteristics. Hypothesis 5 stated that ethnic minority residents would be more negatively judged based on their negative neighbourhood environment than native Dutch residents. Table 4.4 presents interaction effects between the ethnicity of the vignette-resident and socioeconomic status (model 2), ethnic composition (model 3) and the physical appearance of the neighbourhood (model 4). In contrast to our expectation, there are no significant interactions between the ethnicity of the residents and the neighbourhood environment. Hence, overall, the various ethnic residents seem to be equally judged based upon their environments.

However, additional analyses show some notable differences between ethnic groups. Native Dutch respondents are less positive about Moroccan residents (compared to native residents) when they are encountered in a low status neighbourhood (main effect of Moroccan ethnicity: 0.15; interaction coefficient: -0.53*, tested one-sided). Hence, Moroccan residents are more negatively judged by native respondents based on their low-status environment than native residents are. Interestingly, for Antillean respondents there is a trend in the opposite direction: They evaluate Moroccan residents in low-status neighbourhoods more positively (compared to native residents) than Moroccans in a high status neighbourhood

Table 4.5: Separate group analyses: multilevel regression analysis of the general impression of the resident (1-10) on vignette characteristics by ethnic origin of the respondent; unstandardised regression coefficients (standard error).[a]

	Ethnic origin of respondent:									
	1. Natives		**2. Moroccans**		**3. Turks**		**4. Surinamese**		**5. Antilleans**	
	b	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)	*b*	(s.e.)
Intercept	7.24	(0.97) **	6.38	(0.91) **	5.01	(0.84) **	8.35	(0.85) **	6.74	(0.89) **
Vignette characteristics										
Moroccan resident (vs. native resident)	−0.11	(0.15)	−0.11	(0.20)	0.02	(0.17)	−0.16	(0.18)	0.13	(0.14)
Surinamese resident (vs. native resident)	−0.39	(0.15) **	−0.01	(0.20)	0.11	(0.17)	−0.11	(0.18)	−0.02	(0.14)
Low status resident	0.11	(0.12)	−0.03	(0.16)	−0.01	(0.14)	0.05	(0.14)	0.04	(0.12)
Religious resident	0.13	(0.12)	−0.09	(0.17)	0.14	(0.14)	0.04	(0.14)	0.10	(0.12)
Problem behaviour	0.08	(0.12)	0.09	(0.16)	−0.00	(0.14)	−0.32	(0.15) *	−0.20	(0.11) *
Low status neighbourhood	0.10	(0.13)	−0.33	(0.16) *	0.08	(0.14)	0.03	(0.14)	−0.23	(0.12) *
Minority neighbourhood	−0.06	(0.12)	−0.15	(0.16)	0.07	(0.14)	0.03	(0.15)	−0.03	(0.12)
Disorderly neighbourhood	−0.26	(0.12) **	−0.10	(0.16)	−0.09	(0.14)	−0.00	(0.15)	0.04	(0.12)
Variance										
Respondent level (level 2)	0.72	(0.16) **	0.49	(0.16) **	0.51	(0.15) **	0.41	(0.13) **	0.56	(0.13) **
Observation level (level 1)	2.02	(0.14) **	2.88	(0.21) **	2.36	(0.17) **	2.52	(0.18) **	1.57	(0.11) **
Deviance (-2LL)	2056		1766		1860		1856		1646	
N (*observations*)	*551*		*435*		*485*		*479*		*473*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, tested one-sided.

[a] Analyses are controlled for vignette set and respondent characteristics: age, gender, education, ethnic threat, religious participation, identification with native Dutch, contact with Moroccans (not included in model 2), contact with Surinamese (not included in model 4) and contact with native Dutch (not included in model 1).

(main effect of Moroccan ethnicity: -0.23; interaction coefficient: 0.72**, tested one-sided). Finally, Turks report less positive attitudes towards Moroccan residents when encountered in a minority neighbourhood (main effect of Moroccan ethnicity: 0.37; interaction coefficient: -0.72**, tested one-sided).

4.5 Conclusion and discussion

Although previous research on interethnic attitudes yields interesting insight on the extent and determinants of negative interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods, two important questions remained. Using data from a new factorial survey experiment, we tried to disentangle negative attitudes towards ethnic outgroup residents that are based on race from attitudes that are motivated by (negative) characteristics that people associate with race. In addition, we studied the extent to which otherwise identical residents are evaluated differently when encountered in more or less positive neighbourhood environments and whether particular ethnic groups are judged based more on their environment than other groups. Results of our multilevel models show that disorderly neighbourhoods negatively affect attitudes towards residents. Furthermore, our outcomes suggest that the factors and environmental conditions that drive negative interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhood encounters depend largely on the ethnicity of the person who experiences the encounters. Below, we will review the results in relation to previous findings and discuss their theoretical implications in more detail.

Overall, our results do not show a net impact of the ethnicity of the resident on the general impression ratings for that resident. That is, respondents did not discriminate between residents showed on the vignettes based on the ethnicity of the resident. This finding contradicts the central idea of the pure-discrimination perspective that suggests that ethnicity plays an important role in the formation of negative interethnic attitudes, irrespective of other characteristics of the resident. In our experiment, respondents did not base their evaluation of the general impression of the resident encountered on the ethnicity of that resident. This outcome is at odds with findings by St. John & Heald-Moore (1995) in their vignette study on fear of crime in public settings in Oklahoma City. They showed

that whites are more fearful of black strangers encountered in public than of white strangers, irrespective of the age and gender of the stranger and the public setting. Although the aspects of the settings in which encounters took place varied, all vignettes of the study described rather unpleasant situations in which respondents had to imagine they found themselves alone in a (more or less) unfamiliar place. In contrast, the situations pictured in our study show ordinary neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, and it seems that in such situations negative reactions to ethnic outgroup residents are less likely to be elicited. In light of this, it is even more interesting that even in the absence of fearful situations, native Dutch respondents evaluate Surinamese residents less positively after accounting for socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural characteristics of that resident. For the native Dutch majority group, ethnicity seems to be a factor in impression formation, whereas it is not a factor for ethnic minorities. A useful next step would be to investigate if ethnicity plays a more prominent consistent role across ethnic groups in more threatening or ambiguous neighbourhood situations.

Showing only weak support for the pure-discrimination hypothesis, the analyses suggest no convincing evidence for the racial-proxy perspective either. We find few effects of the socioeconomic status, religion and problem behaviour of the residents encountered on the attitudes reported. Only for Antilleans and Surinamese is problem behaviour a reason to evaluate the general impression of a resident less positively. Apparently, people do not pay much attention to the socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural characteristics of the resident when deciding on the general impression of the resident. Although particular resident characteristics, such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status, are found to be important determinants of the interethnic attitudes expressed in survey research, these aspects do not seem to affect the general impression of someone encountered in public.

The overall lack of consistent significant findings may be an indication that different mechanisms operate when respondents react to pictures instead of verbal survey questions. Previous findings are largely based on rather abstract direct questions and general statements about ethnic groups in which all respondents individually form an image about what they think are stereotypical members of a particular ethnic group. Particularly in this context, ethnicity itself and the negative and positive charac-

teristics that people associate with particular ethnic groups might become salient. However, in our research design we confront respondents with actual pictures of single group members and it could be that especially in these situations, physical characteristics such as a friendly face or skin colour play a more pivotal role than ethnicity itself or the socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural features related to ethnicity. Indeed, classical studies on stereotyping already suggested that stereotypical judgments in daily life are typically based on visual and physical characteristics of the target group (Allport, 1948; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). In survey research, people might think about an ethnic group as a rather homogeneous group and about the negative or positive associations they have with this group, but when people encounter an actual individual group member other factors might be important such as physical appearance and whether that person will be friendly or can be trusted. Different mechanisms triggered by different stimuli, may explain why we find few and inconsistent effects of resident characteristics in general. But it may also explain the finding that native Dutch respondents evaluate Surinamese residents (and not Moroccan residents), a result that contradicts outcomes of previous survey studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Gijsberts et al., 2010, also see chapter 2). All residents in the vignettes were comparable with respect to posture, attractiveness and sympathetic appearance. However, although the vignettes mentioned the ethnicity of all residents, the Surinamese residents might have been better recognizable as "different" because of their darker skin colour. In light of our research design that uses pictures (instead of verbal survey questions), we argue that the physical appearance of the Surinamese residents (i.e., darker skin colour) might offer an explanation why natives evaluate Surinamese residents (and not Moroccan residents) less positively. Indeed, other research showed the importance of different skin tones. For instance, in evaluating fictive black presidential candidates, pictures of light-skinned blacks are generally evaluated more positively than pictures of dark-skinned blacks, holding other characteristics of the candidates constant(Terkildsen, 1993). Physical characteristics such as skin colour might be more important in research that uses pictures of individual outgroup members. Future research using pictures should determine which other characteristics might be most important here, such as gender, age or the physical appearance of the person.

Another but related explanation could be that when encountering a single person of an ethnic group the process of 'subtyping' is put into effect. Subtyping has been defined as the process in which individuals who disconfirm the group stereotype are mentally clustered together (Richards & Hewstone, 2001, p. 53). The individuals that disconfirm the group stereotype are excluded and put into a new category, forming a subtype from the original category. Subsequently, stereotypes that exist about the group are not applicable anymore for the subtype. Because stereotypes about Moroccans are most negative, it could be that especially the Moroccan residents were at odds with the image respondents had about Moroccans in general and, thus, did not apply the stereotypical ideas to the residents. Indeed, Andriessen, Nievers, & Dagevos (2012) use subtyping to explain why, despite of negative stereotypes about Moroccans by employers, they found in their study using real-life applicant-actors that Moroccans were least discriminated against in the job market (compared to Surinamese, Turks and Antilleans).

These outcomes put forward interesting issues about the use of different research designs to measure interethnic attitudes. Our study complements and to some extent also nuances our understandings of interethnic attitudes based on survey research. Apparently, negative (and also positive) attitudes towards ethnic groups expressed in survey research are not necessarily directed in a similar way towards individual group members encountered. Further research is necessary to investigate the different mechanisms that are elicited by verbal and visual stimuli as well as reactions to ethnic groups as a whole and single group members, preferably by comparing interethnic attitudes derived from different techniques within a single study.

The outcomes of our experiment show some support for the notion that visual cues in the neighbourhood are used to evaluate and interpret unknown residents. Residents in a disorderly environment with graffiti and street litter are judged less positively than residents encountered in an orderly environment. This finding is in line with previous studies that argue that neighbourhood disorder triggers feelings of insecurity, fear of crime and distrust among residents (e.g., Oppelaar & Wittebrood, 2006; Ross et al., 2001, but also see chapter 3 of this dissertation). However, separate group analyses show that neighbourhood disorder negatively affects the at-

titudes of native Dutch respondents but not the attitudes of ethnic minorities. For both Moroccan and Antillean respondents, however, residents make a less positive impression when encountered in a low-status environment. We also investigated if such stereotypical environments would bring forth negative attitudes towards minority residents. Among the majority group, we found support for this normative fit idea (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Quillian & Pager, 2001). Moroccan residents are more negatively judged based on their low-status environment than native residents are. This seems to suggest, therefore, that among natives, negative attitudes and stereotypes about Moroccans are only elicited if Moroccans are encountered in low-status neighbourhoods but not when they are encountered in high-status neighbourhoods. In such situations, the type of neighbourhood is consistent with stereotypical ideas about Moroccans. Future studies might investigate the impact of neighbourhood environment on an accumulation of negative characteristics. For example, what would happen if people encounter a Moroccan resident in a neighbourhood that suffers from disorder, has a low socioeconomic status and is ethnically concentrated? Unfortunately, in the present study the number of observations per vignette was too few to determine interactions between the ethnicity of the resident with more than one neighbourhood characteristic.

We tested our hypotheses using an innovative factorial survey design. The use of pictures in factorial survey designs is rather new and some cautionary remarks are appropriate here. The most important condition the pictures should meet before they can be successfully used in factorial surveys is comparability. To ensure that differences in ratings between the different vignettes were actually due to the intended manipulations, we made the pictures as comparable as possible regarding composition, colour and light. With respect to the residents in the pictures, comparability might be even more important yet harder to attain. Although we selected those fictitious residents that were rated most similarly with respect to attractiveness and sympathetic appearance, we cannot fully account for the possibility that differences in the general impression of the residents are partly due to differences in the attractiveness of the residents. Contrarily, the pictures showed actual neighbourhood settings with the corresponding ethnic, socioeconomic and physical cues that people normally use to interpret their neighbourhood surroundings. In combination with a detailed

description of the resident encountered, this study adds to the understanding of negative interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods. Using the vignette approach we revealed some mechanisms behind interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods that are not so easily discovered by survey research but further research is necessary to interpret the possible differences between these two techniques in terms of measuring interethnic attitudes.

Part 2

The relationship between the neighbourhood, interethnic attitudes and residential intentions and behaviour

Chapter 5

The wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods: The role of perceived social cohesion and interethnic attitudes*

5.1 Introduction

In recent years, the relationship between ethnic minority concentration and residential mobility decisions has been extensively researched. Previous studies have shown that ethnic majority residents of neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of ethnic minorities are more likely to express a wish to leave (e.g., Van Ham & Feijten, 2008) and are also more likely to actually move out of the neighbourhood (Bolt et al., 2008; Brama, 2006; Crowder, 2000; Musterd & De Vos, 2007; Van Ham & Clark, 2009; Van Ham & Manley, 2009). Policymakers are concerned about what they often call 'white flight'. Indeed, selective moving behaviour of majority residents might have significant consequences for the ethnic composition of a

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neighbourhood, particularly if vacant dwellings will be occupied by ethnic minority residents. The concentration of ethnic minority populations (and related socioeconomic segregation) is, in turn, expected to have a negative impact on social cohesion in a neighbourhood, liveability and the socioeconomic opportunities of its residents (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

Which mechanisms exactly underlie moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, is still subject to debate. Previous studies sought the explanation of a positive relationship between ethnic minority concentration and residential mobility in other, mainly structural characteristics of these neighbourhoods. For example, it has been argued that it is the poor socioeconomic conditions in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods that cause moving wishes (Harris, 2001; Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). Studies in the Unites States and Europe show that poor socioeconomic conditions indeed affect moving wishes, but they only partly explain why residents wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods (e.g., Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Swaroop & Krysan, 2011; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). It is in the context of structural neighbourhood characteristics that much of the work on moving wishes has been undertaken. To date, the literature on residential mobility paid little attention to the possible consequences of ethnic concentration for the social aspects of neighbourhood life. Nevertheless, neighbourhood social cohesion, such as feelings of community and acquaintanceship between neighbours, has found to be an important factor related to higher neighbourhood satisfaction among residents (Hudson et al., 2007; Loo, 1986; Parkes, Kearns, & Atkinson, 2002). Accordingly, in addition to concerns about poor socioeconomic conditions, also a lack of social cohesion might contribute to the wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods.

In examining the impact of the social aspects of neighbourhood life, we specifically focus on the role of perceived social cohesion and interethnic attitudes for residents wishes to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Previous studies suggest a negative impact of the concentration of ethnic minority populations on at least some aspects of social cohesion such as contact with and trust in fellow-residents and participation in social activities (e.g., Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000, 2002; Costa & Kahn, 2003; Letki, 2008; Tolsma, Van der Meer, & Gesthuizen, 2009; Gijsberts et al., 2012b; Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007; Völker et al., 2007). In re-

search on ethnic neighbourhood preferences it has been argued that people prefer to live among a substantial number of co-ethnics because they like the sense of community and cohesion within their own ethnic group (Clark, 2002). On the other hand, it has been argued that moving wishes might be motivated by negative interethnic attitudes such as prejudice and discrimination (Clark, 2002; Swaroop & Krysan, 2011; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Previous studies show that majority residents living in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities express less favourable attitudes towards ethnic minority groups (e.g., Dixon, 2006; Taylor, 1998). Accordingly, our first aim is to investigate if a lack of perceived social cohesion and negative interethnic attitudes can explain majority residents' wishes to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, while taking into account the structural characteristics of the neighbourhood.

The positive relationship between ethnic concentration and moving wishes has also been found among ethnic minority residents, although substantially smaller (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). However, the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood presumably has a different influence on perceived social cohesion and interethnic attitudes of ethnic minority residents than of ethnic majority residents (Gijsberts et al., 2012b; Tolsma et al., 2009). It can be argued that for ethnic minorities, ethnic concentration has advantages in terms of social contacts and community and serve as a 'safe haven' (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2002). For ethnic minorities, perceived social cohesion and negative attitudes towards the majority group might be reasons to stay in (rather than leave) ethnically concentrated neighbourhood. Therefore, our second aim is to inquire into the specific mechanisms at play in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods for both majority and minority residents.

Data on moving wishes were derived from the first wave of the 2009 *Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study*. First of all, the data enable us to analyse the effects of ethnic concentration (i.e., share of ethnic minorities), perceived social cohesion and interethnic attitudes in relation to important neighbourhood (e.g., socioeconomic status), housing (e.g., tenure) and household (e.g., family composition) explanations of moving behaviour. Although we acknowledge that social cohesion is a complex and multidimensional concept (Kearns & Forrest, 2000), we refer to social cohesion as the attitudes residents have towards the community in their

neighbourhood, illustrated by residents' estimation about the extent to which fellow-neighbours can be trusted, are willing to help and can get along well. In this way, our measure of social cohesion refers to what Gijsberts et al. (2012b) and Letki (2008) define as the cognitive component of social cohesion. Interethnic attitudes are defined as the level of distance people feel towards other ethnic groups, including the willingness to accept a member of another ethnic group as a boss, neighbour or son in law.

Furthermore, because of an oversampling of Turkish and Moroccan residents, the data are particularly useful to examine how these processes differ between the native Dutch majority group and the two largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.[1] Ethnic minority groups are likely to reside in public housing and to be concentrated in the pre- and post-WWII neighbourhoods of the larger cities (Zorlu & Latten, 2009). These are also the neighbourhoods that have to deal with relatively worse socioeconomic conditions and social and physical problems (Kullberg, 2007), although the overall physical quality of Dutch ethnic minority concentration neighbourhoods is rather high (Van der Schaar, 2006). It should be noticed that, compared to the United States, urban neighbourhoods in the Netherlands are comparatively less ethnically and socioeconomically segregated and more likely to be ethnically diverse (except for 'all white' neighbourhoods, mono-ethnic neighbourhood are rare).

Finally, at the outset of this chapter it is important to remark that we study moving wishes instead of actual mobility behaviour. In the Netherlands, one-third of those expressing a wish to move in two year actually moves within this period (De Groot, Mulder, & Manting, 2011). According to Feijten & Van Ham (2009), an advantage of studying moving wishes over realised moving behaviour is that it includes those residents who want to leave ethically concentrated neighbourhoods but are unable to do so because of financial reasons or other restrictions. In the end, knowledge about the specific motives behind majority and minority residents' wishes to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods may provide insight into specific leverage points for policies directed to the prevention of 'white flight' and ethnic segregation.

[1] For an overview of the Dutch immigration history and a more elaborate description of the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, I refer to section 1.5.1.

5.2 Theoretical background

5.2.1 The role of the neighbourhood in mobility decisions

A large body of research investigates the reasons why people (wish to) move. Studies on residential mobility traditionally focus on the impact of household and housing characteristics (Rossi, 1955). Many decisions to move are driven by changes in the life course, such as getting married or having a baby, because at these moments current housing no longer meets the new housing needs and requirements (Clark & Onaka, 1983; De Groot et al., 2011; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999; Rossi, 1955). Also the type of housing (i.e., shared residence, flat) and the size of housing have been found to predict residential mobility (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Kearns & Parkes, 2003).

In response to studies that primarily focused on changes in the life course and housing characteristics, a second research line concentrates on the impact of the neighbourhood (see Lee, Oropesa, & Kanan, 1994). Specifically, neighbourhood conditions could serve as significant 'pull' and 'push' factors in residential mobility decisions. Although people might move because they are dissatisfied with their housing, their moves will be restricted to those locations that contain preferred characteristics of which they think will positively affect their quality of live (Rossi & Shlay, 1982). Furthermore, changes in the life course may not only affect satisfaction with the current housing, but also neighbourhood characteristics may no longer meet new standards (Lee et al., 1994). In England, Kearns & Parkes (2003) confirm this idea of the neighbourhood serving as a push factor. After better housing conditions, the second most common reason to move is a wish to live in a more suitable area, especially by those living in the poorest neighbourhoods.

5.2.2 The impact of ethnic neighbourhood composition on moving wishes

Ethnic concentration is one of the neighbourhood characteristics that serves as a push factor. Residents of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are less satisfied with their neighbourhood (Baum, Arthurson, & Rickson, 2010; Permentier et al., 2011; Swaroop & Krysan, 2011), are more likely

to have the wish to move (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008), and are also more likely to actually move residence (Bolt et al., 2008; Crowder, 2000; Van Ham & Clark, 2009). Although to a smaller extent, the positive relationship between ethnic concentration and moving *wishes* has also been found for ethnic minorities (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008).

In the literature on residential mobility and neighbourhood preferences, the motives behind people's wishes to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are extensively debated. The racial proxy perspective holds that people try to avoid ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods simply because they want to avoid the social and economic problems that are more likely to occur in these neighbourhoods (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). As such, not the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood but the poor social and socioeconomic conditions in these neighbourhoods drive residents' wishes to move. According to the racial-proxy perspective, studies that find a relationship between ethnic concentration and moving wishes simply insufficiently control for other, non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics. Assuming that ethnic majority and ethnic minority residents evaluate socioeconomic neighbourhood problems equally negative, we hypothesise that *for both ethnic majority and minority residents, an initially positive relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes will disappear once related social and socioeconomic neighbourhood attributes are taken into account* (H1).

Alternatively, the pure-race perspective emphasises the importance of the ethnic neighbourhood composition in itself, in addition to its association with socioeconomic neighbourhood problems (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). Ethnic residential preferences may be driven by either 'ingroup' preferences or 'outgroup' rejection such as prejudice or ethnic discrimination (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). According to Clark (1992), people like to live among a substantial amount of co-ethnics because they simply like the sense of community and cohesion within their own group. Second, preferences for a particular ethnic composition might be motivated by prejudicial attitudes towards other ethnic groups; majority residents do not want to live in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood because they have negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities, on the other hand, might not want to live in majority neighbourhoods because they are afraid of being discriminated against (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). Al-

though the underlying motives vary, different argumentations of the pure-race perspective come to a similar expectation: irrespective of social and socioeconomic neighbourhood problems, a positive relationship between ethnic concentration and the wish to move among ethnic majority residents, but a negative relationship among ethnic minority residents. Hence, we formulate the following hypotheses: *Taking into account socioeconomic neighbourhood attributes, the larger the share of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, the* more *likely ethnic majority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood* (H2a) *but the* less *likely ethnic minority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood* (H2b).

5.2.3 The impact of social cohesion and interethnic attitudes on moving wishes

Subsequently, we theorise the influence of social cohesion and interethnic attitudes on the wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, elaborating more in-depth on the two different motivations suggested by the pure-race perspective. First, both the belief congruency theory (Rokeach et al., 1960) and the similarity principle (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001) argue that people like to mingle with others that are similar, for example in terms of cultural beliefs or socioeconomic status. It has been argued that social interactions run more smooth when people share similar characteristics. Similar others confirm our behaviour, attitudes and worldview, which in turn enhances feelings of comfort and self-esteem (Montoya, Horton, & Kirchner, 2008). This principle would then expect that social cohesion is lower in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, in which differences in ethnicity might result in differences in beliefs, preferences and expectations between residents about everyday neighbourhood live. Hudson et al. (2007) studied social cohesion in diverse neighbourhoods in Britain and found that especially feelings of community and familiarity in everyday neighbourhood interactions served as important pull factors to stay in the neighbourhood. Also Loo (1986) and Parkes et al. (2002) show that social cohesion and community between neighbours increase neighbourhood satisfaction. Accordingly, we expect that: *The larger the share of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, the* more *likely ethnic majority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood due*

to lower *levels of perceived social cohesion* (H3a). For ethnic minorities we hypothesise: *The larger the share of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, the* less *likely ethnic minority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood due to* higher *levels of perceived social cohesion* (H3b).

In addition to a lack of perceived social cohesion, interethnic attitudes might influence moving wishes. The ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002) states that negative ethnic attitudes derive from (perceived) ethnic competition over, for example, jobs or housing. Ethnic competition, in turn, is expected to encourage perceived ethnic threat, which subsequently promotes unfavourable outgroup attitudes (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). For ethnic majority residents, a large proportion of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood is considered a proxy for an ethnic competitive environment (Savelkoul et al., 2011b). Accordingly, it has been presumed that the larger the neighbourhood minority population, the more negative ethnic majority residents are towards ethnic minorities. In this way, moving wishes might be driven specifically by majority residents having negative attitudes towards living among ethnic minority members instead of a lack of community as described by the similarity principle. Accordingly, we expect that: *The larger the share of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, the* more *likely ethnic majority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood due to negative attitudes towards ethnic minority groups* (H4a).

As an alternative of the ethnic competition theory, it has been argued that neighbourhood exposure to ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood might enhance interethnic contact (rather than ethnic competition). According to the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), positive first-hand interethnic contact increases mutual knowledge and understanding which would in turn reduce ethnic prejudice. In this tradition, therefore, moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods would not necessarily be caused by negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities.

For ethnic minorities, ethnic concentration might not be similarly interpreted as a competitive environment. On the contrary, ethnic concentration may have advantages for ethnic minorities in terms of social contacts and community (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2002). However, also for ethnic minorities interethnic attitudes might have an impact on moving wishes, particularly in relation to the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Research in the Netherlands shows that ethnic minorities who live

in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods report less positive attitudes towards the Dutch majority group (Gijsberts et al., 2010). Subsequently, ethnic minority residents who have negative attitudes towards the majority group might not want to live in a majority neighbourhood because they are afraid of being discriminated against (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). Hence, for ethnic minorities, we expect: *The larger the share of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood, the* less *likely ethnic minority residents have a wish to leave the neighbourhood due to negative attitudes towards the ethnic majority group* (H4b).

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 Data

We use the first (and up until now, only available) wave of the 2009 *Netherlands Longitudinal Life course Study* (NELLS2009; De Graaf et al., 2010b). These data were collected among 5,312 individuals between 15 and 45 years of age in 35 municipalities in the Netherlands. The municipalities include the four biggest cities, i.e., Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The other 31 municipalities were selected in such a way that they covered different regions in the Netherlands and different degrees of urbanization (De Graaf et al., 2010a). Respondents were randomly sampled from the population register, with an oversampling of respondents of Turkish and Moroccan origin. In the Dutch statistics, someone who has at least one parent born in a foreign country is regarded as a member of an ethnic minority group and this definition was used to create separate samples for each ethnic group within each municipality. In addition to a face-to-face interview, respondents filled out a questionnaire (handed in by either internet or mail).

The data cover approximately 800 neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. The geographical delineation of a neighbourhood is based on the standard classification used by *Statistics Netherlands*. This classification distinguishes between municipalities, neighbourhood districts ("wijken") and neighbourhoods ("buurten"), with neighbourhoods being the lowest spatial level. Neighbourhoods are categorised by styles of architecture and time period and refer to relatively small, socioeconomically homogenous areas,

with an average population of approximately 1,400 residents. Information about the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in 2009 was derived from a national register database *Key Figures Districts and Neighbourhoods* (KFDN) provided by *Statistics Netherlands*.

We confined our sample to respondents of native Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan origin of 18 years and older and those who completed the self-completion questionnaire (in which the questions about interethnic attitudes were included). Furthermore, 287 respondents lacked proper information about their neighbourhood of residence, producing a total sample size of 3,782 (2,098 majority and 1,684 minority respondents).

5.3.2 Measures of dependent and independent variables

Our dependent variable is the wish to live in another neighbourhood (but within the same municipality/city) in two year. On a four-point scale, respondents could indicate whether they (1) 'would really want', (2) 'might want', (3) 'do not want', or (4) 'not at all want' to live in another neighbourhood. We created a binary outcome variable, measuring the probability that people would really want or might want to live in another neighbourhood (categories 1 and 2).[2]

The ethnic composition is measured by the *percentage ethnic minorities* in the neighbourhood (which includes the percentages Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and other non-Western ethnic minorities). In addition, for ethnic minority residents we also considered the *percentage own ethnic group* (that is, the percentage Turks for Turkish respondents and the percentage Moroccans for Moroccan respondents). Plausibly, the presence of resident's own ethnic minority group in particular (rather than the presence of ethnic minorities in general) has advantages in terms of feelings of community and familiarity in everyday neighbourhood interactions.

Furthermore, we included two social and socioeconomic neighbourhood characteristics: socioeconomic status and neighbourhood disorder. To measure a neighbourhood's socioeconomic status we included the *average household income* (after tax) in the neighbourhood. Moreover, we take into account *perceived neighbourhood disorder*. Respondents indic-

[2] Additional analyses show that outcomes are consistent over different categorisations of the dependent variable (i.e., category 1 (really want to move) versus the other categories).

ated whether the following neighbourhood problems occurred (1) 'never', (2) 'sometimes' or (3) 'often' in their neighbourhood: graffiti on walls and buildings, nuisance of young people, damage or destruction of public space, noise nuisance (of neighbours), street litter and drug and alcohol abuse. We combined these six items, creating a reliable mean index of perceived neighbourhood disorder (overall $\alpha = 0.77$; 0.75 for natives, 0.79 for Moroccans and 0.77 for Turks).

Perceived social cohesion was measured by respondents' opinion on several statements about the social aspects of neighbourhood life: 'people in this neighbourhood greet each other', 'people in this neighbourhood can be trusted', 'people in this neighbourhood can get along well', 'people in this neighbourhood know each other', 'people in this neighbourhood are willing to help' and 'people in this neighbourhood would intervene if young people cause nuisance'. Respondents could indicate whether these statements (1) 'did not apply at all', (2) 'did not apply', (3) 'did slightly apply', or (4) 'did fully apply' to their neighbourhood. Again, we created a mean index of *perceived social cohesion* with high reliability among natives as well as minority respondents (with $\alpha = 0.86$ for natives; 0.84 for Moroccans; and 0.83 for Turks).

Interethnic attitudes were measured using questions on ethnic distance which, unlike the affective measures in the previous chapters, can be classified into the behavioural-orientation component of interethnic attitudes. Respondents indicated if they (1) 'would not mind at all', (2) 'would not mind' or they (3) 'would mind' if someone of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean (combined category) or native Dutch origin would become their boss at work, would become their neighbour or would marry their son or daughter. First of all, we created four separate indices, measuring ethnic distance towards (1) Turks, (2) Moroccans, (3) Surinamese and Antilleans (combined category), and (4) native Dutch, by computing the mean of the work, neighbour and marry items for each ethnic target group. For native Dutch respondents, we subsequently created a reliable mean index of *ethnic distance towards ethnic minority groups*, combining their distance towards Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese and Antilleans ($\alpha = 0.96$). For Turks and Moroccans, we included the index of *ethnic distance towards native Dutch* ($\alpha = 0.70$).

Finally, we control for household and housing conditions that have

been found important determinants of residential mobility and also correlate with ethnic concentration. First, we take into account household composition (single, single parent, partner without children, partner with children, child living with parents), the wish to have a(nother) child in two years, and work status (having paid work, being a student, being unemployed). Second, housing characteristics include tenure (owner-occupied vs. rental), housing type (shared residence vs. other), and length of residence in current house (in years). Furthermore, we also control for sex, age (in years) and level of education (low, middle, high). Descriptive statistics by ethnic group are summarised in Table 5.1.

5.3.3 Method of analysis

We applied a multilevel logistic regression analysis to estimate the odds of having a wish to move and to correct for geographical clustering.[3] All models present logit coefficients which represent the natural logarithm of the odds to have a wish to move out of the neighbourhood. However, for a more clear understanding of the outcomes we also use odds ratio's and probabilities when interpreting the results. Table 5.2 presents the so-called intercept-only models, with the intercept indicating the average log-odds of having the wish to move. For native Dutch respondents, the estimated average log-odds of having the wish to move is -0.46, which corresponds to a probability of 0.39 [$\pi = \exp(-0.46)/(1+\exp(-0.46))$]. The significant variance at the neighbourhood level indicates that in some neighbourhoods majority residents have a higher probability of having a wish to move than in other neighbourhoods. The intraclass correlation suggests that, on average, 12 percent of the variation in moving wishes can be explained by characteristics of the neighbourhood, whereas the other 88 percent can be attributed to characteristics of residents. For ethnic minority respondents, the average log-odds to move is -0.14, corresponding to a probability of 0.47 [$\pi = \exp(-0.14)/(1+\exp(-0.14))$]. Again, this probability varies significantly across neighbourhoods but the variation in moving wishes that can be attributed to the neighbourhood level is with 4 percent smaller than for ethnic majority residents.

[3] In addition to neighbourhoods, respondents are nested within 35 municipalities. Additional analyses in which we took into account clustering at the municipality level showed comparable outcomes.

Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics: range (minimum/maximum), mean/proportion (M/p) and standard deviation (sd).

	Ethnic majority residents				Ethnic minority residents			
	min	**max**	**M/p**	**sd**	**min**	**max**	**M/p**	**sd**
Dependent variable								
Moving wish	0	1	0.38		0	1	0.49	
Neighbourhood characteristics								
Percentage ethnic minorities in neighbourhood	0	85	9.21	9.96	2	85	32.75	21.81
Mean household income neighbourhood	9.8	42.4	20.54	3.63	9.2	45.9	18.13	4.10
Perceived neighbourhood disorder	1	3	1.45	0.40	1	3	1.50	0.44
Social relations between neighbours								
Perceived social cohesion	1	4	3.39	0.56	1	4	3.22	0.58
Ethnic distance towards ethnic minorities	1	3	1.91	0.56				
Ethnic distance towards native Dutch					1	3	1.68	0.49
Housing and household characteristics								
Household composition								
Single	0	1	0.15		0	1	0.14	
Single parent	0	1	0.04		0	1	0.07	
Partner without children	0	1	0.18		0	1	0.08	
Partner with children	0	1	0.45		0	1	0.52	
Child living with parents	0	1	0.17		0	1	0.18	
Having the wish to have a(nother) child	0	1	0.16		0	1	0.19	
Work status								
Paid work	0	1	0.77		0	1	0.58	
Student	0	1	0.15		0	1	0.15	
Unemployed	0	1	0.07		0	1	0.27	
Owner occupied	0	1	0.75		0	1	0.33	
Shared residence	0	1	0.15		0	1	0.42	
Length of residence in current dwelling	0	45	8.06	6.82	0	32	7.58	5.72
Men	0	1	0.46		0	1	0.47	
Age	18	45	32.80	8.27	18	45	32.39	7.88
Education								
low	0	1	0.14		0	1	0.37	
medium	0	1	0.46		0	1	0.43	
high	0	1	0.40		0	1	0.20	
Ethnic group								
Turkish origin				0	1	0.49		
Moroccan origin				0	1	0.51		
N (*respondents*)			2,098				1,684	
N (*neighbourhoods*)			630				471	

Source: NELLS2009; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2009.

Table 5.2: Intercept-only models of the wish to move; logit coefficients (standard error).

	Total sample		Ethnic majority respondents		Ethnic minority respondents	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e)	coef.	(s.e.)
Fixed effect						
Intercept	−0.33	(0.04) **	−0.46	(0.06)	−0.14	(0.06) *
Random effect						
Neighbourhood variance	0.32	(0.07) **	0.43	(0.13) **	0.15	(0.08) *
Model fit						
Likelihood ratio test	53.5 **		28.65 **		6.63 **	
Intraclass correlation	0.09		0.12		0.04	
N	*3,782*		*2,098*		*1,684*	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
Source: NELLS2009; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2009.

To test our hypotheses, we first estimated the impact of the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood on the wish to move. Next, we examined whether this effect remained after controlling for important household, housing and neighbourhood characteristics. Finally, we tested if perceived social cohesion and interethnic attitudes affect moving wishes and if these variables could explain why people want to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Because we formulated (different) hypotheses for ethnic majority and minority residents, we performed the analyses separately for both groups. All continuous variables in the analyses were centered around the (grand) mean.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Moving wishes of ethnic majority residents

Model 1 of Table 5.3 indicates a positive relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and the wish to move for majority residents. With every percentage increase in the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, the odds of having the wish to move increases with [exp(0.03) =] 1.03 (3 % increase).[4] Differences in the per-

[4]The US literature on residential mobility suggests that whites probabilities to move out of the neighbourhood especially increase as the percentage of blacks in the neighbourhood exceeds a particular tipping point (e.g., Crowder, 2000; Galster, 1990). Additional

centage ethnic minorities between neighbourhoods explain 35 percent of the neighbourhood variation in moving wishes. Subsequently, model 2 of Table 5.3 controls for household and housing characteristics and we see that the impact of the percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood on moving wishes decreases, but it remains significant [exp(0.02) = 1.02]. Consequently, part of the positive relationship between percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes is due to differences in household and housing characteristics. For example, the odds of having the wish to move is [exp(0.45) =] 1.56 times higher for people living in shared residence (e.g., flat) than for those living in other types of housing, but [exp(−0.57) =] 0.57 times lower for homeowners than for those living in rental housing. Furthermore, people who are settled in life are less willing to move: older residents and those who have a partner and children[5] are less likely to have a wish to move out of the neighbourhood Together with the percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, household and housing characteristics explain more than half of the neighbourhood variation in moving wishes.

Next, average neighbourhood household income and neighbourhood disorder were included in the model. Model 3 of Table 5.3 does not show a significant relationship between the average household income in the neighbourhood and residents' moving wishes. Perceived disorder, on the

analyses did not show evidence that this phenomenon applies to moving wishes of ethnic majority residents in the Netherlands. Additional models including a quadratic term and a quadratic and cubic term of the percentage ethnic minorities did not show any tipping points. In the quadratic model, however, we found that moving wishes of ethnic majority residents slightly level off (rather than increase) in neighbourhoods with more than 45 percent ethnic minorities. We have to interpret this finding with caution as sample sizes of ethnic majority respondents in these neighbourhood categories are small ($n = 54$) and might constitute a selective group. Moreover, once we control for individual level characteristics the quadratic term is not significant anymore.

[5]In the US there is a strong belief that particularly ethnic majority families with children are opposed to living with ethnic minorities (e.g., see Emerson et al., 2001). Additional analyses report no evidence that native Dutch couples with children (compared to other types of households) are more likely to have a wish to move out of ethnic minority concentrated neighbourhoods. The interaction effects between the variable 'percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood' and the household composition variables 'partner with children' and 'wish to have a(nother) child' were insignificant. Also, we found no evidence that neighbourhood socioeconomic disadvantage and/or perceived neighbourhood disorder particularly stimulated moving wishes of families with children (rather than those without children).

other hand, increases the likelihood of having the wish to move: one step higher on the perceived disorder scale (1-3) increases the odds of having the wish to move with 1.46. Again, the odds ratio of the percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood reduces [1.01], suggesting that part of the higher moving wishes of majority residents in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods may be explained by residents experiencing more disorder in these neighbourhoods. Additional analyses show that perceived disorder significantly mediates the relationship between percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes ($p < 0.05$, Monte Carlo method for assessing mediation in multilevel models by Selig & Preacher, 2008).[6] Yet, although the effect of ethnic concentration becomes smaller, a significant relationship remains. These outcomes contradict hypothesis H1 which expected, based on the racial proxy perspective, that when related social and socioeconomic characteristics had been taken into account, there would be no significant relationship between ethnic concentration and moving wishes. This finding shows evidence for the alternative hypothesis H2a, which predicted a positive relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and majority residents' moving wishes, controlling for relevant neighbourhood characteristics.

Model 4 of Table 5.3 estimates the influence of perceived social cohesion. In line with our expectations, perceived social cohesion in the neighbourhood lowers the likelihood of moving wishes: one step higher on de social cohesion scale lowers the odds of having the wish to move with 0.60 (40 % decrease). Moreover, taking into account the level of social cohesion in the neighbourhood, there is no significant effect left of ethnic concentration. Additional analyses show that perceived social cohesion significantly mediates the relationship between percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes ($p < 0.01$, Monte Carlo method for assessing mediation in multilevel models by Selig & Preacher, 2008).[7] Hence, next to differences in household, housing and other neighbourhood characteristics, higher moving wishes in ethnically concentrated

[6] The Monte Carlo method for assessing mediation in multilevel models estimates the confidence interval of the indirect effect. According to the 99 % confidence interval, the indirect effect of perceived disorder lies between 0.0003 and 0.0055 and is significantly different from zero.

[7] According to the 99 % confidence interval, the indirect effect of perceived social cohesion lies between 0.0015 and 0.0062 and is significantly different from zero.

neighbourhood can be partly explained by majority residents experiencing lower levels of social cohesion in these neighbourhoods; supporting hypothesis H3a. We additionally tested if a lack of reported social cohesion would particularly stimulate the moving wishes of majority residents in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, but this interaction effect was not statistically significant (figures not shown).[8]

Hypothesis H4a predicted that negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities would explain why majority residents have a wish to move out of ethnic concentration neighbourhoods. Model 5 of Table 5.3 shows, first of all, that ethnic distance towards ethnic minorities does not have an effect on moving wishes (neither when social cohesion is excluded from the model). Alternatively, we tested if ethnic majority residents who reside in a neighbourhood with large shares of ethnic minorities *and* score high on ethnic distance towards ethnic minorities would be more likely to have the wish to leave the neighbourhood but this interaction effect turned out to be insignificant (figures not shown).

5.4.2 Moving wishes of ethnic minority residents

Table 5.4 tests our hypotheses for ethnic minority residents (i.e., Turks and Moroccans).[9] Bivariately, model 1 of Table 5.4 shows a positive relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes. With every percentage increase in the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, the odds of having the wish to move for ethnic minorities increases with [exp(0.01) =] 1.01 (1 % increase). Although for both majority and minority residents the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes are positively related, additional analyses on the full sample show that the impact of the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood on the wish to move is significantly smaller for ethnic minority residents (figures not shown). Model 2 shows that when including relevant household and housing conditions, the effect of the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood disappears. It turns out that higher moving wishes among ethnic minorities in ethnic concen-

[8] Separate analyses indicate that this is also true for couples with children.

[9] Additional analyses revealed no differences between Turks and Moroccans in the impact of the percentage ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, social cohesion and negative attitudes towards ethnic majority residents on moving wishes.

Table 5.3: Multilevel logistic regression analysis of the wish to move among *ethnic majority residents*; logit coefficients (standard error).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)
Intercept	−0.50	(0.05) **	0.03	(0.22)	−0.02	(0.22)	−0.14	(0.22)	−0.15	(0.22)
Percentage ethnic minorities	0.03	(0.00) **	0.02	(0.01) **	0.01	(0.01) *	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Household and housing characteristics										
Household composition (single = ref)										
Single parent			−0.27	(0.29)	−0.29	(0.29)	−0.24	(0.29)	−0.24	(0.29)
Partner no children			−0.14	(0.18)	−0.12	(0.18)	−0.08	(0.18)	−0.08	(0.18)
Partner with children			−0.60	(0.18) **	−0.60	(0.18) **	−0.52	(0.18) **	−0.52	(0.18) **
Child living with parents			0.17	(0.23)	0.24	(0.23)	0.32	(0.24)	0.32	(0.24)
Having the wish to have children			0.14	(0.13)	0.15	(0.14)	0.16	(0.14)	0.16	(0.15)
Work status (paid work = ref)										
Student			−0.04	(0.18)	−0.06	(0.18)	−0.08	(0.18)	−0.07	(0.18)
Unemployed			−0.19	(0.20)	−0.21	(0.21)	−0.21	(0.20)	−0.21	(0.19)
Shared residence			0.45	(0.16) **	0.43	(0.16) **	0.37	(0.17) *	0.37	(0.16) *
Owner-occupied			−0.57	(0.13) **	−0.52	(0.13) **	−0.46	(0.14) **	−0.46	(0.13) **
Length of residence			0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Man			0.11	(0.10)	0.11	(0.10)	0.09	(0.10)	0.09	(0.10)
Age			−0.02	(0.01) **	−0.02	(0.01) *	−0.02	(0.01)	−0.02	(0.01)
Education (low educated = ref)										
Medium			−0.22	(0.16)	−0.22	(0.16)	−0.22	(0.16)	−0.17	(0.16)
High			0.23	(0.16)	0.25	(0.16)	0.27	(0.16)	0.28	(0.16)
Neighbourhood characteristics										
Mean household income neighbourhood					−0.03	(0.02)	−0.03	(0.01)	−0.03	(0.02)
Perceived neighbourhood disorder					0.38	(0.13) **	0.20	(0.14)	0.20	(0.14) *
Social relations between neighbours										
Perceived social cohesion							−0.51	(0.11) **	−0.50	(0.10) **
Ethnic distance towards ethnic minorities									0.04	(0.09)
Variance components										
Neighbourhood variance	0.28	(0.11) **	0.19	(0.11)	0.18	(0.10)	0.21	(0.11)	0.21	(0.11)
Explained neighbourhood variance (compared to the 0-model)	35 %		56 %		58 %		51 %		51 %	
N	2,098		2,098		2,098		2,098		2,098	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
Source: NELLS2009; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2009.

tration neighbourhoods are mainly due to their housing conditions, e.g., they more often reside in shared and rental housing. These outcomes also suggest that housing conditions have a similar impact on moving wishes among ethnic majority and minority residents. Model 2 indicates furthermore, that older residents are less likely to have a moving wish, while those who want to have children in the next two years are more likely to have a wish to move. The small neighbourhood level variance in moving wishes for ethnic minority residents found in Table 5.2, is fully explained by taking into account the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood and household and housing characteristics.

Model 3 of Table 5.4 includes the mean household income of the neighbourhood and perceived disorder in the neighbourhood. Again, neighbourhood household income does not have an impact on moving wishes. However, we do find an effect of perceived neighbourhood disorder: one step on the perceived disorder scale (1-3) increases the odds of having the wish to move with 1.86. In addition, similar to ethnic majority residents, Turks and Moroccans report more disorder in their neighbourhood when the share of ethnic minority residents in higher (figures not shown). Hence, it seems that also for minority residents perceived disorder in the neighbourhood might be a reason to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, but taking into account housing conditions already explained away the relationship between percentages minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes.

Overall, hypothesis H1, which expected no impact of the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood once housing and other neighbourhood characteristics were taken into account, can be supported. Consequently, hypothesis H2b, which expected that, taken into account relevant housing and neighbourhood characteristics, the share of ethnic minority residents in the neighbourhood would *reduce* minorities' moving wishes, is rejected. We also tested this hypothesis using the percentage of Turkish and Moroccan respondents' *own* ethnic group in the neighbourhood. It can be argued that especially the presence of resident's own ethnic minority group (rather than the presence of ethnic minorities in general) has advantages in terms of social contacts and community and serve as a 'safe haven'. However, the analyses using percentage own ethnic group in the neighbourhood show comparable results (figures not shown).

Hypotheses H3b and H4b predicted that ethnic minority residents in ethnically concentrated neighbourhood would be less willing to leave, because of higher levels of perceived social cohesion in these neighbourhoods and because of negative attitudes towards ethnic majority residents. However, we did not find an initial negative relationship between percentage minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes and, therefore, we cannot support these hypotheses. Nevertheless, model 4 of Table 5.4 shows ethnic minorities do value social cohesion in the neighbourhood: the more perceived social cohesion in the neighbourhood, the less likely ethnic minority residents have the wish to move. However, additional analyses suggest that not the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood but other factors should be responsible for the level of social cohesion perceived by ethnic minority residents. Additional analyses indicate that neither the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood nor the share of the respondent's own ethnic minority group affect the level of perceived social cohesion among ethnic minorities (figures not shown). Finally, model 5 of Table 5.4 shows no significant relationship between ethnic distance towards the majority group and the wish to move out of the neighbourhood (nor do we find a significant relationship between the percentage minorities in the neighbourhood and ethnic distance towards the majority group (figures not shown)).

5.5 Conclusion and discussion

This chapter aimed at studying the motives behind people's wishes to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Consistent with previous studies on moving wishes (e.g., Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008), we found a positive relationship between ethnic concentration and moving wishes among ethnic majority residents. This finding is also in line with studies on actual residential mobility reporting 'white flight' from neighbourhoods with strong ethnic minority concentrations (Bolt et al., 2008; Brama, 2006; Crowder, 2000; Van Ham & Clark, 2009; Van Ham & Manley, 2009). Majority residents' higher moving wishes remained after taking into account important household, housing and non-ethnic structural neighbourhood predictors of residential mobility. In contrast, for ethnic minority residents, the positive relationship between ethnic

minority concentration and moving wishes could be fully explained by taking into account household and housing conditions (such as living in a flat or rental housing).

For ethnic majority residents, the outcomes are in correspondence with the pure-race perspective, arguing that residential preferences are motivated by the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood over and above its association with socioeconomic disadvantage (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011). Nevertheless, even though the ethnic neighbourhood composition remains important for majority residents, we also find support for the notion that non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics might have an influence on moving wishes. Whereas the average neighbourhood household income was unrelated to the wish to move, perceived neighbourhood disorder did play a role. Both ethnic majority and minority residents who report many neighbourhood problems (such as graffiti, nuisance, damage and destruction of the public space) are more likely to have a wish to move. Moreover, for ethnic majority residents, perceived disorder explains part of the relationship between ethnic concentration and moving wishes. Apparently, ethnic concentration neighbourhoods are also neighbourhoods with more disorder, and, as a result, majority residents want to leave. However, since we measured the amount of disorder residents *perceive* rather than the objective amount of disorder, we cannot preclude that an alternative explanation might also be correct. Possibly, ethnic majority residents perceive more disorder in an ethnic concentration neighbourhood than in a similar disordered neighbourhood with less ethnic minorities. If this is true, their wish to move is indirectly caused by the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood.

In addition, our study shows that both majority and minority residents value social cohesion, demonstrated in, for example, knowing and greeting fellow residents, interpersonal trust and the willingness to help each other out. The more social cohesion residents experience the less likely they have a wish to move. In line with predictions of the similarity principle, a lack of perceived social cohesion partly explains why majority residents wish to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Majority residents living among many ethnic minority neighbours feel less community and are less likely to report that their fellow residents greet each other, can get along well or are willing to help. Plausibly, differences in ethnicity

Table 5.4: Multilevel logistic regression analysis of the wish to move among *ethnic minority residents*; logit coefficients (standard errors).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)
Intercept	−0.12	(0.05)*	−0.08	(0.22)	−0.08	(0.22)	−0.06	(0.21)	−0.04	(0.22)
Percentage ethnic minorities	0.01	(0.00)**	0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.00)
Household and housing characteristics										
Household composition (single = ref)										
Single parent			−0.12	(0.24)	−0.10	(0.25)	−0.11	(0.25)	−0.11	(0.25)
Partner no children			−0.23	(0.24)	−0.24	(0.23)	−0.24	(0.24)	−0.24	(0.23)
Partner with children			−0.26	(0.16)	−0.23	(0.17)	−0.20	(0.17)	−0.22	(0.17)
Child living with parents			−0.15	(0.21)	−0.08	(0.21)	−0.04	(0.21)	−0.05	(0.21)
Having the wish to have children			0.79	(0.14)**	0.79	(0.14)**	0.81	(0.14)**	0.81	(0.14)**
Work status (paid work = ref)										
Student			−0.41	(0.18)*	−0.42	(0.18)*	−0.39	(0.18)*	−0.39	(0.18)*
Unemployed			−0.17	(0.13)	−0.18	(0.13)	−0.18	(0.13)	−0.19	(0.13)
Shared residence			0.68	(0.12)**	0.67	(0.12)**	0.63	(0.13)**	0.63	(0.13)**
Owner-occupied			−0.69	(0.13)**	−0.62	(0.13)**	−0.61	(0.13)**	−0.60	(0.13)**
Length of residence			0.02	(0.01)*	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
Man			0.06	(0.11)	0.05	(0.11)	0.03	(0.11)	0.03	(0.11)
Age			−0.02	(0.01)*	−0.02	(0.01)*	−0.02	(0.01)*	−0.02	(0.01)*
Education (low educated = ref)										
Medium			−0.12	(0.12)	−0.14	(0.13)	−0.15	(0.13)	−0.15	(0.13)
High			0.26	(0.16)	0.24	(0.16)	0.25	(0.16)	0.26	(0.16)
Turkish origin			0.02	(0.11)	−0.03	(0.11)	−0.07	(0.11)	−0.08	(0.11)
Neighbourhood characteristics										
Mean household income neighbourhood					−0.02	(0.02)	−0.02	(0.02)	−0.02	(0.02)
Perceived neighbourhood disorder					0.62	(0.13)**	0.51	(0.13)**	0.51	(0.13)**
Social relations between neighbours										
Perceived social cohesion							−0.33	(0.09)**	−0.33	(0.11)**
Ethnic distance towards majority residents									0.10	(0.11)
Variance components										
Neighbourhood variance	0.04	(0.06)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Explained neighbourhood variance (compared to the 0-model)	73 %		100 %		100 %		100 %		100 %	
N	1,684		1,684		1,684		1,684		1,684	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
Source: NELLS2009; KFDN – *Statistics Netherlands*, 2009.

might result in differences in beliefs, preferences and expectations between residents about everyday neighbourhood interactions and, eventually, in the wish to move out of the neighbourhood. To put these results in the general debate on the motives underlying ethnic residential preferences, our results seem to suggest that residential preferences of majority residents are based on positive ingroup preferences rather than outgroup rejection. That is, residents simply like the sense of community and cohesion within their own group. We do not find support for the notion that the wish to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods is due to negative attitudes towards ethnic minority neighbours.

We have to keep in mind, however, that we measure *perceived* social cohesion rather than actual neighbourhood practices. Qualitative research in 'problem' neighbourhoods in the Netherlands demonstrated that *reporting* a lack of neighbourhood social cohesion does not necessarily involve avoiding or rejecting actual neighbouring contacts (Van Eijk, 2012). Furthermore, the use of cross-sectional data makes that we should be careful in drawing conclusions about the causal relationship between neighbourhood perceptions and moving wishes. We cannot exclude that once residents are willing to move out of an (ethnically concentrated) neighbourhood, they might be less oriented to the neighbourhood and perceive less social cohesion (and perhaps more disorder) in order to justify their choice.

Unlike ethnic majority residents, perceived social cohesion did not mediate the relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes for ethnic minorities. Contrary to what the similarity principle would expect, our analyses indicated that neither the share of ethnic minorities (nor the share of the own ethnic group) in the neighbourhood is a factor that increases perceived social cohesion. Accordingly, the "safe haven" hypothesis, suggesting that for ethnic minorities ethnic concentration might have advantages in terms of social contacts and community, seems not to be supported by our data, at least not in terms of stronger perceived social cohesion. Also Bécares, Stafford, Laurence, & Nazroo (2011) did not find consistent support for the relationship between own-group ethnic concentration and social cohesion among ethnic minority groups in England. Although for Indian and Bangladeshi residents (but not for Pakistani, Black Caribbean and Black African) own-group ethnic concentration tended to increase experienced more social cohesion, they

argue that it is mostly area deprivation that affects social cohesion.

In our study, we examined the influence of static neighbourhood characteristics on moving wishes. It can be discussed to what extent static neighbourhood characteristics are able to influence actual mobility, because people choose for a particular neighbourhood with its characteristics in mind (Van Ham & Clark, 2009). Van Ham & Clark (2009) argue that there are good reasons to examine the impact of static neighbourhood characteristics (e.g., people's preferences might change over time), but it would be interesting for future research to also include measures of neighbourhood change. Previous studies already showed that next to ethnic concentration itself, particularly an *influx* of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood cause majority residents' wishes to leave the neighbourhood (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). It has been argued that declining neighbourhood conditions may cause stress as neighbourhood characteristics no longer meet the preferences or needs of its residents and that it is in these circumstances that residents might begin to worry about future neighbourhood conditions (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009, see also chapter 3). Plausibly, not only moving wishes, but also experienced social cohesion and interethnic attitudes might be negatively affected by neighbourhood change and decline, especially in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Walters (2011) argues, for example, that in response to cope with social and economic changes, people might fall back on familiar concepts and their own community. Feelings of racialised resentment are, therefore, likely to be elicited in neighbourhoods that are declining and are ethically mixed (see chapter 3). Additionally, since Van Ham & Clark (2009) argue that also a households' preferences might change over time, future studies should study neighbourhood changes in relation to vital life changes. We took a first attempt by exploring whether households who wish to have a child in the near future are more likely to report moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhood, but other life course events might be important as well, such as becoming unemployed, changing jobs or becoming 'empty nesters'. Preferably using longitudinal data, future research on residential mobility should therefore incorporate changing neighbourhood and life course conditions and, subsequently, changes in experienced social cohesion and interethnic attitudes by residents, in order to test our theoretical notions in a more dynamic way. In addition, longitudinal data could also provide a definitive answer

to the causal relationship between neighbourhood perceptions and moving wishes as we discussed above.

In the current absence of longitudinal residential mobility data that includes both various objective ethnic and non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics as well as social and attitudinal information of residents, we believe our study contributes to the literature as we considered both structural and social aspects of neighbourhood live in the study of moving wishes. We took a first step to provide better insight into the specific mechanisms at play in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods for both majority and minority residents. Our findings have an important implication for future policy directions in order to prevent so-called 'white flight' and ethnic segregation. Our findings point to the need of policy measures that invest in the quality of housing and the environment, but also to measures that are directed to improve the social relations between residents in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Our study suggest that it is not merely a matter of prejudicial attitudes that drive moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods (which would require other policy solutions). Yet, developing social contacts between neighbours, mutual knowledge and familiarity and interpersonal trust in everyday neighbourhood interactions might contribute to residents' overall satisfaction with their neighbourhood.

Chapter 6

Realising residential preferences? Discrepancies between what people want, where they search and where they live*

6.1 Introduction

Racial and ethnic residential segregation remains high for blacks and is growing for Latinos in the United States (Crowder, Pais, & South, 2012; Iceland et al., 2002). One of the major explanations for the high levels of segregation is that racial and ethnic groups prefer to live with few neighbours of different races and ethnicities (e.g., Clark, 1992; Schelling, 1971). A large body of work demonstrates that residents do prefer to live among large numbers of co-ethnics and that this is especially true for whites who indicate aversion to even moderate levels of neighbourhood integration. At the same time, some residents of all races express an interest in living in integrated neighbourhoods and the number of people expressing a willingness to do so has increased over time (e.g., Charles, 2006; Farley et al., 1994).

One critique of the argument that preferences perpetuate segregation is that stated preferences might not translate into actual moves. It is, critics

*This chapter is co-authored by Michael Bader and Maria Krysan. A slightly different version is currently under review at an international journal.

argue, easier to talk about something than to actually do it and therefore people might not always act upon their preferences, and preferences may not be obviously translated into actual housing outcomes. Linking preferences to residential segregation requires – as Clark (1992) argues – knowing both the preferences racial and ethnic groups hold *and* how well preferences match actual choices in the residential selection process.

A growing literature studies how well preferences expressed in surveys correspond to where people live. Although the general conclusion is that those who prefer racially integrated neighbourhoods are also more likely to live in an integrated neighbourhood, they also indicate that preferences do not perfectly correspond with the racial and ethnic composition of people's current neighbourhood (Adelman, 2005; Charles, 2000; Clark, 1992; Freeman, 2000; Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi, 2002). When a discrepancy between preferences and actual racial composition occurs, generally people live in neighbourhoods with more co-ethnics than they report preferring.

What these studies do not report, however, is whether respondents even considered neighbourhoods with their preferred racial and ethnic composition. The housing search is a key prior step to moving that is often neglected in this literature. It could be that people search in places that match preferences but end up living in neighbourhoods that do not match. This might suggest that discrimination plays a role in buying or renting a home or that some neighbourhoods turn out to be financially unattainable. Alternatively, people might not even search in places that match their preferences, for example, because they lack sufficient knowledge about neighbourhoods that match their preferences or due to a lack of socioeconomic resources. These possibilities offer different ways in which preferences may be related to residentially segregating moves. By shedding light on the correspondence – or discrepancy – between stated preferences, search locations, and outcomes, we can provide insight into a key link that may help explain persistent segregation.

In this chapter, we examine the correspondence between the racial and ethnic compositions of where people say they would ideally like to live, where they searched for housing, and where they currently live. A better understanding of where people have searched for housing (in addition to where they currently live) increases our knowledge about the discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviours, particularly about

the stage of the process in which disparities are most likely to arise. Accordingly, two main goals guide our analysis. First we aim to establish if whites, blacks and Latinos search for housing and reside in neighbourhoods they say they prefer in terms of the neighbourhood's racial and ethnic composition. Second, we examine what factors contribute to people having a discrepancy between preferences, the racial/ethnic composition of search locations and the current neighbourhood.

To answer our questions we use the 2004/2005 Chicago Area Study, a unique cross-sectional dataset that includes information on stated racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences, the racial and ethnic composition of individual's current neighbourhood and information on individual's housing search behaviour in 41 communities in the Chicago metropolitan area. These data enable us to relate whites', blacks' and Latinos' racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences to actual search behaviour in a local housing market as well as to characteristics of their current neighbourhood.

6.2 Previous research

A large number of studies investigate racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences, with most of them using a show card method in which respondents evaluate hypothetical neighbourhoods that show varying degrees of racial and ethnic diversity (e.g., Charles, 2006, 2000; Farley et al., 1994; Farley, Schuman, Bianchi, Colasanto, & Hatchett, 1978). This research demonstrated that race/ethnicity is an important factor in shaping neighbourhood preferences. It has been consistently found that whites favour predominantly white neighbourhoods, while blacks prefer integrated neighbourhoods (i.e., a 50 % white, 50 % black neighbourhood) and see 'all white' but also 'all black' neighbourhoods as least desirable (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Clark, 1991; Farley et al., 1994). For their part, Latinos favour a 50 % Latino, 50 % white neighbourhood over an 'all Latino' neighbourhood (Charles, 2005). Because the original show card method was limited to showing only two groups at a time, Charles (2005) created a different method in which respondents were asked to create their ideal neighbourhood composition. Using this tool, she found that all groups (but especially whites) drew a rather integrated neighbourhood but also had a strong preference for at least a substantial number of co-ethnics that

exceeded the share of any other outgroup.

Studies have begun to investigate how these stated racial residential preferences correspond to the actual neighbourhood racial composition of an individual. As one of the first, Clark (1992) examined the relationship between stated neighbourhood preferences and relocation choices and demonstrated that although most blacks preferred an integrated black-white neighbourhood, only 7 percent of the black residents realised this preference. Among whites and Latinos, most realised their preference for either a predominantly white (for whites) or predominantly Latino (for Latinos) neighbourhood. Importantly, however, of those who preferred an integrated neighbourhood, a large majority still moved to a neighbourhood that was predominantly inhabited by their own group. Furthermore, Freeman (2000) examined the role of racial/ethnic preferences in residential attainment processes and demonstrated that black and Latino preferences for living with whites was positively related to the percentage white in the respondent's actual neighbourhood. Similarly, Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi (2002) concluded that blacks with a stronger preference for black neighbourhoods are also more likely to reside in such neighbourhoods, though they maintained that preferences played only a minor role in residential attainment. Finally, Adelman (2005) also demonstrated that preferences do not perfectly correspond with actual neighbourhoods by showing that middle-class blacks who prefer to live in a racially integrated neighbourhood live on average in neighbourhoods that are 60 percent black and 30 percent white, while middle-class whites who prefer racially integrated neighbourhoods reside in predominantly white neighbourhoods (i.e., on average 85 percent white).

Overall, the above studies showed that – although residential preferences correlate with actual compositions – generally respondents live in neighbourhoods with more co-ethnics than they report preferring. In this chapter, we examine an important intermediate stage – people's search locations. We do this because a discrepancy between preferences and current neighbourhood compositions could occur at two stages in the process: namely, people might not search in neighbourhoods that match their preferences (henceforth, we refer to this as stage 1) or they do search in preferred neighbourhoods but end up living in neighbourhoods that do not match the search locations (i.e., stage 2).

To date, there are only a few studies that examine the role of racial composition on housing searches. Krysan (2008) found that in the Detroit metropolitan area whites mainly search in all white communities whereas blacks explore more varied types of neighbourhoods, ranging from predominantly white to predominantly black neighbourhoods. Relatedly, Krysan & Bader (2007) investigated the neighbourhoods which people in Detroit would "seriously consider" and "never consider" as a place to live. Whites mainly consider predominantly white neighbourhoods as serious options, while blacks would seriously consider neighbourhoods with large as well as small percentages of blacks. To our knowledge, there is no research that reports on the racial and ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods in which Latinos search for housing.

6.3 Theoretical background

In addition to investigating at which *stage* of the process discrepancies exist, integrating the housing search has important implications for our interpretation of the theoretical mechanisms that are central to understanding neighbourhood outcomes in general and the discrepancy between preferences and outcomes in particular. Spatial assimilation, place stratification and housing information models emphasise constraints during the process of neighbourhood selection that result in a discrepancy between preferences and outcomes. Yet, the nature of the constraints mentioned in these theories is different and they are likely to operate in different stages of the process. In the following, we discuss these theories and elaborate on who is likely to have a discrepancy, in what stage and in which direction.

One alternative to the constraints explanation of discrepancies is the possibility that individuals will state a preference for more diversity in their neighbourhoods than they actually desire. To the extent that people feel social desirability pressures in surveys to report more liberal racial attitudes, people may over-state their interest in diverse neighbourhoods when asked about their preferences. Existing research suggests this bias is stronger for whites than African Americans; little is known about its influence on Latinos (Krysan, 1998; Krysan & Couper, 2003). In all cases, however, we expect the social desirability pressures to be strongest for the preferences measure, and so its contribution to possible discrepancies

is greater at stage one of the process, with individuals not searching in neighbourhoods that match their preferences in the first place.

6.3.1 Spatial assimilation model

The spatial assimilation model (Alba & Logan, 1993; Massey, 1985) argues that the ability of residents to realise their residential desires is a function of a household's opportunities and constraints – particularly socioeconomic. Socioeconomic resources (such as income and education) increases a household's available choice of alternatives in the housing market (De Groot et al., 2011) so that discrepancies between preferences and outcomes may be due to inadequate socioeconomic resources to actualise preferences. Applying this model to our research, (a lack of) socioeconomic resources might create a discrepancy at both stages. First, people may search in neighbourhoods similar to their preferences, but those places might turn out to be financially unattainable (stage 2). Additionally, households might consider their financial possibilities when making a first selection of possible neighbourhoods to search and, hence, a lack of socioeconomic resources might also prevent people from searching in neighbourhoods that match their preferences in the first place (stage 1).

With respect to the role of socioeconomic resources in shaping the direction of discrepancies, we would expect it to function differently for whites, blacks, and Latinos, because of the strong relationship between neighbourhood socioeconomic characteristics and neighbourhood racial/ethnic composition. Neighbourhoods with substantial African American and Latino populations (as compared to white populations) are generally associated with socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty (e.g., Charles, 2003; Krivo, Peterson, & Kuhl, 2009). Consequently, it is expected that a lack of socioeconomic resources for blacks and Latinos is likely to result in more 'own group' members in their neighbourhood than they prefer, while for whites, fewer resources will result in fewer 'own group' members than they prefer.

6.3.2 Housing information

Housing information theories emphasise another sort of resource – i.e., knowledge of housing options – not typically considered in the spatial as-

similation model, but which may influence the discrepancy between preferences and search locations in particular (i.e., stage 1). This fits in the general category of the cognitive resources used in housing searches (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002) but for our research purposes we focus specifically on knowledge of the communities in which one might search (e.g., see Krysan & Bader, 2009). Specifically, insufficient knowledge of the housing market may prevent people from searching in neighbourhoods that match their preferences. To successfully find housing in neighbourhoods that meet the wishes of residents in terms of racial/ethnic composition, residents should have at least some knowledge about the possible communities in their search area that fit their preferences (Brown & Moore, 1970; Krysan & Bader, 2009). It is unlikely (though not impossible) that people search in communities they know nothing about, or at least the search costs of gathering information about these communities are higher (Krysan & Bader, 2009). Additionally, knowledge of the specific neighbourhoods in an area has an important impact on where people eventually end up living (Clark, 1986).

To the extent that knowledge differs for racial/ethnic groups, this knowledge can help us understand who experiences discrepancies and in which direction. Krysan & Bader (2009) showed, for example, that Latinos have less general knowledge about different communities in the Chicago metropolitan area and African Americans have generally less knowledge about relatively white and distant suburbs which might complicate the search for housing in more integrated neighbourhoods. Whites, on the other hand, are less aware of racially mixed – even majority white – neighbourhoods. Hence, whites, blacks and Latinos alike have better knowledge of neighbourhoods dominated by their own racial/ethnic group and this might lead to searches (and moves) to neighbourhoods that have larger percentages of their own group than they would prefer.

Finally, to the degree that individual searches are informed to a great extent by one's social networks, we may find that individuals both search and reside in neighbourhoods with greater percentages of their own group because social networks tend to be racially homogeneous, and so the search information provided by these networks may be similarly racially homogeneous, as social capital theorists would predict (Granovetter, 1973). Hence, since social networks tend to be racially and ethnically segregated and com-

munity knowledge is shaped by race, it can be expected that those who rely on their network when searching for housing will more likely (compared to those who use, e.g., newspaper advertisements or real estate agents) to search in neighbourhoods with more percentage own group than they might prefer.

6.3.3 Place stratification model

The place stratification model (Alba & Logan, 1993; Massey, 1985) emphasises institutional barriers as the primary driver of segregation. This model expects racial and ethnic minority groups to be less likely to realise their residential preferences because of discrimination. Housing discrimination can influence discrepancies at both stages. First, because real estate agents, loan officers or other agents deter some groups from living in the neighbourhood in which they searched. This highlights a possible explanation for the discrepancy between search locations and current neighbourhoods (stage 2), especially for African Americans and Latinos. Turner & Ross (2005) argue that although direct racial and ethnic discrimination against homebuyers and renters has generally declined over the years, indirect discriminatory practices like geographic steering have become increasingly important. Geographic steering – the idea that different racial and ethnic groups are shown different kinds of neighbourhoods during the search process – likely decreases the opportunity to search and reside in neighbourhoods that match racial and ethnic preferences. Since geographic steering takes place in the period people are searching for a place to live, it is expected to particularly influence the types of neighbourhoods in which people search for housing (and, thus, a discrepancy in stage 1). The direction of steering and its impact on discrepancies varies depending on the race and ethnicity of the searcher. Specifically, whites are encouraged to consider predominantly white and more affluent neighbourhoods whereas blacks and Latinos are steered to a more restricted number of less affluent minority neighbourhoods (Farley, 1996; Turner & Ross, 2005). In this way, processes of geographical steering might lead to whites, blacks and Latinos searching and subsequently residing in neighbourhoods that have a larger percentage of their own group than they would ideally prefer.

6.4 Methods

6.4.1 Data and measures

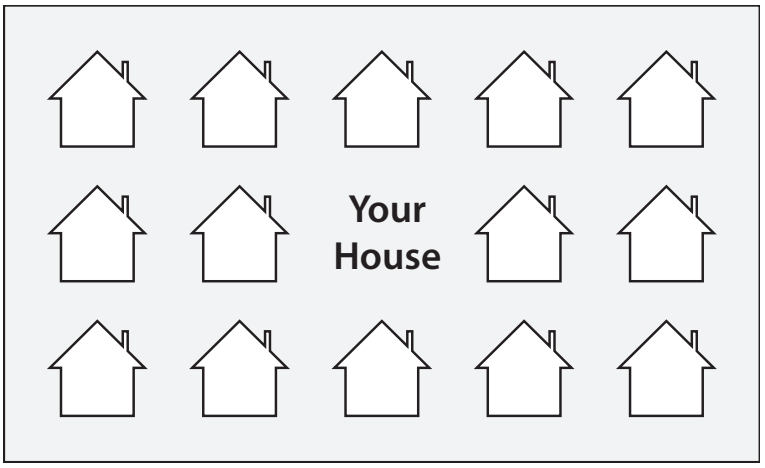
We use data of the *2004/2005 Chicago Area Study* (CAS2004/2005), a cross-sectional[1] survey consisting of a multistage area probability sample (stratified by neighbourhood racial/ethnic composition) representative of adults 21 years and older living in households in Cook County, Illinois (which includes the city of Chicago and many surrounding suburbs).[2] In addition to residential preferences, these data include information on housing searches and current neighbourhoods in a local housing market. Black and Latino respondents and those living in racially mixed neighbourhoods were oversampled. A total of 789 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in the period between August 2004 and August 2005. The overall response rate was 45 percent. For the purpose of our research, we limit our study to white, black and Latino respondents ($n = 769$).

To measure stated racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences respondents were asked to draw the racial and ethnic composition of their ideal neighbourhood (following Charles, 2000). Like the ethnic distance measure in chapter 5, stated ethnic neighbourhood preferences can be classified within the behavioural-orientation component of interethnic attitudes. Respondents were asked to imagine a neighbourhood that had the racial/ethnic mix they personally would feel most comfortable living in. Next, they were presented a card showing a neighbourhood with 15 houses of which the middle house represented their own house (see Figure 6.1). Respondents used the letters 'W' for white, 'B' for black, 'L' for Latino and 'AS' for Asian American and 'AB' for Arab American, to fill out their ideal neighbourhood racial/ethnic composition. For the purpose

[1] Issues of causal direction remain uncertain as preferences might not only influence the choice for a particular neighbourhood, but experiences during the search process and the racial/ethnic composition of the current neighbourhood might also affect people's preferences. Our data do not allow us to address this problem of reverse causality. Instead, our goal is to illuminate the degree to which preferences differ from searches and current neighbourhood conditions and the individual factors associated with possible discrepancies.

[2] These data limit the possibility to generalise the results to areas beyond the Chicago region. However, Chicago's racial and ethnic structure and residential segregation patterns are similar to many other cities in the U.S. like Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Milwaukee.

Figure 6.1: Show card presented to the respondents to indicate the racial/ethnic composition of their ideal neighbourhood.



Source: CAS2004/2005.

of our research, we calculated the *percentage of houses that were of the respondent's own racial/ethnic group*. Respondents who did not complete the housing card were listwise deleted ($n = 18$). To reduce the possibility of socially desirable responses regarding racial/ethnic residential preferences, respondents were as much as possible matched to an interviewer of similar race or ethnicity. In our final sample, 75 percent of the respondents were interviewed by someone of their own race.

Respondents were also shown a booklet of maps showing major roads and 41 communities in the Chicago metropolitan area (see Figure 6.2). The 41 communities included neighbourhoods in the city of Chicago ($n = 15$ of the total 77) as well as suburban communities ($n = 26$ of the total 287). Inside the city of Chicago, the communities represent administrative boundaries (so-called Communities Areas) that are well known among Chicago area residents, and roughly correspond to 'neighbourhoods'. Suburban communities are administrative boundaries defined by the census as 'census designated places' (CDPs) that usually align with community jurisdiction boundaries. The 41 communities that were identified were purposively selected to cover substantively important categories (e.g., a range of different racial/ethnic compositions, different housing prices, locations, etc.) and to be sure that areas would likely be known to a fair

number of Chicago residents (i.e., very small communities were excluded). Communities with populations over 85 percent white ("all white" neighbourhoods) are underrepresented, whereas racially/ethnically mixed communities are overrepresented on the map compared to their presence in the entire Chicago metropolitan area (for a complete overview of the distribution of neighbourhoods on the map and in the entire region, see Krysan & Bader, 2009).

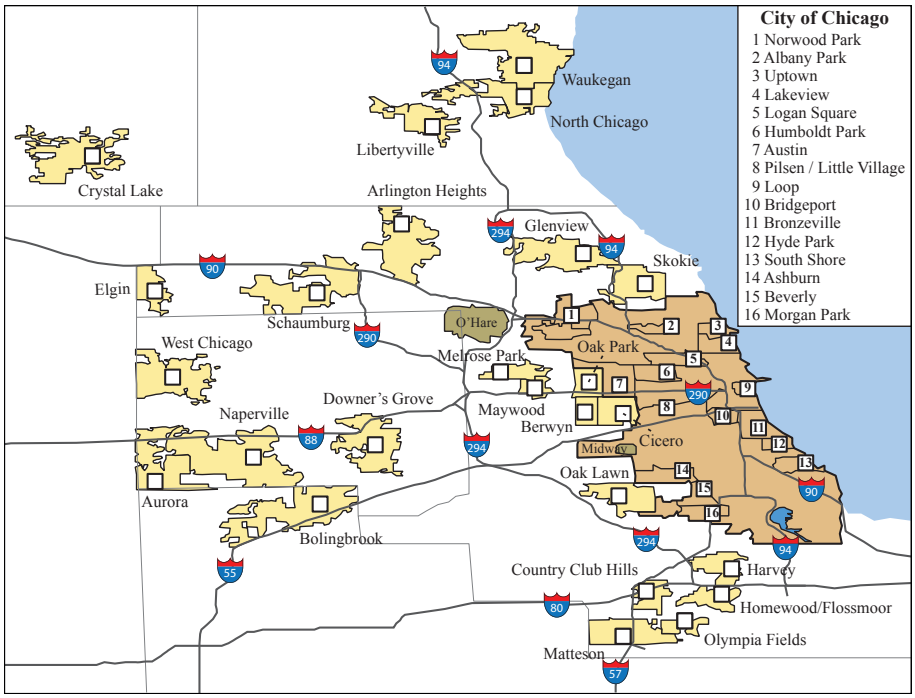
Respondents were asked to mark all neighbourhoods on the map in which they had searched for housing in the past 10 years. First, we removed those respondents ($n = 209$) who had lived for more than 10 years at the present address *and* never actively searched for housing in the meantime, leaving a sample size of 542. The number of indicated search locations ranged from 0 to 41, but on average respondents indicated 2.6 communities on the map in which they had actively searched for housing in the past 10 years. A total of 160 respondents who did search for housing in the past 10 years indicated that they had not searched for housing in any of the 41 communities shown on the map, resulting in a final sample size of 382 (123 white, 114 black and 145 Latino respondents).[3] To indicate the racial/ethnic composition of the search locations we calculated the *average percentage of a respondent's own racial/ethnic group* in the communities a respondent searched for housing (community figures are based on 2000 census statistics).

The racial and ethnic composition of the current neighbourhood was measured by the *percentage own racial/ethnic group* in the current neighbourhood, based on 2000 census tract statistics.

Informed by theoretical notions of spatial assimilation, place stratification, and information, we examine who is more or less likely to have "too many" of their own group in their (search) neighbourhood by including socioeconomic resources, information resources and experiences of self-reported housing discrimination. Socioeconomic resources were meas-

[3] Additional analyses indicated that in the removed subsample (i.e., those who did not search for housing in the past 10 years and those who did not search in one of the 41 communities), whites, blacks and older people are slightly overrepresented. Furthermore, the removed respondents are slightly more likely to have an own group neighbourhood preference and to live in a neighbourhood with larger shares of their own group. Nevertheless, patterns of discrepancies between preferences and current neighbourhoods are similar to the ones found in the analytic sample.

Figure 6.2: Map provided to the respondents as a tool to indicate their search locations.



Source: CAS2004/2005.

ured by a respondent's *educational degree* (4 dummy variables: less than high school degree, high school degree, some college but less than a Bachelor's degree, and Bachelor's degree or higher (= reference)) and *household income* ($< \$20.000$; $\$20.000 - \$39,999$; $\$40.000 - \$79.999$; $> \$80.000$ (= reference)).

Information resources were measured by a respondent's knowledge about different neighbourhoods in the Chicago metropolitan area. In addition to their searches, respondents indicated on a different map in the same booklet (identical to figure 6.2) the neighbourhoods they did not know anything about. The number of neighbourhoods a respondent indicated was used as a measure of a *general lack of knowledge* of the housing market. Moreover, to measure more racial/ethnic specific housing market knowledge we calculated the average percentage of a respondent's own group in the neighbourhoods they indicated they do *not* know anything about and compared this

to the average percentage own group in the other neighbourhoods (which they *do* know about). We created a dummy variable '*own race specific knowledge*' identifying those respondents for whom the average percentage own group in the neighbourhoods they *do* know is larger than in the ones they do *not* know. Furthermore, we created an *informal search* measure that indicates whether people talked to friends and/or relatives during their most recent search for housing.

Self-reported housing discrimination was measured by three items.[4] Respondents answered "yes" or "no" to the following questions: (1) whether or not they ever felt they were denied housing by a landlord or real estate agent because of their race/ethnicity, (2) whether or not they ever felt that a real estate agent was showing them only homes in certain neighbourhoods because of their race/ethnicity[5], and (3) whether or not respondents ever lived in a neighbourhood where neighbours made life difficult because of their race/ethnicity. We combined these items into a summary scale of *self-reported housing discrimination*, running from 0 (did not experience any of these) to 3 (experienced all three). Because of very low levels of self-reported discrimination among whites, this variable was not included in the analyses for whites.

All analyses control for *sex* (male = reference), *age* (in years), *presence of children* (< 18 in the household), being *married*, being a *homeowner*, being *foreign born* (not for blacks due to small sample sizes), living for *more than 10 years at the current address* (and, thus, searched for housing while living in the current neighbourhood) and the *number of years living in the Chicago metropolitan area* (Chicago MA). Table 6.1 summarises the variables used in our analyses.

6.4.2 Method of analysis

To examine if whites, blacks and Latinos search for housing and reside in the neighbourhoods they say they prefer we calculated the percentage of respondents in each racial/ethnic group that searched and currently reside

[4]Self-reported housing discrimination is an imperfect measure of actual discrimination in the housing market. Yet, in the absence of data on actual discrimination practices, we consider it a reasonable proxy.

[5]If respondents never used a real estate agent we considered them as not having experienced discrimination on this item.

in neighbourhoods with a similar, larger or smaller percentage of their own racial/ethnic group than in their ideal neighbourhood. If the average percentage own racial/ethnic group in the search locations or in the current neighbourhood of a respondent falls within a range of plus or minus 15 percent compared to the percentage own group in their ideal neighbourhood, we considered preferences and search locations/current neighbourhood to be similar, or a 'match'. Because preferences measured using the neighbourhood cards are not continuous (they increase in increments of 7 percent for each additional house the respondent marks as having a same-race neighbour), we classified matches as being within 15 percent of the own-race composition respondents indicated on their neighbourhood cards. We did this because this difference equals approximately the addition (or subtraction) of two same-race neighbours from a respondent's neighbourhood card. This means that respondents who have a discrepancy should have added or removed at least two houses on the preference card to be in line with their average search locations and current neighbourhood. Similarly, the percentage of respondents who reside in a neighbourhood with a similar, larger or smaller percentage of own group than in their average search location were calculated.

Next, in trying to understand who is more likely to have a discrepancy, we estimated three logistic regression models. We start with the overall question of the relationship between what residents prefer and where they currently live. The first model predicts, therefore, the probability that respondents *reside* in neighbourhoods that have larger percentages own racial/ethnic group than in their *ideal* neighbourhood (as opposed to living in neighbourhoods with a similar or smaller percentage own group than people say they prefer). Then we analyse discrepancies at the two different stages: that is, the probability that respondents *search* in neighbourhoods that have on average a larger percentage own racial/ethnic group that in their *ideal* neighbourhood (model 2) and the probability that respondents *reside* in a neighbourhood that has a larger percentage own racial/ethnic group than in their *average search location* (model 3). We discuss the results for whites (Table 6.4), blacks (Table 6.5) and Latinos (Table 6.6) separately. Finally, all analyses use a weight that incorporates a selection weight and an adjustment for nonresponse (which was the inverse of the response rate in each primary sampling unit). Furthermore, they account

for the clustered nature of our sampling approach, using STATA's "svy" command.

6.5 Results

Table 6.2 presents an overview of the mean stated racial/ethnic neighbourhood preferences, racial/ethnic composition of the search locations and the composition of the current neighbourhood for whites, blacks and Latinos. First, panel A shows that all groups drew rather diverse neighbourhoods but they also prefer to live in a neighbourhood with at least a substantial number of co-ethnics. This is especially true for whites but less so for blacks and Latinos. Second, all groups currently reside in a neighbourhood of which the majority of residents belong to their own racial/ethnic group, though this pattern is stronger for whites and blacks than for Latinos (panel B of Table 6.2). Finally, whites mainly search in neighbourhoods with a substantial number of their own group, whereas blacks and Latinos search in neighbourhoods with a substantial number of their own group but even larger shares of whites (panel C of Table 6.2).

Table 6.3 identifies the percentage of respondents who have a discrepancy between their ideal neighbourhood, their current neighbourhood, and their search locations. Panel A reveals the extent to which racial/ethnic preferences are reflected in the composition of the neighbourhoods in which respondents currently live. In line with patterns found in previous studies, the majority of white (68 %), black (64 %) and Latino respondents (56 %) live in neighbourhoods that have more of their own racial/ethnic group than they say they prefer. Panel B of Table 6.3 shows, furthermore, that the majority of whites in our sample (52 %) search in neighbourhoods with a larger share of their own group than they say they prefer, while the majority of blacks (62 %) and to a lesser extent Latinos (47 %) search in neighbourhoods that match their preferences with respect to the percentage own group.[6] Finally, panel C of Table 6.3 shows that whites generally reside in neighbourhoods that match the percentage own group

[6] Additional analyses in which we calculated if at least one search location (instead of the average location) matched their ideal neighbourhood, showed a similar pattern. Blacks (and to a smaller extent Latinos) search more often than whites in at least one neighbourhood that matches their preferences in terms of percentage own group.

Table 6.1: Descriptive statistics for whites, blacks and Latinos: range, means/proportion (M/p) and standard deviation (sd).

	Whites			Blacks			Latinos		
	Range	**M/p**	**sd**	**Range**	**M/p**	**sd**	**Range**	**M/p**	**sd**
Dependent variables									
Percentage own group in ideal neighbourhood	14.28 - 100	46.49	18.79	0 - 100	36.76	20.17	0 - 100	31.71	23.80
Percentage own group in current neighbourhood	0 - 95.97	73.45	15.43	0 - 100	66.24	36.88	2.68 - 98.51	50.87	32.76
Average percentage own group in search locations	11.47 - 89.94	67.61	14.63	1.29 - 99.00	40.34	22.57	2.33 - 83.03	32.34	25.62
Explanatory variables									
Education									
Less than H.S. degree	0/1	0.01		0/1	0.08		0/1	0.36	
H.S. degree	0/1	0.03		0/1	0.25		0/1	0.19	
Some college, less than BA degree	0/1	0.34		0/1	0.33		0/1	0.35	
BA degree or higher	0/1	0.61		0/1	0.32		0/1	0.10	
Household income									
$< \$20,000$	0/1	0.06		0/1	0.18		0/1	0.30	
$\$20,000$ - $\$39,999$	0/1	0.08		0/1	0.33		0/1	0.37	
$\$40,000$ - $\$79,999$	0/1	0.37		0/1	0.31		0/1	0.22	
$> \$80,000$	0/1	0.48		0/1	0.16		0/1	0.09	
General lack of knowledge	0 - 32	11.53	6.29	0 - 41	10.99	11.52	0 - 39	16.56	12.29
Own race specific knowledge	0/1	0.84		0/1	0.88		0/1	0.86	0.39
Used informal search methods	0/1	0.43		0/1	0.56		0/1	0.51	
Self-reported housing discrimination				0-3	0.71	1.07	0-3	0.57	1.00
Control variables									
Female	0/1	0.54		0/1	0.67		0/1	0.57	
Age (in years)	21 - 75	38.15	8.42	21 - 83	38.79	12.47	20 - 62	35.83	11.11
Foreign born	0/1	0.20					0/1	0.62	0.55
Married	0/1	0.57		0/1	0.35		0/1	0.57	
Child ($<$ 18 years in household)	0/1	0.45		0/1	0.63		0/1	0.77	
Homeowner (vs. renter)	0/1	0.69		0/1	0.48		0/1	0.41	
$>$ 10 years at current address	0/1	0.12		0/1	0.21		0/1	0.07	
Number of years in the Chicago MA	1 - 75	27.28	12.07	1 - 82	31.16	16.97	0 - 53	17.94	12.51
N		*123*			*114*			*145*	

Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

Table 6.2: Stated racial/ethnic preferences, racial/ethnic composition of search locations and current neighbourhood.[a]

	Whites ($n = 123$)	**Blacks** ($n = 114$)	**Latinos** ($n = 145$)
A. Stated racial/ethnic preferences:			
Mean percentage *whites* in ideal neighbourhood	46.5	26.7	31.3
Mean percentage *blacks* in ideal neighbourhood	15.1	36.8	16.1
Mean percentage *hispanics* in ideal neighbourhood	14.9	16.5	31.7
B. Racial/ethnic composition of current neighbourhood:			
Mean percentage *whites* in current neighbourhood	73.5	18.3	38.1
Mean percentage *blacks* in current neighbourhood	5.8	66.2	5.9
Mean percentage *hispanics* in current neighbourhood	12.1	10.9	50.8
C. Racial/ethnic composition of search locations:			
Mean average percentage *whites* in search locations	67.6	44.8	48.8
Mean average percentage *blacks* in search locations	10.1	40.3	13.0
Mean average percentage *hispanics* in search locations	13.9	10.6	32.3

Notes:
[a] Percentages do not sum to 100 percent due to the presence of other racial/ethnic groups in the Chicago Metropolitan area and the possibility to include Asians, Arab Americans and 'other' groups in the ideal neighbourhood.
Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

in the neighbourhoods in which they searched. Most blacks and Latinos, on the other hand, reside in neighbourhoods with a larger share of their own group than in the average neighbourhood they searched for housing.

In sum, whites both seem to search and reside in neighbourhoods with a larger percentage own group than they say they prefer. These results imply that whites experience a discrepancy in an early stage of the residential process (i.e., stage 1); namely, they do not search in neighbourhoods that match the racial composition they say they prefer. Furthermore, although the majority of blacks and to a smaller extent Latinos, search in neighbourhoods with their preferred share of own racial/ethnic group, they live in neighbourhoods with a larger percentage of their own group than in their ideal neighbourhood. These outcomes suggest that blacks and Latinos experience a discrepancy at a later stage of the process (i.e., stage 2) since they reside in neighbourhoods that have both more of their own group than they desire, and also than the neighbourhoods in which they searched. Next, Tables 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 report the results of logistic regression analyses of the probability that whites, blacks and Latinos have a discrepancy in the direction of 'too many' of their own group in the outcome variable.

Table 6.3: Percentage respondents with a discrepancy between percentage own racial/ethnic group in ideal neighbourhood, search locations and current neighbourhood by race/ethnicity.

	Whites ($n = 123$)	**Blacks** ($n = 114$)	**Latinos** ($n = 145$)
A. Percentage own group in current neighbourhood is:			
Similar as in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($\pm 15\,\%$)	27.2	31.1	30.5
Larger than in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($> +15\,\%$)	67.6	63.9	56.0
Smaller than in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($< -15\,\%$)	5.3	5.0	13.6
B. Average percentage own group in search locations is:			
Similar as in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($\pm 15\,\%$)	40.3	61.7	47.1
Larger than in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($> +15\,\%$)	52.1	20.5	28.8
Smaller than in their *ideal* neighbourhood ($< -15\,\%$)	7.6	17.8	24.1
C. Percentage own group in current neighbourhood is:			
Similar as in their *search* locations ($\pm 15\,\%$)	63.8	35.6	35.5
Larger than in their *search* locations ($> +15\,\%$)	24.4	59.8	56.3
Smaller than in their *search* locations ($< -15\,\%$)	11.8	4.7	8.2

Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

Whites. Consistent with our expectation relating to spatial assimilation for whites, model 1 of Table 6.4 shows that those who have some college or less (compared to those with a bachelor's degree or more) are less likely to reside in a neighbourhood with more whites than they say they prefer. Yet, in contrast to our expectation, those with an income between $\$20,000 - \$39,999$ are more likely to reside in a neighbourhood with more whites than those in the highest income category (as well as the other income categories). In line with our predictions about search strategies, the use of informal search methods while searching for housing is associated with a discrepancy: there are more whites in their current neighbourhood than they say they prefer. Knowledge of the housing market, however, does not affect the discrepancy between preferences and current neighbourhood. Individuals who are married, and who are not born in the U.S.[7] are less likely to reside in a neighbourhood with a larger percentage whites than in their ideal neighbourhood.

Model 2 in Table 6.4 indicates that predictors of spatial assimilation and housing information cannot explain the probability that whites search in whiter neighbourhoods than they prefer. Model 2 additionally shows

[7] Most of the foreign-born whites in our sample are from Eastern Europe, e.g., Poland, Ukraine and Russia.

Table 6.4: Logistic regression analysis of the probability that *whites* reside in neighbourhoods with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 1), search in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 2) and reside in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in average search location (model 3); logit coefficients (standard error).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)
Female	0.21	(0.50)	−0.16	(0.47)	0.93	(0.53) †
Age	−0.02	(0.03)	0.03	(0.03)	−0.03	(0.03)
Homeowner	−0.22	(0.80)	1.32	(0.48) **	−1.08	(0.57) †
Child	−0.00	(0.76)	−0.09	(0.54)	0.47	(0.49)
Married	−1.13	(0.64) †	0.10	(0.59)	−0.50	(0.60)
Foreign born	−1.96	(0.76) *	−2.43	(0.65) **	−1.15	(0.70)
Number of years in the Chicago MA	−0.05	(0.03)	−0.04	(0.02) †	−0.00	(0.02)
> 10 years current address	−0.55	(0.63)	−0.67	(0.93)	−0.75	(1.14)
Education (vs. BA degree or higher)[a]						
Less than BA degree	−1.10	(0.61) †	0.36	(0.48)	−0.73	(0.61)
Household income (vs. > $80,000)						
< $20,000	−0.94	(1.40)	0.17	(1.03)	−0.57	(1.18)
$20,000 - $39,999	2.33	(0.90) *	1.30	(0.97)	0.03	(1.40)
$40,000 - $79,999	0.55	(0.68)	0.32	(0.53)	0.40	(0.76)
General lack of knowledge	0.05	(0.04)	−0.01	(0.04)	0.00	(0.04)
Own race specific knowledge	−0.90	(0.97)	1.24	(0.76)	−0.56	(0.68)
Used informal search methods	0.95	(0.54) †	0.51	(0.41)	1.06	(0.64)
Intercept	4.04	(1.95) *	−1.85	(1.43)	0.62	(1.78)
N	*123*		*123*		*123*	

Notes: † $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
[a] For whites, categories 'less than H.S. degree', 'H.S. degree' and 'some college, less than BA degree' are collapsed due to small sample sizes.
Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

that homeowners are more likely to have a discrepancy between search locations and racial/ethnic neighbourhood preferences: white homeowners (compared to white renters) are more likely to search in neighbourhoods with more whites than they say they prefer. Also, it appears that whites who were born outside the United States are less likely to search in neighbourhoods with more whites than they prefer.

Model 3 of Table 6.4 shows only a few significant correlates for the small percentage of whites who have a discrepancy between their average search locations and current neighbourhood. Females and renters (compared to males and homeowners) are more likely to reside in a neighbourhood with a larger percentage of whites than in their average search location. Hence, it appears that while white homeowners have a discrepancy in the first stage (they already search in more white neighbourhoods, see model 2), renters have a discrepancy in the second stage (their current neighbourhood is whiter than their average search location). Other predictors have no effect.

African Americans. Table 6.5 reports the analyses for African American respondents. First, model 1 shows that income is related to having

a discrepancy between preferences and current neighbourhood but it only partly follows our expectations based on the spatial assimilation model predicting that insufficient socioeconomic resources for blacks would result in more 'own group' members in their neighbourhood than they prefer. Compared to blacks in the highest income category, those who fall in the middle income categories (but *not* the lowest income category) are *less* likely to reside in a neighbourhood with a larger percentage of black residents than they would prefer. Additional analyses with the lowest income category as a reference show that blacks with an income of less than $20,000 are indeed more likely to reside in a neighbourhood with *more* blacks than in their ideal neighbourhood and search locations compared to higher income classes, except for the highest income class. We find similar results for the discrepancy between the racial/ethnic composition of current neighbourhood and search locations (model 3). In line with information theories, model 1 demonstrates that those with a general lack of knowledge about neighbourhoods in Chicago are more likely to live in a neighbourhood that has a larger percentage of African Americans than they would prefer. The same is true for the discrepancy between the average search location and current neighbourhood (model 3).

Although information theories would predict that a general lack of knowledge of the housing market would particularly impact where people *search*, model 2 shows that housing market knowledge does not affect the discrepancy between search locations and racial/ethnic preferences. For African Americans, only self-reported housing discrimination is related to having a discrepancy between the average percentage blacks in the search locations and neighbourhood preferences: those who report housing discrimination are less likely to search in neighbourhoods with more blacks than they ideally prefer. One likely explanation for this finding is that blacks who search in relatively whiter neighbourhoods (compared to their preferences) are more likely to experience discrimination. Given the lack of longitudinal data, we can only speculate about this possibility.

Finally, models 1 and 3 of Table 6.5 show that residing for more than 10 years at the current address increases the chance of residing in a neighbourhood with more blacks than in the ideal neighbourhood as well as in the average search location. Since we asked respondents about their search activities in the past 10 years, they would have searched for housing while

Table 6.5: Logistic regression analysis of the probability that *blacks* reside in neighbourhoods with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 1), search in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 2) and reside in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in average search location (model 3); logit coefficients (standard error).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)
Female	1.54	(0.73) *	0.01	(0.82)	0.54	(0.67)
Age	−0.01	(0.05)	0.03	(0.04)	0.02	(0.04)
Homeowner	0.37	(1.01)	0.13	(0.94)	−0.56	(1.21)
Child	−0.98	(0.68)	−1.03	(0.67)	−0.13	(0.80)
Married	0.39	(0.69)	0.53	(0.65)	−1.04	(0.79)
Number of years in the Chicago MA	0.04	(0.04)	−0.00	(0.04)	0.02	(0.04)
> 10 years current address	2.04	(0.70) **	0.67	(0.79)	1.98	(0.74) **
Education (vs. BA degree or higher)						
Less than H.S. degree	0.29	(1.28)	1.97	(1.23)	−0.93	(1.19)
H.S. degree	−0.23	(0.99)	0.56	(0.80)	0.46	(0.10)
Some college, less than BA degree	−0.45	(1.02)	1.040	(1.00)	0.51	(0.69)
Household income (vs. > $80,000)						
< $20,000	0.77	(1.23)	−1.45	(1.21)	1.05	(1.49)
$20,000 - $39,999	−1.62	(0.95) †	−2.33	(1.16) *	−2.39	(1.29) †
$40,000 - $79,999	−1.68	(0.70) *	−1.52	(1.10)	−2.43	(0.77) **
General lack of knowledge	0.11	(0.04) **	−0.00	(0.04)	0.11	(0.04) **
Own race specific knowledge	1.56	(1.24)	1.57	(1.16)	1.59	(0.94)
Used informal search methods	0.91	(0.71)	−0.15	(0.68)	−0.15	(0.71)
Self-reported housing discrimination	0.10	(0.26)	−0.72	(0.38) †	0.51	(0.36)
Intercept	−3.07	(2.30)	−2.48	(1.71)	−2.34	(2.28)
N	*114*		*114*		*114*	

Notes: † $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; tested two-sided.
Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

being in the current house, but for whatever reason, did not move. This group has searched for housing in less black neighbourhoods than their present neighbourhood but did not move into it.

Latinos. Table 6.6 shows the outcomes for Latinos. The proposed predictors do not relate to the discrepancy between the percentage own group in Latinos' current neighbourhood and their residential preferences (model 1). Yet, in line with our expectations regarding informal search methods, model 2 demonstrates that those who have used informal search methods are more likely to search in neighbourhoods with larger shares of Latinos than they would ideally prefer. In addition, age and having children in the household predicts a discrepancy between search locations and preferences: older respondents are more likely to search in a neighbourhood in which the share of Latinos outnumbers their preference, while families with children are less likely to do so.

In addition, model 3 indicates that Latinos in the lowest income category (i.e., < $20,000) are more likely to reside in a neighbourhood with more co-ethnics than in the average neighbourhood in which they searched

Table 6.6: Logistic regression analysis of the probability that *Latinos* reside in neighbourhoods with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 1), search in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in ideal neighbourhood (model 2) and reside in a neighbourhood with *more* own group than in average search location (model 3); logit coefficients (standard error).

	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)	coef.	(s.e.)
Female	−0.72	(0.72)	0.84	(0.64)	−0.33	(0.88)
Age	−0.04	(0.04)	0.07	(0.03) *	−0.08	(0.05) †
Homeowner	−0.48	(0.84)	−0.43	(0.67)	−0.12	(0.64)
Child	0.28	(0.68)	−0.86	(0.49) †	1.10	(0.80)
Married	0.45	(0.46)	0.35	(0.88)	0.34	(0.59)
Foreign born	0.22	(0.89)	0.78	(0.60)	1.45	(1.11)
Number of years in the Chicago MA	0.03	(0.04)	0.01	(0.03)	0.04	(0.04)
> 10 years current address	1.45	(1.11)	−0.82	(0.93)	1.19	(1.02)
Education (vs. BA degree or higher)						
Less than H.S. degree	1.16	(1.25)	−0.69	(0.89)	−0.30	(1.07)
H.S. degree	1.51	(1.69)	−0.68	(1.07)	−0.67	(1.39)
Some college, less than BA degree	0.97	(1.17)	0.40	(0.97)	−0.45	(1.19)
Household income (vs. > $\$40,000$)[a]						
< $\$20,000$	−0.08	(0.99)	−0.40	(0.76)	1.69	(0.97) †
$\$20,000$ - $\$39,999$	0.13	(0.91)	0.24	(0.92)	0.44	(0.93)
General lack of knowledge	−0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	−0.08	(0.03) *
Own race specific knowledge	0.86	(0.73)	−0.58	(1.15)	0.87	(0.86)
Used informal search methods	0.22	(0.66)	1.23	(0.66) †	−0.08	(0.75)
Reported housing discrimination	−0.27	(0.31)	−0.23	(0.36)	0.05	(0.29)
Intercept	−0.56	(1.91)	−3.85	(1.92) *	0.98	(2.03)
N	*145*		*145*		*145*	

Notes: † $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; tested two-sided.
[a] Income categories $\$40,000$ - $\$79,999$ and > $\$80,000$ are collapsed due to small sample sizes.
Source: CAS2004/2005; US census, 2000.

for housing. Hence, consistent with predictions of the spatial assimilation model, Latinos may search in neighbourhoods similar to their preferences, but those places might turn out to be financially unattainable. Also, but opposite to our predictions that knowledge about neighbourhoods increases the ability to realise residential preferences, Latinos who lack general knowledge of Chicago neighbourhoods are less likely to reside in a neighbourhood that has a larger percentage Latino than in the neighbourhoods in which they searched for housing. Lastly, similar to blacks, residing for more than 10 years at the current address increases the chance of residing in a neighbourhood with more Latinos than in the ideal neighbourhood as well as in the average search location.

6.6 Conclusion and discussion

Past research has examined the association between preferences for particular racial and ethnic neighbourhood compositions, and the composition of the current neighbourhood. In this chapter we draw on unique data that allow us to provide a preliminary look at how an important intermediate step – the search for housing – influences these relationships. Overall, our results draw attention to the value of examining the search process that precedes the final choice, when studying the correspondence between residential preferences and behaviours in particular, but also as an important component to the continuation of racial and ethnic residential segregation.

In line with previously reported disparities between residential preferences and current neighbourhood racial/ethnic composition (e.g., Adelman, 2005; Clark, 1992), we found that residents generally live in neighbourhoods with a larger percentage of their own racial/ethnic group than they report preferring. Yet, we find interesting racial and ethnic differences in the stage at which these disparities arise, thus emphasising the value of studying the search process in relation to residential attainment. Our results suggest that whites experience a discrepancy between preferences and behaviour at an early stage of the residential process, as they generally do not search in neighbourhoods that match their preferences. In contrast, blacks – and to a lesser extent Latinos – search in neighbourhoods that correspond to their preferences in terms of their own racial and ethnic group, but generally reside in neighbourhoods with larger percentages of blacks and Latinos, respectively. The greater degree of match between search locations and preferences suggests that the explanation for the discrepancy between preferences and current residence should be sought in constraints that prevent blacks and Latinos to end up living in the neighbourhood they searched for housing.

For whites, our analyses revealed only limited support for the role of spatial assimilation and housing information in shaping discrepancies. Consistent with the spatial assimilation model which predicted that, for whites, fewer resources would result in fewer 'own group' members than they prefer, our results indicate that lower educated whites are less likely to reside in neighbourhoods that have larger percentages of whites than they say they prefer. Yet, we did not find such an effect for income. Fur-

thermore, we found evidence that the use of friends and family during the search for housing might result in a neighbourhood with more whites than ideally preferred. Under the assumption of racially homophilous networks, for those who rely on networks when searching for housing it might be harder to learn of different types of neighbourhoods and in this way a discrepancy between preferences and actual neighbourhoods emerges from a lack of knowledge. However, general and race-specific knowledge of the different communities in Chicago did not predict discrepancies among whites.

In addition to constraints in the residential selection process, another plausible possibility is that whites are not as open to integrated neighbourhoods as they suggest they are. Influenced by social desirability, it may be that whites *report* a preference for integrated neighbourhoods when in fact they favour predominantly white neighbourhoods, contributing to a discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviours. Our results suggest that socially desirable responding may contribute to the discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviours of whites in particular, as a majority of whites (in contrast to blacks and Latinos) does not even search in neighbourhoods that match their reported preferences. In line with this reasoning we find that it is particularly higher educated whites – a group that existing research suggest is more susceptible to social desirability pressures (e.g., Krysan, 1998) – reside in neighbourhoods with more whites than they report they prefer.

With respect to the discrepancies of blacks and Latinos, our results suggest that spatial assimilation and housing information processes may both play a role, although, overall, we find only a limited number of significant effects. First, in line with the spatial assimilation model, Latinos and African Americans in the lowest income categories are more likely than those in higher income categories to have a discrepancy between search locations and preferences, so that they reside in neighbourhoods with more of their own racial/ethnic group than in their average search location. In addition, information factors also shape the discrepancy between search locations and current neighbourhood – though in opposite directions for blacks and Latinos. African Americans who are overall less knowledgeable of the housing market are more likely to have more blacks in their current neighbourhood than in the neighbourhoods they searched. For Latinos, this lack of knowledge results in a reduction in the discrepancy, perhaps

due to the overall smaller number of communities that are predominantly Latino. Yet, we do find evidence that Latinos who draw on what are (likely) homogeneous social networks to help their search are more likely to search in neighbourhoods with larger shares of Latinos than they would ideally prefer. Finally, in contrast to the place stratification model, reported housing discrimination was not related to having a discrepancy. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that discriminatory barriers discourage blacks and Latinos from residing in the more integrated neighbourhoods they prefer, since there is a large discrepancy in the second stage in particular, with search locations not corresponding with current neighbourhood racial/ethnic conditions.

Overall, in examining the racial and ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which people searched for housing, we provided insight into the potential role the housing search plays in contributing to the discrepancy between residential preferences and current neighbourhood racial and ethnic composition. Although we used a unique dataset which enabled us to measure search behaviour among whites, blacks and Latinos, several limitations of our data should be kept in mind. First, since it is impossible in the present design to present respondents all possible options, we used a purposive non-random sample of 41 communities on our map of the Chicago metropolitan area. For those who prefer white neighbourhoods, the proportion of neighbourhoods on the map that match their preferences is smaller than they in fact are. Similarly, for those who prefer racially and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods, the proportion of neighbourhoods on the map is larger than they would encounter in Chicago as a whole. It is hard to determine what the exact consequences are of the fact that we imperfectly measured the "opportunity structure" for observing discrepancies between preferences and compositions of search locations. Yet, given that a majority of respondents said they preferred rather mixed areas, we believe that it would most likely result in an underestimation of discrepancies because respondents had more opportunities among the 41 to choose their ideal (which many said was racially mixed).

Second, the use of cross-sectional data means that we cannot draw causal inferences. Because information on preferences and current neighbourhood was measured at the same time, and information on respondents' searches of communities predated statements of preferences, we cannot rule

out the possibility that people's current neighbourhood and search experiences have informed racial residential preferences instead of the other way around. This might have affected our results in different ways. First, it might have underestimated discrepancies in the case of people who could not realise their initial preference but adjusted their attitudes to the situation in the current neighbourhood (or based on their search experiences). However, it might also have caused an overestimation of discrepancies for residents who searched or reside in a neighbourhood that matched their original preferences but changed their preferences because the neighbourhood did not meet their expectations.

The research in this chapter is, therefore, a first step in pointing out the discrepancy between stated preferences, search locations, and outcomes. The results compel future research to gather new large-scale longitudinal data in which residential preferences and complete housing search and neighbourhood careers can be followed over time to test our causal implications and to take into account the full opportunity structure. It is also important for future studies to link these housing careers to information about individual socioeconomic resources, housing market knowledge and local discrimination practices to understand more thoroughly the relevance of the housing search for interpreting spatial assimilation, place stratification and information models. However, using an innovative dataset that measured for the first time the search locations of residents of a major metropolitan area, we have drawn attention to the possibility of the discrepancy between stated preferences, search locations, and residential outcomes in general, and the importance of examining more carefully the search process in particular if we hope to better understand the way in which racial residential segregation is perpetuated.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and discussion

7.1 Introduction

Against the background of growing ethnic residential concentration in European city neighbourhoods, this dissertation set out to inquire the extent to which the neighbourhood affects the interethnic attitudes of its residents and the degree in which these attitudes are reflected in the residential choices people make. The focus of this research derived from the notions of two research fields. First, the field of interethnic relations has been investigating under what conditions and by which mechanisms the interethnic attitudes of residents are influenced by the ethnic composition of their local environment (for example, see Gijsberts et al., 2010; Lancee & Dronkers, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). Nevertheless, the non-ethnic environmental circumstances in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods remained unsatisfactorily addressed as well the consequences of interethnic attitudes for residential intentions and behaviour. Second, research in the field of urban sociology provides insight in the consequences of both ethnic and non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics for residential intentions and behaviour (Dietz, 2002; Friedrichs, 1998; Hedman & Galster, 2013), but the role residents' interethnic attitudes play in this process remained understudied.

In this dissertation, I combined insights of both fields of research by examining the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics, interethnic attitudes of neighbourhood residents and residential intentions and behaviour (see Figure 1.1 in chapter 1). Using Friedrichs' (1998) and Gal-

ster's (2012) classification of mechanisms behind neighbourhood effects, I started from the assumption that neighbourhoods affect the interethnic attitudes of their residents in two ways: first, by determining the likelihood that residents are exposed to other ethnic groups and the characteristics of these other ethnic groups (i.e., social-interactive mechanism) and, second, by defining the socioeconomic and physical conditions in which residents find themselves and in which interactions between ethnic groups come about (i.e., environmental mechanism). Hence, my first goal was to understand more fully the specific ethnic, socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood characteristics that affect interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents. Subsequently, I studied the assumption that in addition to neighbourhoods influencing residents' interethnic attitudes, interethnic attitudes in turn affect (the development of) neighbourhood characteristics as they may guide residential behavioural decisions. The second goal of this study was, therefore, to examine the extent to which aspects of the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes are related to residential behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. Moreover, I studied these topics from the perspectives of both the ethnic majority group and (multiple) ethnic minority groups using multiple methods, such as multilevel modelling and a vignette experiment.

In this concluding chapter, I first summarise the main findings of this dissertation by giving a short overview of each empirical chapter in section 7.2. Subsequently, I formulate the general conclusions of this study in section 7.3, forming an answer to the research questions posed at the start of this research. The remainder of the chapter discusses the study's contributions (section 7.4) and limitations (section 7.5) which together yield interesting directions for future research.

7.2 Summary of main findings

7.2.1 Part 1: The relationship between the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes

The empirical chapters in part 1 (i.e., chapters 2, 3 and 4) answered the first central research question of this dissertation: *to what extent are ethnic, socioeconomic and physical characteristics of neighbourhoods related*

to interethnic attitudes of ethnic majority and minority residents?

In *chapter 2*, the focus was on the relationship between the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood and interethnic attitudes. I expanded upon previous research by considering a) the mutual interethnic attitudes between the ethnic majority group and various ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans, b) the different ethnic (minority) groups neighbourhoods are composed of and c) interpreting the impact of the ethnic neighbourhood composition while controlling for the socioeconomic population composition. The following research question was central: *How do residents of different ethnic origin evaluate different ethnic (minority) outgroups based on the shares of these particular ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood?* Overall, the analyses showed only few effects of neighbourhood outgroup size on outgroup attitudes, suggesting that interethnic attitudes towards *particular* ethnic groups seem not that much influenced by the presence of these *particular* groups in people's direct neighbourhood environment. This finding is in contrast with notions of intergroup contact theory and ethnic competition theory that both expect interethnic attitudes to be influenced by the presence of other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood, though either positively via positive contact experiences or negatively via increased ethnic threat. Nevertheless, outcomes indicated that particularly the outgroup attitudes of Turkish residents were affected by the size of the ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood: the presence of Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese in the neighbourhood was associated with less positive attitudes towards these minority groups, whereas the share of native Dutch residents was positively related to the attitudes towards natives. Furthermore, in line with ethnic competition theory, chapter 2 showed that an influx of ethnic minorities (in general) in the neighbourhood negatively affected attitudes towards Turks and Moroccans. Finally, I found no effect of the socioeconomic population composition of the neighbourhood on interethnic attitudes nor did the analyses show evidence that effects of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood were absent because of its strong relation with socioeconomic disadvantage as argued for by proponents of the racial proxy perspective.

While chapter 2 focused on the influence of the specific ethnic neighbourhood composition, *chapter 3* aimed at analysing the impact of so-

cioeconomic and physical neighbourhood characteristics. More specifically, I considered the impact of a) the amount of and increase in neighbourhood disorder and b) the interaction between neighbourhood disorder and the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood on interethnic attitudes of both ethnic majority and minority residents. The following research question was addressed in chapter 3: *To what extent are neighbourhood disorder and decline related to interethnic attitudes of majority and minority residents, and to what extent is this relationship dependent on the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood?* Based on the idea of social disorganisation theory that living in disorderly neighbourhoods makes people less trusting together with the notions of scapegoat theory and racialised resentment, I argued in chapter 3 that neighbourhood disorder would negatively affect interethnic attitudes. Indeed, I found that among both ethnic majority and minority residents a relative *increase* in disorder (but *not* the current amount of disorder) was related to more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, especially in neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of ethnic minorities. These results can be interpreted in line with Allport's (1948) scapegoat theory which argues that particularly visible, available and low status groups are more likely to become the target of scapegoating and racialised resentment. In addition, unlike the shares of particular ethnic minority groups in chapter 2, I found an effect of ethnic minority concentration *in general* on interethnic attitudes, but only for ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority respondents living in ethnic minority concentrated neighbourhoods reported less positive attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, the socioeconomic population composition nor the influx of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood affected residents interethnic attitudes. In short, I conclude that an increase in neighbourhood disorder negatively affects attitudes towards ethnic minorities, and that in these declining neighbourhood circumstances the concentration of minority groups might even reinforce this effect.

Both chapters 2 and 3 focused on the extent to which interethnic attitudes differ across various types of neighbourhoods. *Chapter 4* analysed this topic from a different angle and aimed at investigating whether the same person would judge otherwise identical residents differently when encountered in different neighbourhood environments, resulting in the following research question: *To what extent are attitudes towards neighbourhood*

residents affected by the ethnicity of the resident and by the aspects of the neighbourhood environment in which residents meet? The experimental set-up of the data used in this chapter allowed me to a) estimate the net impact of the ethnicity of the resident as compared to other resident characteristics and b) the net impact of different (stereotype-(in)consistent) neighbourhood environments. First, in contrast to the expectation of the pure-race perspective, no overall effect of the residents' ethnicity on the general impression ratings was found. Yet, respondents did not base their evaluation of the resident on the other resident characteristics either, as was expected from the racial proxy perspective. Nevertheless, for majority respondents, the results did show a main net effect of the ethnicity of the resident shown at the picture: native Dutch respondents were less positive about Surinamese residents (irrespective of the other resident and neighbourhood characteristics). Furthermore, Antillean and Surinamese respondents evaluated residents who were portrayed as regularly causing trouble less positively. Second, I found evidence that the environment in which one meets other people might affect the general impression that other persons make. Outcomes suggested that people encountered in a disorderly environment with graffiti and street litter are judged less positively than those encountered in an orderly environment (although separate group analyses showed that this general effect remained only significant for native Dutch respondents). Furthermore, Moroccan and Antilleans evaluated residents (irrespective of their ethnicity) encountered in a low status neighbourhood less positively than residents in high status neighbourhoods. Additionally, some evidence was found for the hypothesis that minority respondents are less positively evaluated in stereotype-consistent neighbourhood environments: native Dutch respondents were less positive about Moroccan residents encountered in low-status neighbourhoods. In all, attitudes towards our fictive portrayed residents are only to a limited extent affected by the characteristics of the residents and the neighbourhood context. Nevertheless, some of the findings in this chapter resemble patterns found in chapters 2 and 3such as the restricted impact of socioeconomic and cultural resident characteristics and the importance of neighbourhood disorder.

7.2.2 Part 2: The neighbourhood, interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour

The empirical chapters in part 2 of this dissertation (i.e., chapters 5 and 6) inquired the second central research question: *To what extent are neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes related to residential intentions and behaviour of ethnic majority and minority residents?*

Research in *chapter 5* focused on the role interethnic attitudes play in ethnic majority and minority residents' wishes to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. In addition to attitudes towards other ethnic groups, I also considered the role of community and cohesion within the neighbourhood. The research question that was answered is: *To what extent do ethnic outgroup attitudes and perceived social cohesion explain ethnic majority and minority residents' moving wishes out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods?* In this chapter, I was able to a) link interethnic attitudes to moving wishes of both ethnic majority and minority residents while b) taking into account the influence of structural neighbourhood and housing characteristics. In line with the pure-race perspective, results showed that ethnic majority residents were more likely to have a wish to move when they lived in neighbourhoods with a large share of ethnic minorities. Part of this relationship could be attributed to the housing conditions (such as living in a flat) and to higher reported disorder in these neighbourhoods (as was predicted in the racial proxy perspective), but the ethnic neighbourhood composition remained important. Furthermore, analyses suggested that the relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes could be explained by a lack of perceived social cohesion, as I predicted from the notions of the belief congruency theory and similarity principle. However, no support was found for the notion that the wish to move out of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods was due to negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Also for ethnic minorities, the results showed a positive relationship between the share of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood and moving wishes. Yet, in line with the racial proxy perspective, once controlled for housing and neighbourhood conditions, the significant relationship disappeared. Similar to the earlier chapters, I found no effect of the socioeconomic population composition of the neighbourhood for both

ethnic majority and minority residents.

Finally, research in *chapter 6* investigated the extent to which ethnic neighbourhood preferences correspond with actual choices in the residential selection process in Chicago. Past research examined the association between racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences and current neighbourhood conditions. In this chapter, I incorporated people's searches for housing in this framework as it can be argued that the housing search is a key prior step to moving. In specific, the research presented in this chapter associated the racial and ethnic neighbourhood preferences of whites, blacks and Latino's to the racial/ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods in which they a) searched for housing and b) currently live. The central research question in this chapter was: *Do whites, blacks and Latinos search for housing and reside in neighbourhoods they say they prefer in terms of the neighbourhood's racial and ethnic composition and, if not, what factors contribute to people having a discrepancy between preferences and residential behaviour?* The answer to the first part of the question turned out negative: analyses in chapter 6 showed that ethnic preferences not always match with residential behaviour. On average, whites searched and lived in neighbourhoods that had larger percentages of whites than they reported to prefer. These results imply that whites experience a discrepancy between preferences and behaviour in an early stage of the residential process. That is, they do not search in the neighbourhoods they say they prefer in the first place. In contrast, blacks and – to a smaller extent – Latinos searched in neighbourhoods that corresponded to their preferences in terms of own racial/ethnic group, but generally lived in neighbourhoods with larger percentages of their own group than they preferred. Further analyses revealed that discrepancies may be the result of both a lack of information and inadequate finances, but also suggested the possibility of social desirable responding for whites in particular.

7.3 General conclusions

In answer to the two central research questions addressed in this dissertation, this section discusses the main conclusions of this study and how they are embedded in the literature and theoretical approaches. Based on the findings in the five empirical chapters, the following general conclusions

can be derived.

7.3.1 Limited impact of ethnic neighbourhood exposure

A first conclusion is that exposure to ethnic groups in the neighbourhood affects interethnic attitudes only to a limited extent. For the ethnic majority group, nor the presence of ethnic minorities in general nor the size of particular ethnic minority groups in the neighbourhood affected their interethnic attitudes. Native Dutch residents do distinguish between the attitudes towards various ethnic (minority) groups, but these are not based on the shares of these (particular) ethnic minority groups in their local neighbourhood environment. For ethnic minority residents, the ethnic neighbourhood composition is somewhat more relevant (which is consistent with previous Dutch research by Gijsberts et al.,2010): ethnic minority residents are less positive towards other ethnic minority groups in general in neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, a general effect of the size of a *particular* ethnic minority group in the neighbourhood on the attitudes towards these *particular* ethnic minority groups was absent. Overall, these findings are in disagreement with the proposed social-interactive mechanism. Also based on the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954) and ethnic competition theory (Scheepers et al., 2002), I predicted that neighbourhood exposure to other ethnic groups would be related to either positive outgroup attitudes (via increased positive contact experiences as predicted by intergroup contact theory) or negative outgroup attitudes (by increased ethnic threat as argued for by the ethnic competition theory). Although these theories have been successfully applied to explain interethnic relations at the individual level, the few effects of the neighbourhood ethnic population composition suggest that, overall, these theories might be less appropriate to the study of urban neighbourhoods and its effects on residents' interethnic attitudes. Nevertheless, the few effects that I found, go in the direction of ethnic competition theory, with higher concentrations leading to more negative interethnic attitudes. The lack of effects of relative sizes of particular ethnic (minority) groups in the neighbourhood is inconsistent with previous research in the United States (e.g., Dixon, 2006; Taylor, 1998). Compared to residential concentration in the US, levels of ethnic minority residential concentration in the

Netherlands are moderate, and while US neighbourhoods are often dominated by one racial or ethnic group, Dutch ethnic minority concentrated neighbourhoods tend to be ethnically diverse. Possibly, ethnic neighbourhood exposure might elicit feelings of ethnic threat and negative attitudes directed towards a specific ethnic outgroup to the degree that this is a large and clearly identifiable group that outnumbers the other groups in the neighbourhood. This might explain the finding – at least for ethnic minorities – that unlike the presence of *particular* ethnic minority groups, the *general* presence of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood negatively influenced ethnic minority residents' attitudes towards ethnic minorities in *general*.

7.3.2 The interplay between ethnic and non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics

Second, I conclude that the presence of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood is related to more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities when it is accompanied with deteriorating neighbourhood conditions. In line with the environmental mechanism behind neighbourhood effects and the social disorganisation theory (Shaw & McKey, 1969) – advocating both the importance of socioeconomic and physical neighbourhood circumstances – it is demonstrated that ethnic majority and minority residents in neighbourhoods with an *increase* in social and physical disorder over the last years, report less positive interethnic attitudes towards (other) ethnic minority groups, especially in neighbourhoods with many ethnic minority residents (and for native Dutch residents also in case of an influx of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood). These outcomes correspond with notions of racialised resentment (Hudson et al., 2007, p. 42) and Allport's (1948) ideas on scapegoating. For both majority and minority residents, ethnic minority groups (unlike the native Dutch majority group) seem to be convenient targets to abreact dissatisfaction with neighbourhood problems. In line with this but from a different angle, the vignette experiment demonstrated that visual cues in the environment may affect the general impression other people make: persons encountered in a disorderly environment with graffiti and street litter are judged less positively than those encountered in an orderly environment. Furthermore, Moroccan resid-

ents are more negatively judged by native Dutch respondents if they are encountered in a socioeconomically low-status environment. This suggest that negative attitudes and stereotypes about Moroccans are more strongly elicited if Moroccans are encountered in low-status neighbourhoods than when they are encountered in high-status neighbourhoods. Moreover, the findings have implications for the debate about the racial proxy perspective (Harris, 2001; Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). Ethnic and socioeconomic neighbourhood characteristics are often interrelated and proponents of the racial proxy perspective, therefore, claim that studies that find an effect of the ethnic neighbourhood composition on interethnic attitudes, insufficiently control for non-ethnic (mainly socioeconomic) neighbourhood circumstances. Although I argue that social and physical neighbourhood circumstances are significant predictors of interethnic attitudes, the findings do not fully support the reasoning behind the racial proxy perspective. For example, no evidence was found that initial ethnic composition effects disappeared after taking into account the other non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics (such as the socioeconomic) population composition and neighbourhood disorder) and some independent effects of the ethnic composition do exist (e.g., see chapter 3). Instead, the findings of the empirical chapters suggest that particularly the *interplay* between the ethnic and non-ethnic neighbourhood characteristics may affect the interethnic attitudes of residents. It is in neighbourhoods with increasing disorder that the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood becomes a significant factor in shaping interethnic attitudes. This finding relates to what Branton & Jones (2005, p. 360) refer to as the 'maximum threat' context.

7.3.3 Interethnic attitudes do not yield residential intentions and behaviour

Finally, I conclude that interethnic attitudes are not a prominent factor in the residential choices ethnic majority and minority residents make. Although ethnic majority residents in neighbourhoods with a large share of ethnic minorities are more likely to have a wish to leave the neighbourhood, motivations were not driven by negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Also for ethnic minorities, interethnic attitudes were not related to

either the wish to leave or stay in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. These results imply that it is not about negative attitudes towards the presence of ethnic minorities per se that ethnic majority and minority residents are less satisfied in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, but that moving wishes are predicted by other factors that are – more or less – related to ethnic minority concentration. Consistent with earlier research (e.g., Van Ham & Feijten, 2008), for example, the results demonstrated that unfavourable housing conditions (e.g., living in a flat) which are relatively more prominent in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are good predictors of the wish to move. Also reported neighbourhood disorder and a lack of social cohesion were related to moving wishes among both majority and minority residents, and did explain part of the relationship between ethnic minority concentration and moving wishes for native Dutch residents.

In the field of residential mobility, some have argued that the racial and ethnic neighbourhood composition might be more important in choosing a *new* neighbourhood than leaving the current one (e.g., Brama, 2006). This seems plausible because ethnic groups report explicit preferences for a particular racial and ethnic composition of their neighbourhood and search locations and current neighbourhoods are highly structured by race and ethnicity. In this study, I demonstrated, however, that racial and ethnic preferences do not consistently translate into residential behavioural choices, such as the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in which one searched for housing. This dissertation provides some support that a lack of awareness of suitable neighbourhoods and of sufficient socioeconomic resources might prevent people from realising residential preferences. Yet, the empirical findings also suggest that there might be ethnic-correlated factors that make neighbourhoods less desirable which might play a more decisive role in neighbourhood choice than ethnic preferences.

7.4 Contributions of the study

7.4.1 Integrating research fields of interethnic relations and urban sociology

The results of this dissertation contribute to the existing literature in several ways. First of all, combining insights of the research fields of intereth-

nic relations and urban sociology proved fructuous in studying the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes. This study demonstrated that it is important to account for the interaction between ethnic and non-ethnic as well as current and dynamic neighbourhood characteristics when analysing interethnic attitudes in urban neighbourhoods. A main finding of this dissertation reads that deteriorating neighbourhood circumstances together with the presence of many ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood might form a breeding ground for negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Research on interethnic relations in urban neighbourhoods could benefit from extending the notions of intergroup contact theory and ethnic competition theory (which derive from interethnic relations literature) with environmental neighbourhood conditions (based on urban sociology literature). It is for future investigations to assess more thoroughly which neighbourhood conditions trigger positive interethnic contact experiences and which conditions stimulate feelings of ethnic threat. The present analysis took a first step in identifying the relevant neighbourhood conditions and advocates that particularly the impact of *deteriorating* social and physical neighbourhood circumstances deserves close attention. Particularly declining neighbourhood conditions – rather than on-going neighbourhood problems – may cause stress as neighbourhood characteristics no longer meet the preferences or needs of its residents (e.g., Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). Residents are probably accustomed to a certain amount of problems within their neighbourhood, thus it might be particularly rapid changes in the neighbourhood that capture residents' attention and elicits their discomfort with the neighbourhood and negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities.

7.4.2 Multi-group perspective

Second, this dissertation contributes to existing knowledge through its multi-group approach of studying interethnic attitudes. Future neighbourhood effects research should keep in mind that different types of ethnic concentrations could possibly have different effects for residents of different ethnic origin. Yet, although research in both Europe and the United States shows substantial differences in people's reaction to different ethnic (minority) groups (see also chapter 2), by taking into account the spe-

cific ethnic neighbourhood structure this study taught us that theoretical notions on cultural and socioeconomic group differences are less applicable to the exposure of different ethnic groups in the neighbourhood. The empirical findings suggest that people seem to pay only limited attention to the ethnicity and the specific socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural characteristics of residents encountered in a neighbourhood setting when deciding on the general impression of the resident. Although particular resident characteristics, such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status of ethnic groups, are found to be important determinants of the interethnic attitudes expressed in survey research, these aspects did not affect the general impression of residents encountered in public. Overall, this study demonstrated that the specific group characteristics might be of minor importance compared to the *general* presence of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood for interethnic attitudes, especially in deteriorating localities.

This study also showed that mechanisms might be different for various ethnic groups. For example, outcomes indicated that particularly the outgroup attitudes of Turkish residents are affected by the size of the ethnic outgroups in their neighbourhood (see chapter 2). Future research should explore different alternatives but a first possible explanation might be the extent of ingroup orientation. Compared to the other three ethnic minority groups studied in this dissertation, Turkish residents have the least interethnic contact, are most likely to have friends and acquaintances from Turkish origin and more often rely on their own language when speaking with friends and family (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005). Plausibly, particularly those residents that strongly identify with their ethnic ingroup may feel uncomfortable and threatened around other groups in their neighbourhood.

7.4.3 Multi-method approach of studying interethnic attitudes

A third and final contribution of this study is that it puts forward interesting issues about the use of different research designs to measure interethnic attitudes. In addition to traditional survey questions regarding the opinions towards ethnic (minority) groups as a whole, I studied respondents' reactions to pictures of individual residents of various ethnic

origin (see chapter 4). This dissertations' results complement and to some extent also nuance our understandings of interethnic attitudes based on survey research, as it was found that negative (and also positive) attitudes towards ethnic groups expressed in survey research are not necessarily directed in a similar way towards individual group members encountered in a neighbourhood setting. Although survey research reports a clear ethnic hierarchy (see also chapter 2), respondents did not base their evaluation of the general impression of the resident encountered in a fictitious neighbourhood setting on the ethnicity of that resident. These results raise new questions and suggest that survey questions regarding ethnic groups may evoke positive or negative group images, while questions regarding individual persons showed on pictures do not. In chapter 4 we argued that particularly in the context of abstract survey questions on an ethnic group as a whole, ethnicity itself and the negative and positive characteristics that people associate with particular ethnic groups might become salient. Yet, further investigation of the different mechanisms that are elicited by verbal and visual stimuli as well as reactions to ethnic groups as a whole and single group members deserves future attention, particularly in light of the social-interactive mechanism (and related intergroup contact and conflict theories) behind neighbourhood effects.

In addition, if it is true that general ethnic group images may differ from people's attitudes towards *actual* neighbours, this may provide an explanation for the finding that interethnic attitudes did not yield residential intentions and behaviour. Indeed, theories on subtyping (e.g., Richards & Hewstone, 2001) argue that people might have negative stereotypes about (for instance) Moroccans as a group, while they are very positive about their friendly, well-behaving Moroccan neighbour. Also Jackman & Crane (1986) describe that people separate general group images from their personal relationships with single group members in their article with the striking title "Some of my best friends are black, but". In turn, it is plausible that particularly attitudes and opinions about people's *actual* (ethnic minority) neighbours play a more decisive role in residential choices about leaving an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood than positive or negative general ethnic group images. This idea is supported by the finding that residents who report a lack of social cohesion in their *own* neighbourhood – illustrated by fellow-residents not greeting each other, not getting along

well and not willing to help – are more likely to have a wish to leave the neighbourhood.

7.5 Research limitations and directions for future research

Despite the study's contributions to the literature of interethnic relations and urban sociology, there are several areas in which the present analysis could be expanded upon in future research. Overall, the use of cross-sectional data, the absence of a direct test for the theoretical mechanisms and the conceptualisation of the neighbourhood should be acknowledged as main shortcomings of this study.

7.5.1 Cross-sectional data: reverse causality and selection bias

First, the use of cross-sectional data limits the ability to make strong claims on the causal relationship between neighbourhood conditions, residents' attitudes and perceptions and residential intentions and behaviour. Neighbourhood effects studies that measure neighbourhood characteristics and interethnic attitudes simultaneously (like in chapters 2 and 3) run the risk of reverse causality if the choice for a neighbourhood is based on interethnic attitudes. Plausibly, those residents who have positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities might have consciously chosen to live in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood, whereas those with negative attitudes have already moved out. Notwithstanding good theoretical notions on how neighbourhoods affect the attitudes of residents and evidence that neighbourhood choice depends for a substantial part on issues other than interethnic attitudes or preferences (such as household income (Clark & Ledwith, 2007)), I cannot preclude selective migration patterns based on interethnic attitudes. In the case of strong selective migration, however, I would have expected to find a positive relationship between neighbourhood outgroup size and positive interethnic attitudes, which I, overall, did not find. Nevertheless, it is possible that the negative and insignificant relationships between the percentage ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood and positive interethnic attitudes found in this study might

be underestimated due to processes of selective migration. A similar bias might exist in studying the relationship between residents' neighbourhood perceptions and residential intentions and behaviour (i.e., chapters 5 and 6). It could be that residents who wish to move out of the neighbourhood report less social cohesion (or more disorder) to justify their choice, or that ethnic residential preferences are informed by the neighbourhoods where people searched for housing, resulting in unwarrantedly attributing moving wishes and search behaviour to (perceptions of) characteristics of the neighbourhood and ethnic preferences, respectively. Consequently, it would be interesting for forthcoming research to be able to link longitudinal information on people's attitudes, preferences and neighbourhood perceptions to national register databases in which neighbourhood developments and residential careers can be followed over time. Only in this way, the *mutual* and *causal* relationship between neighbourhood conditions and residents' attitudes and residential choices – that served as a conceptual starting point of this study – can be tested in its entirety.

7.5.2 Theoretical mechanisms not always available

A second limitation of this study is that indicators of the theoretical mechanisms through which the neighbourhood was expected to operate on interethnic attitudes – such as interethnic contact and threat or racialised resentment – were not always available in the data (particularly in chapters 2 and 3). Besides the fact that it provides less insight into the specific (theoretical) processes at play, not including measures of the theoretical mechanisms might lead to an underestimation of the effect of, for example, ethnic neighbourhood exposure on interethnic attitudes if the intergroup contact and threat mechanism would operate simultaneously and cancel each other out. Previous research in the Netherlands on anti-Muslim attitudes of native Dutch residents indeed demonstrated that ethnic outgroup size might concurrently promote interethnic friendship and perceptions of ethnic threat (Savelkoul et al., 2011b). To date, however, only few datasets jointly include measures of interethnic threat and contact and even less from a multi-group perspective. Consequently, relatively little is known about the extent to which ethnic minority groups feel threatened by and have contact with other minority groups and – more importantly for this

research – how this is related to the neighbourhood context. In light of the findings in this dissertation, a profound investigation of interethnic contact, feelings of threat and racialised resentment among various ethnic groups in deteriorating and ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods merits consideration in future studies.

7.5.3 Conceptualisation of neighbourhoods

Finally, there are various manners to conceptualise neighbourhoods and neighbourhood effects may depend on the way that has been chosen to operationalise the neighbourhood. As in most other studies, neighbourhoods in this study represent geographically defined contexts based on standard neighbourhood classifications. Although the classification used in this research is considered a better reflection of "actual" neighbourhoods than formerly often used boundaries such as postcodes (e.g., see Gijsberts et al., 2010), Hipp & Boessen (2013, p. 289) argue that conceptualising neighbourhoods as "discrete, exclusive and nonoverlapping geographical units" might involve some problems. The percentage ethnic minorities or the mean amount of neighbourhood disorder in the administrative unit might not necessarily resemble the actual exposure to other ethnic groups or neighbourhood disorder for every resident. Residents that live at the neighbourhood border might be more exposed to the adjacent neighbourhood than the administrative unit they officially belong to. Besides, within administrative units there might still be ample variation in neighbourhood characteristics and both processes might lead to an underestimation of neighbourhood effects. Furthermore, processes in the neighbourhood might play at different spatial levels. Some studies (e.g., Savelkoul, Gesthuizen, & Scheepers, 2011a) suggested that processes of interethnic contact (in contrast to interethnic threat) may particularly play a role in people's direct environment at a low spatial level, e.g., people's direct neighbours or street block, which I might not have been able to find using these larger administrative units. Hipp & Boessen (2013) suggest in this respect that future studies should conceptualise 'egohoods' instead of using administrative neighbourhood boundaries. In this method, for each respondent a personal neighbourhood is created (which can be defined at different spatial levels), resulting in many overlapping neighbourhoods in

which residents are in the centre of their geographical space. Although this analysis demands for high data requirements (i.e., data on neighbourhood characteristics at such a low spatial level is not obviously available), future research might consider this method as a more precise proxy of actual neighbourhood exposure at different spatial levels.

In addition, administrative boundaries not always represent what respondents see as their neighbourhood when reporting on neighbourhood perceptions in surveys. Residents of the same neighbourhood may disagree on what they mean by 'their' neighbourhood and perceived neighbourhoods are often smaller than the administrative boundaries used in analyses (Hipp & Boessen, 2013; Kaal, Vanderveen, & McConnell, 2008). It is difficult to unambiguously determine how this affects the relationship between actual neighbourhood characteristics and residents' perceptions about, e.g., social cohesion and neighbourhood disorder. Nevertheless, future research should acknowledge the potential threat to the validity of the research, especially in view of the possibility that perceptions about the neighbourhood might vary with the size of the area respondents have in mind or, visa versa, that the area people have in mind might depend on the particular characteristic they report on (Kaal et al., 2008).

7.6 Concluding remarks

The study of urban neighbourhoods and their related problems of concentrated poverty and disadvantaged minority populations has a long tradition in the fields of interethnic relations and urban sociology. These issues also attracted much policy attention and a specific focus in this debate is directed to the supposed negative consequences of ethnic residential concentration for interethnic relations. Particularly, the former Dutch ministry of *Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration Affairs* claimed that to improve interethnic relations, different ethnic groups should meet each other in a safe and liveable environment. This policy approach can be supported by the findings when it comes to the importance of a safe and liveable environment, but should be reconsidered regarding the assumed positive effects of just meeting other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood by itself. Neighbourhood exposure to other ethnic groups affect interethnic attitudes only to a limited extent, and when it does, it seems to result in negative rather

than positive attitudes towards ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, I showed that deteriorating neighbourhood circumstances relate to negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, especially in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. Reported neighbourhood disorder was also related to moving wishes among both majority and minority residents, and did – amongst others – motivate native Dutch to want to leave ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. The finding that neighbourhood decline may hamper positive interethnic relations and stimulate (selective) moving behaviour, points to the need of dealing with problems of deterioration in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. However, the impact of neighbourhood interventions should not be overestimated as most variance in interethnic attitudes as well as moving wishes is due to individual differences between residents or households. Nonetheless, this research shows significant neighbourhood effects and suggests that instead of stimulating interethnic contact by creating an ideal mix of ethnic populations, future attention should focus on how to avoid interethnic encounters in a negative neighbourhood environment.

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Nederlandse samenvatting
(Summary in Dutch)

Interetnische attituden in context. De relatie tussen buurtkenmerken, interetnische attituden en keuzes op de woningmarkt

Inleiding en achtergrond van het onderzoek

De vermeende negatieve gevolgen van etnische concentratie van allochtone en autochtone bewoners in 'witte' en 'zwarte' wijken kregen tot voor kort ruime beleidsaandacht. In een brief waarschuwt de voormalig minister van *Wonen, Wijken en Integratie* voor het ontstaan van "parallelle gemeenschappen" (VROM/WWI, 2009, p. 2). Etnische segregatie in buurten zou de contactmogelijkheden tussen allochtonen en autochtonen beperken en daarmee (het ontstaan van) positieve relaties tussen bewoners van allochtone en autochtone afkomst verhinderen. Een belangrijk doel van het huidige beleid, net als in veel andere Europese landen, is het tegengaan van etnische concentratie via het actief ingrijpen in de bevolkingssamenstelling van een wijk door middel van stedelijke herstructureringsprojecten (Bolt, 2004; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Ontmoetingen tussen *verschillende* etnische groepen in een *veilige* en *leefbare* omgeving zouden de interetnische verhoudingen verbeteren, schrijft de voormalig minister:

> "*Samenleven – het kennisnemen van elkaars opvattingen, het samen aanpakken van problemen en het opbouwen van een gezamenlijke toe-*

> *komst – vereist dat Nederlandse burgers elkaar ontmoeten binnen een veilige en leefbare omgeving en over de grenzen van verschillende achtergronden heen. Door samen dingen te doen in wijk en buurt ontstaat er tussen burgers iets gemeenschappelijks, worden verschillen minder bedreigend en komt er zelfs ruimte voor verschil. Segregatie belemmert dat.*"
> (Integratiebrief VROM/WWI, 2009, p. 11).

Of de directe woonomgeving daadwerkelijk invloed heeft op de interetnische relaties is tot nu toe nog niet eenduidig vastgesteld. In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik daarom de relatie tussen de buurt en een belangrijk aspect van interetnische relaties, namelijk interetnische *attituden*. Interetnische attituden worden in de literatuur gedefinieerd als de positieve of negatieve evaluatie van leden van een andere etnische groep of de etnische groep als zijn geheel. Onderzoekers proberen daarbij de *gedachten* en *gevoelens* die mensen hebben ten aanzien van andere etnische groepen te beschrijven (zoals Allport, 1954 en Bobo, 1999). In dit onderzoek bestudeer ik de interetnische attituden van bewoners zoveel mogelijk vanuit de context van hun dagelijks leven in de buurt: ik onderzoek in hoeverre verschillende etnische, sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van de buurt de interetnische attituden van bewoners beïnvloeden, maar ook in welke mate deze houdingen bepalend zijn bij de keuzes die mensen maken bij de zoektocht naar een nieuwe woning en buurt (ook wel: woon-gerelateerd gedrag). De keuze om te verhuizen naar een andere buurt en de afwegingen die mensen maken bij het kiezen van een nieuwe buurt kunnen immers grote gevolgen hebben voor de etnische samenstelling van buurten in de toekomst.

Onderzoeksvragen en contributies

De studie van stadsbuurten en de gerelateerde problematiek van etnische concentratie kent een lange traditie in zowel onderzoek naar interetnische relaties als binnen de stadssociologie. In dit onderzoek haak ik aan en bouw ik voort op inzichten uit deze beide stromingen. Studies naar interetnische relaties beschrijven allereerst onder welke omstandigheden en via welke mechanismen de etnische buurtsamenstelling de interetnische attituden van bewoners beïnvloedt (Gijsberts et al., 2010; Lancee & Dronkers, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Pettigrew et al., 2010; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011). De invloed van buurtkenmerken die samenhangen met etnische concentratie –

zoals de sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van buurten – zijn tot nu toe echter relatief onderbelicht gebleven. Daarnaast is er in dit veld weinig aandacht voor de consequenties die interetnische attituden hebben voor woon-gerelateerd gedrag (oftewel de keuzes die mensen maken bij de zoektocht naar een nieuwe woning of buurt). Stadsociologen en geografen schenken daarentegen veel aandacht aan het bestuderen van de gevolgen van zowel etnische als sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van buurten voor de keuzes die mensen maken op de woningmarkt (Dietz, 2002; Friedrichs, 1998; Hedman & Galster, 2013), maar de rol die de interetnische attituden van bewoners hierin spelen is veel minder vaak uiteengezet. Het combineren van beide onderzoeksvelden resulteert in twee centrale onderzoeksvragen:

1. *In hoeverre hangen etnische, sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van buurten samen met de interetnische attituden van autochtone en allochtone buurtbewoners?*

2. *In hoeverre hangen buurtkenmerken en interetnische attituden samen met woon-gerelateerde intenties en gedragingen van autochtone en allochtone buurtbewoners?*

Naast het combineren van twee onderzoeksvelden probeert dit onderzoek op drie manieren een bijdrage te leveren aan de bestaande wetenschappelijke kennis over de relatie tussen de buurt en interetnische attituden.

Ten eerste worden zowel interetnische attituden als woon-gerelateerde intenties en gedragingen bestudeerd vanuit een *multi-etnisch perspectief*. Voorgaand onderzoek richtte zich tot nu toe vaak op de opvattingen van etnische meerderheidsgroepen (bv. autochtone Nederlanders) over etnische minderheidsgroepen. Maar voor een goed begrip van de mate waarin de buurt de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners beïnvloedt en op welke manier deze opvattingen toekomstige buurtontwikkelingen zouden kunnen beïnvloeden, is informatie van minderheidsgroepen noodzakelijk. Dit onderzoek beschrijft daarom de *wederzijdse* opvattingen tussen meerderheids- en minderheidsgroepen, maar ook tussen minderheidsgroepen onderling. Ook bestudeer ik woon-gerelateerde intenties en gedragingen van zowel de meerderheidsgroep als van verschillende minderheidsgroepen.

Ten tweede omvat het onderzoek een *breed scala aan etnische, sociaaleconomische en fysieke buurtkenmerken*. Zo onderscheid ik niet alleen

de invloed van het percentage etnische minderheden in een buurt als geheel, maar ook van de *specifieke* etnische (minderheids)groepen die in de buurt wonen. Ook het effect van een *toename* in het percentage minderheden wordt onderzocht. Daarnaast wordt gekeken in hoeverre interetnische attituden samenhangen met de sociaaleconomische bevolkingssamenstelling en de aanwezigheid en toename van sociale en fysieke wanorde in de buurt. Het opnemen van verschillende etnische, sociaaleconomische en fysieke buurtkenmerken geeft een beter inzicht in de omstandigheden die invloed hebben op interetnische attituden en keuzes op de woningmarkt.

Tot slot richt dit onderzoek zich niet alleen op attituden maar ook op *daadwerkelijke (woon-gerelateerde) intenties en gedragingen*. Er wordt nagegaan in hoeverre kenmerken van de buurt en interetnische attituden zich vertalen in daadwerkelijke keuzes op de woningmarkt die – in potentie – toekomstige ontwikkelingen in de buurt zouden kunnen beïnvloeden. Meer specifiek richt ik me op de wens om te verhuizen uit de buurt en de etnische samenstelling van buurten waar mensen zoeken naar een woning.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit twee delen met gezamenlijk vijf empirische hoofdstukken waarin ik de twee onderzoeksvragen beantwoord. In vier van de vijf hoofdstukken maak ik gebruik van grootschalige surveydatabestanden aangevuld met buurtinformatie uit registratiebestanden (zoals van het *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*). Op deze manier is het mogelijk om algemeen geldende uitspraken te doen over de relatie tussen de buurt, interetnische attituden en keuzes op de woningmarkt. Ook is een zinvolle vergelijking tussen etnische groepen mogelijk. Daarnaast maak ik gebruik van een vignette experiment om een beter inzicht te krijgen in de condities die tot positieve dan wel negatieve interetnische attituden in de buurt leiden. In het vervolg van deze samenvatting beschrijf ik kort de theoretische achtergrond en de belangrijkste resultaten van elk hoofdstuk. Tot slot worden de belangrijkste conclusies behandeld, de onderzoekslimitaties besproken en aanbevelingen voor vervolgonderzoek geformuleerd.

Samenvatting van de belangrijkste resultaten

Deel 1: De relatie tussen buurtkenmerken en interetnische attituden

Het eerste deel van dit proefschrift (hoofdstukken 2, 3 en 4) beschrijft drie empirische studies met als doel een beter begrip te krijgen van de verschillende etnische, sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van buurten die de interetnische attituden van autochtone en allochtone bewoners beïnvloeden (onderzoeksvraag 1). Alle drie de onderzoeken vinden plaats in Nederland. Het onderzoek in dit deel start vanuit de assumptie dat buurten de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners op twee manieren beïnvloeden (Friedrichs, 1998; Galster, 2012). De buurt bepaalt niet alleen de mate waarin bewoners andere etnische groepen tegenkomen en de kenmerken van deze etnische groepen (ook wel het sociale interactiemechanisme genoemd), maar ook de sociaaleconomische en fysieke omstandigheden waarin bewoners zich bevinden en waarin ontmoetingen met andere etnische groepen plaatsvinden (d.w.z. het omgevingsmechanisme). Het theoretisch kader wordt verder gevormd door theorieën over buurteffecten en interetnische relaties, zoals de contacttheorie (Allport, 1954) en de etnische competitietheorie (Scheepers et al., 2002). De contacttheorie voorspelt dat de aanwezigheid van een bepaalde groep in de buurt tot positieve interetnische attituden leidt via positieve contacten tussen bewoners van verschillende etnische groepen. De etnische competitietheorie voorspelt daarentegen een negatief effect van de aanwezigheid van een bepaalde etnische groep via toenemende etnische dreiging. Ook staat de *racial proxy* benadering centraal (met als tegenhanger de *pure-race* benadering; Harris, 2001). Volgens deze benadering gaat het niet om de etnische kenmerken maar juist om de sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van buurten en bewoners. Tot slot worden deze verklaringen aangevuld met specifieke theorieën per hoofdstuk, zoals de *belief congruency* theorie (Rokeach et al., 1960), de sociale identiteitstheorie (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), de sociale disorganisatietheorie (Shaw & McKey, 1969) en de zondebocktheorie (Allport, 1948).

Hoofdstuk 2

In hoofdstuk 2 staat het verband tussen de etnische bevolkingssamenstelling van de buurt en de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners centraal. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft de *wederzijdse* interetnische attituden tussen de vier grootste etnische minderheidsgroepen in Nederland (d.w.z. Turken, Marokkanen, Surinamers en Antillianen) en autochtone Nederlanders. Meer specifiek bestudeer ik in dit hoofdstuk in hoeverre verschillende etnische groepen andere etnische groepen beoordelen op basis van de aanwezigheid van deze specifieke groepen in hun buurt. Tegen de verwachting in laten de analyses over het algemeen weinig significante relaties zien tussen het percentage van een bepaalde etnische groep in de buurt en de attituden ten aanzien van die etnische groep. Wel blijkt een *toename* in het percentage niet-Westerse allochtonen samen te gaan met meer negatieve attituden ten aanzien van Turken en Marokkanen. Opvattingen over *specifieke* etnische (minderheids)groepen blijken dus niet zozeer bepaald te worden door de aanwezigheid van die *specifieke* (minderheids)groepen in de buurt. Ook wordt er geen bewijs gevonden voor de verwachting dat met name de aanwezigheid van etnische groepen met een lage sociaaleconomische status of met grote culturele verschillen ten opzichte van de eigen groep, tot negatievere interetnische attituden onder buurtbewoners leidt. De analyses laten echter zien dat de Turkse bewoners hierop een uitzondering vormen; voor hen lijkt de aanwezigheid van andere groepen er wel toe te doen. In lijn met de etnische competitietheorie blijkt dat hoe hoger het percentage Marokkanen, Antillianen en Surinamers in de buurt, hoe minder positief Turken oordelen over deze groepen. In dit hoofdstuk wordt geen effect gevonden van de sociaaleconomische bevolkingssamenstelling op interetnische attituden. Ook is er geen bewijs gevonden dat het ontbreken van effecten van etnische concentratie wordt veroorzaakt door de sterke samenhang met sociaaleconomische achterstand.

Hoofdstuk 3

Waar hoofdstuk 2 zich concentreerde op de specifieke etnische samenstelling van de buurt (en de invloed daarvan op de houding ten aanzien van specifieke groepen), gaat hoofdstuk 3 in op de vraag in welke mate de attituden ten aanzien van autochtonen en etnische minderheden beïnvloed

worden door sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van de buurt. Het hoofdstuk richt zich specifiek op de invloed van *sociale en fysieke wanorde* in de buurt (zoals verloedering, overlast en graffiti) en de *toename* hierin. Ook wordt gekeken naar hoe interetnische attituden van zowel autochtonen als allochtonen worden beïnvloed door de *wisselwerking* tussen sociale en fysieke wanorde en de etnische bevolkingssamenstelling. In tegenstelling tot de verwachting is er geen relatie tussen de mate van sociale en fysieke wanorde in de buurt en de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners. Wel wordt gevonden dat voor zowel autochtone als allochtone bewoners een relatieve *toename* in de mate van sociale en fysieke wanorde in een buurt samenhangt met meer negatieve attituden ten aanzien van etnische minderheidsgroepen (maar niet ten aanzien van autochtonen). Deze relatie komt nog sterker tot uitdrukking in buurten waar relatief veel etnische minderheden wonen. Deze bevindingen komen overeen met de verwachting dat met name *zichtbare* en *aanwezige* groepen met een *lage* status een makkelijk mikpunt zijn om ontevredenheid over buurtproblemen tegen te uiten. Hoewel de specifieke etnische compositie in hoofdstuk 2 weinig effect leek te hebben op interetnische attituden, laat hoofdstuk 3 een negatieve relatie zien tussen het percentage etnische minderheden (in het algemeen) in de buurt en interetnische attituden (hoewel alleen voor allochtonen): allochtone bewoners in buurten met een relatief hoog percentage etnische minderheden rapporteren minder positieve attituden ten aanzien van andere etnische minderheidsgroepen. De toename in het percentage minderheden heeft geen effect. Net als in hoofdstuk 2 heeft ook de sociaaleconomische bevolkingssamenstelling geen invloed op attituden ten aanzien van autochtone en etnische minderheden.

Hoofdstuk 4

Hoofdstukken 2 en 3 hielden zich bezig met de mate waarin interetnische attituden variëren tussen verschillende type buurten. Hoofdstuk 4 daarentegen bestudeert dit thema vanuit een andere invalshoek en heeft als doel te achterhalen of iemand twee identieke personen anders zou beoordelen wanneer hij of zij die in een andere omgeving zou tegenkomen. Waar het onderzoek in hoofdstukken 2 en 3 gebaseerd is op surveydata, beschrijft hoofdstuk 4 de uitkomsten van een vignette experiment. In dit onderzoek

beoordelen autochtone, Marokkaanse, Turkse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse respondenten verschillende fictieve buurtbewoners (gepresenteerd op een foto) waarbij de etniciteit van de bewoner (Marokkaans, Surinaams en autochtoon) onafhankelijk varieert van andere kenmerken van die bewoner (d.w.z. werkstatus, religie en probleemgedrag) en van de buurt waarin de bewoner zich bevindt (d.w.z. de etnische samenstelling, sociaaleconomische status en fysieke wanorde). Het experimentele design maakt het dus mogelijk om de *netto* invloed van etniciteit en de invloed van verschillende stereotype-(in)consistente buurtomgevingen te bestuderen. Ook is er aandacht voor de wisselwerking tussen persoons- en omgevingskenmerken en de daaraan gekoppelde vraag of sommige etnische groepen meer beoordeeld worden op basis van hun omgeving dan anderen. De analyses laten zien dat over het algemeen de opvattingen ten aanzien van fictieve buurtbewoners alleen in beperkte mate worden beïnvloed door kenmerken van de afgebeelde bewoners en hun omgeving. Desalniettemin laten de analyses zien dat autochtonen de Surinaamse bewoner minder positief beoordelen ongeacht de andere kenmerken van de bewoner en de omgeving waarin deze bewoner zich bevindt. Daarnaast is er bewijs voor de stelling dat de omgeving waarin mensen elkaar ontmoeten invloed heeft op de algemene indruk die andere personen maken: ongeacht etniciteit worden bewoners in een buurt met fysieke wanorde minder positief beoordeeld dan bewoners in een buurt zonder fysieke wanorde. Tot slot laten de analyses enig bewijs zien voor de hypothese dat met name etnische minderheidsgroepen minder positief worden beoordeeld in een stereotype-consistente omgeving: autochtonen zijn minder positief over Marokkaanse bewoners die ze tegenkomen in een buurt met een lage sociaaleconomische status. Een aantal uitkomsten in dit hoofdstuk sluiten aan bij de bevindingen uit hoofdstukken 2 en 3, zoals de geringe invloed van sociaaleconomische en culturele kenmerken van bewoners en het belang van fysieke wanorde.

Deel 2: De buurt, interetnische attituden en de keuzes op de woningmarkt

Deel twee van het proefschrift (hoofdstukken 5 en 6) gaat in op de mogelijke consequenties van interetnische attituden met betrekking tot de buurtcontext. De vraag die wordt beantwoord is in hoeverre kenmerken

van de buurt en interetnische attituden zich vertalen in woon-gerelateerde intenties (zoals de wens om te verhuizen) en daadwerkelijk gedrag (namelijk de etnische samenstelling van wijken waarin mensen zoeken naar een woning). In aanvulling op de bovengenoemde theorieën over buurteffecten en interetnische relaties, worden verwachtingen afgeleid uit veelgebruikte theorieën met betrekking tot verhuisgedrag en buurtkeuze (zoals de ruimtelijke assimilatietheorie (o.a. Massey, 1985), de *place stratification* theorie (Massey, 1985) en informatietheorieën (bijv. Krysan & Bader, 2009)).

Hoofdstuk 5

Het onderzoek in hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op de wens van autochtonen en allochtonen (d.w.z. Turken en Marokkanen) om al dan niet te verhuizen uit een etnische geconcentreerde buurt. Deze studie legt niet alleen een relatie tussen de wens om te verhuizen uit de buurt en de interetnische attituden van bewoners, maar kijkt ook naar het gevoel van gemeenschap in de buurt. Hierbij wordt rekening gehouden met de invloed van structurele woning- en buurtkenmerken op verhuiswensen. De resultaten laten zien dat autochtonen vaker aangeven te willen verhuizen naarmate ze in een buurt wonen met meer etnische minderheden. Dat autochtone bewoners in buurten met een relatief hoog aandeel allochtonen vaker willen verhuizen, kan allereerst worden toegeschreven aan de woningkenmerken van deze bewoners (zoals het wonen in een flat en huurwoning) en aan een hogere rapportage van sociale en fysieke wanorde in de buurt (zoals bekladding van muren en gebouwen, beschadiging of vernieling in de openbare ruime en overlast van groepen jongeren). Daarnaast kan het verband tussen etnische concentratie en verhuiswensen verklaard worden doordat autochtone bewoners in deze wijken minder sociale cohesie ervaren (respondenten geven in deze buurten bijvoorbeeld aan dat bewoners elkaar minder groeten op straat en elkaar minder goed kennen en vertrouwen). Interetnische attituden blijken in dit onderzoek geen rol te spelen bij de wens om te verhuizen uit een etnisch geconcentreerde buurt. De voorkeur voor een witte wijk blijkt dus aan de ene kant een keuze voor een kwalitatief goede woning en woonomgeving. Aan de andere kant, hechten bewoners aan sociale cohesie in hun buurt en autochtone bewoners ervaren dit sterker in buurten waar ook veel andere autochtonen wonen. Ook voor etnische minderheden is er een positieve

relatie tussen het aandeel minderheden in de buurt en de wens om te verhuizen. Aanvullende analyses laten echter zien dat deze verhuiswensen in buurten met een relatief hoog aandeel minderheden volledig kunnen worden toegeschreven aan demografische kenmerken en het feit dat allochtone bewoners van deze wijken vaker in een flat of huurwoning wonen.

Hoofdstuk 6

Het onderzoek in hoofdstuk 6, tenslotte, maakt gebruik van unieke Amerikaanse data om te bestuderen in welke mate etnische buurtvoorkeuren overeenkomen met daadwerkelijke keuzes die mensen maken op de woningmarkt in Chicago. Er wordt hier niet alleen gekeken in hoeverre etnische buurtvoorkeuren overeenkomen met de etnische samenstelling van de buurt waarin mensen momenteel wonen maar ook met de etnische samenstelling van buurten waarin mensen hebben gezocht naar een woning. De analyses laten zien dat etnische voorkeuren van mensen niet altijd overeenkomen met daadwerkelijk gemaakte keuzes op de woningmarkt. Gemiddeld genomen, zoeken en wonen blanke Amerikanen in wittere wijken dan men op basis van hun aangegeven voorkeur voor een redelijk gemengde buurt zou verwachten. Onder de blanke bevolking is er dus een discrepantie tussen voorkeuren en gedrag in een vroeg stadium van het keuzeproces op de woningmarkt: ze *zoeken* niet in de buurten waarvan ze aangeven dat ze een voorkeur hebben. De zwarte en Latino bevolking daarentegen geeft aan te zoeken in buurten die overeenkomen met hun etnische voorkeuren voor een etnische gemengde wijk, maar wonen uiteindelijk over het algemeen in buurten met een hoger percentage van hun eigen groep dan ze eigenlijk zouden willen. Verdere analyses laten zien dat deze discrepanties tussen voorkeuren en keuzes op de woningmarkt veroorzaakt kunnen worden door een gebrek aan informatie en onvoldoende financiële middelen, maar wijzen ook op de mogelijkheid van sociaal wenselijk antwoorden met betrekking tot etnische voorkeuren bij de blanke bevolking in het bijzonder.

Conclusie en discussie

Allereerst laat dit onderzoek zien dat de etnische samenstelling van de buurt de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners maar in beperkte mate

beïnvloedt. Voor autochtonen geldt dat noch de aanwezigheid van specifieke etnische minderheidsgroepen noch het algemene percentage minderheden in de buurt bepalend is voor hun opvattingen over etnische minderheidsgroepen. Autochtonen maken onderscheid in hun opvattingen ten aanzien van etnische minderheidsgroepen (zo beoordelen ze bijvoorbeeld Turken positiever dan Marokkanen), maar deze opvattingen hangen niet samen met het percentage van deze (specifieke) groepen in hun woonomgeving. Voor allochtonen lijkt de etnische buurtsamenstelling iets belangrijker: allochtonen die woonachtig zijn in buurten met een hoog percentage etnische minderheden zijn minder positief over andere etnische minderheidsgroepen. Maar ook voor allochtonen blijkt de *specifieke* etnische samenstelling van de buurt minder van belang. Hoewel vorige studies in zowel Europa als Amerika laten zien dat mensen onderscheid maken in hun opvattingen ten aanzien van verschillende etnische (minderheids)groepen, leert dit onderzoek ons dat de theoretische verwachtingen over culturele en sociaaleconomische groepsverschillen minder toepasbaar zijn met betrekking tot de aanwezigheid van verschillende etnische groepen *in de buurt*. Bewoners lijken maar in beperkte mate aandacht te besteden aan de etniciteit en de specifieke sociaaleconomische en culturele kenmerken van medebewoners. Hoewel sociaaleconomische en culturele kenmerken van andere etnische groepen vaak goede voorspellers bleken van attituden ten opzichte van deze groepen, zijn de specifieke sociaaleconomische en culturele kenmerken van *wijkbewoners* van andere etnische groepen minder bepalend voor opvattingen ten aanzien van deze groepen.

Ten tweede kan geconcludeerd worden dat de aanwezigheid van etnische minderheden in de buurt tot meer negatieve attituden leidt ten aanzien van minderheidsgroepen wanner etnische concentratie samengaat met *toenemende* sociale en fysieke wanorde in de wijk. Wellicht zijn etnische minderheidsgroepen voor zowel autochtonen als allochtonen een makkelijk mikpunt om ontevredenheid over de ontwikkeling van de buurt tegen te uiten. Negatieve interetnische attituden kunnen op deze manier een uiting van frustratie zijn over een buurt die niet langer voldoet aan de wensen en behoeften van bewoners. Ook komt uit de vignette studie naar voren dat fysieke wanorde in de wijk de algemene indruk die iemand maakt in negatieve zin kan beïnvloeden en dat negatieve stereotyperingen over bepaalde groepen zich met name kunnen uiten wanneer mensen elkaar in een

negatieve omgeving tegenkomen. Deze studie toont daarmee aan dat het belangrijk is om rekening te houden met de wisselwerking tussen zowel etnische en niet-etnische buurtkenmerken als tussen statische en dynamische buurtkenmerken wanneer interetnische attituden in de context van de buurt worden bestudeerd.

Ten derde trek ik de conclusie dat interetnische attituden als zodanig niet een belangrijke factor zijn in de keuzes die autochtonen en allochtonen maken op de woningmarkt. Hoewel autochtone bewoners van buurten met relatief veel etnische minderheden vaker aangeven te willen verhuizen, wordt deze wens niet gedreven door negatieve attituden ten aanzien van allochtonen. Ook voor etnische minderheden blijken interetnische attituden niet bepalend voor verhuiswensen. Verhuiswensen gaan samen met andere factoren die in meer of mindere mate gerelateerd zijn aan etnische concentratie zoals minder comfortabele huisvesting, gerapporteerde problemen in de buurt zoals overlast van jongeren en vernieling, en een gebrek aan sociale cohesie. Sommige onderzoekers stellen dat de etnische samenstelling van de buurt meer doorslaggevend is bij het kiezen van een nieuwe buurt dan bij het verlaten van de huidige buurt (Brama, 2006). Etnische groepen blijken inderdaad een expliciet idee te hebben van hoe hun ideale etnische buurtcompositie eruit ziet. Ook laten de buurten waarin mensen hebben gezocht naar een woning duidelijke patronen zien met betrekking tot de etnische samenstelling. Maar de analyses in dit proefschrift tonen ook aan dat etnische voorkeuren zich niet één op één laten vertalen in keuzes op de woningmarkt (veroorzaakt door bijvoorbeeld een gebrek aan informatie, onvoldoende financiële middelen of sociale wenselijkheid). De bevindingen laten daarnaast zien dat ook sociaaleconomische en fysieke kenmerken van de buurt een belangrijkere rol spelen dan etnische voorkeuren.

Onderzoekslimitaties

Hoewel het combineren van inzichten uit de interetnische relaties en stadssociologie literatuur vruchtbaar is gebleken bij het beantwoorden van de onderzoeksvragen, zijn er een aantal punten waarop de analyses verbeterd kunnen worden. Allereerst maakt het gebruik van cross-sectionele data het onmogelijk om uitspraken te doen over de causale relaties tussen buurtkenmerken, de attituden van bewoners en de keuzes die bewoners maken op de

woningmarkt. Zo kan ik bijvoorbeeld niet uitsluiten dat de in hoofdstukken 2 en 3 gevonden negatieve of insignificante relaties tussen de etnische buurtsamenstelling en positieve interetnische attituden worden onderschat doordat mensen met positieve attituden ten aanzien van etnische minderheden bewust kiezen om in een etnisch gemengde wijk te wonen terwijl mensen met negatieve attituden al zijn vertrokken. Eenzelfde vertekening treedt op wanneer de relatie tussen buurtpercepties en bijvoorbeeld verhuiswensen en zoekgedrag worden bestudeerd (zoals in hoofdstukken 5 en 6). Het kan zo zijn dat bewoners die de wens uitspreken om te verhuizen als vanzelf minder sociale cohesie (of meer wanorde) rapporteren om hun keuze te verantwoorden. Ook is het niet ondenkbaar dat bewoners hun etnische voorkeuren aanpassen als gevolg van hun ervaringen tijdens de zoektocht naar een nieuwe buurt. In de toekomst zou het daarom goed zijn als er meer mogelijkheden komen om longitudinale informatie over de attituden, voorkeuren en buurtpercepties van bewoners verkregen uit enquêtes, te kunnen koppelen aan nationale registers waarin buurtontwikkelingen en verhuiscarrires kunnen worden gevolgd over de tijd. Alleen op deze manier kunnen de *wederzijdse* en *causale* relaties tussen de buurt, attituden van bewoners en keuzes op de woningmarkt in zijn geheel getoetst worden.

Een tweede beperking is dat indicatoren voor belangrijke theoretische mechanismen, zoals bijvoorbeeld interetnische contacten en dreiging, niet altijd aanwezig waren in de beschikbare datasets. De vraag *waarom* en via welke *mechanismen* de buurt een invloed heeft op interetnische attituden van bewoners kan hierdoor niet met zekerheid beantwoord worden. In het licht van deze studie zouden vervolgstudies zich vooral moeten richten op wat er precies gebeurt met de interetnische contacten en gevoelens van etnische dreiging en wrok tussen verschillende etnische groepen wanneer sociale en fysieke problemen in de wijk toenemen.

Tot slot is het goed om stil te staan bij wat verstaan wordt onder een 'buurt' en hoe dit de resultaten van deze studie heeft beïnvloed. Net als in veel andere studies naar buurteffecten representeert een buurt hier een administratieve geografische context waarvan de grenzen bepaald worden door standaard buurtclassificaties (zoals van het *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*). Deze manier van classificatie maakt dat het percentage etnische minderheden of de mate van sociale en fysieke wanorde in de ad-

ministratieve buurt niet altijd overeenkomt met de daadwerkelijke situatie voor iedere bewoner. Bewoners die bijvoorbeeld bij de grens van een buurt wonen, komen wellicht meer in aanraking met de naastliggende buurt dan met de administratieve buurt waaraan ze officieel worden toegekend. Daarnaast kan er ook binnen een administratieve buurt variatie zijn in buurtkenmerken en beide processen kunnen leiden tot een onderschatting van buurteffecten. Vervolgonderzoek zou daarom gebruik kunnen maken van een nieuwe manier om buurten te definiëren, de zogenaamde *egohoods* (Hipp & Boessen, 2013), en de uitkomsten vergelijken met analyses waarin administratieve grenzen zijn gebruikt. In deze *egohood*-methode wordt voor elke respondent een persoonlijke buurt gecreëerd, resulterend in veel verschillende en overlappende buurten waarbij de respondent zich in het centrum van de buurt begeeft.

Tot slot

Wat zeggen de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek nu over de aan het begin van deze samenvatting geciteerde uitspraak van de voormalig minister van *Wonen Wijken en Integratie* dat ontmoetingen tussen verschillende etnische groepen in een veilige en leefbare omgeving de interetnische verhoudingen zouden verbeteren? Als het gaat om het belang van een veilige en leefbare woonomgeving, wordt de uitspraak ondersteund, maar niet met betrekking tot het verwachte positieve effect van ontmoetingen van etnische groepen in de buurt. De aanwezigheid van andere etnische groepen in de buurt beinvloedt de interetnische attituden van haar bewoners maar in beperkte mate, en als er al een effect is van de etnische samenstelling dan resulteert het juist in meer negatieve dan positieve attituden ten aanzien van etnische minderheden. Tevens laat het onderzoek zien dat een verslechtering van de sociale en fysieke omstandigheden in een wijk gepaard gaan met minder positieve attituden ten aanzien van etnische minderheden, met name in wijken waar veel etnische minderheden wonen. Gerapporteerde wanorde in de buurt is ook gerelateerd aan de wens om te verhuizen en het is meer specifiek voor autochtonen één van de redenen om juist etnische geconcentreerde wijken te willen verlaten. Deze bevindingen wijzen op het belang van maatregelen die proberen om sociale en fysieke achteruitgang in etnisch geconcentreerde buurten tegen te gaan. Toch moet het effect

van maatregelen in de buurt niet worden overschat. Uit deze studie blijkt namelijk ook dat interetnische attituden en verhuiswensen voor een groot deel bepaald worden door individuele kenmerken van bewoners en huishoudens. Desalniettemin laat deze studie zien dat de buurt er toe doet en dat de aandacht zich vooral zou moeten richten op het aanpakken van negatieve buurtkenmerken zoals fysieke en sociale wanorde, zodat interetnische ontmoetingen plaats kunnen vinden in een veilige en leefbare omgeving.

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Esther Langereis-Havekes
Utrecht, januari 2014

Curriculum Vitae

Esther Havekes was born in Mierlo, the Netherlands, on October 28, 1985. In 2007 she obtained a Bachelor's degree in Sociology at Tilburg University. Afterwards she enrolled in the Research Master program Social and Behavioural Sciences at the same university, obtaining her Master's degree cum laude in 2009. In September 2009 she started working as a PhD student at the *Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology* (ICS) at the Department of Sociology at Utrecht University, resulting in the present dissertation. As part of the PhD trajectory she conducted a two-month research traineeship at the University of Illinois at Chicago in 2012. Currently, she is employed as a postdoctoral researcher and coordinator of the European project *Sustainable Workforce* at the Department of Sociology/ICS at Utrecht University.

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