

Dealing with Urban Diversity



The Case of Rotterdam

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DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity

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Governing Urban Diversity:
Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and
Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

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In memory of Ronald van Kempen

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PREFACE

This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today's hyper-diversified cities. The project's central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset; it can inspire creativity, innovation and make cities more liveable and harmonious. To ensure a more intelligent use of diversity's potential, a re-thinking of public policies and governance models is needed.

Headed by Utrecht University in the Netherlands, DIVERCITIES is a collaborative research project comprising 14 European teams. DIVERCITIES is financed by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme (Project No. 319970).

There are 14 books in this series, one for each case study city. The cities are: Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, Tallinn, Toronto, Warsaw and Zurich.

This book is concerned with Rotterdam. The texts in this book are based on a number of previously published DIVERCITIES reports.

Ronald van Kempen, one of the authors of this book, passed away in February 2016. Ronald did not only contribute to the texts, but as project leader was also responsible for the DIVERCITIES project as a whole. We admired his clear and direct leadership style, but above all we miss his humour and warmth. We dedicate this book to him.

Anouk Tersteeg and Gideon Bolt

1 DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY: AN INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION

By definition, cities are highly diverse. Many have existed for long periods of time and in the process have developed a large diversity of urban neighbourhoods swayed by government input and markets. These neighbourhoods may display a range of housing and environmental characteristics, leading to all kinds of specific places: enclaves for the rich; slums and ghettos for the very poor; middle-class suburbs; both thriving and declining inner-city districts; gated communities; areas with shrinking populations; and areas with growing populations due to increasing immigration. Residential neighbourhoods can be inhabited by mostly rich or mostly poor, they can have a majority of immigrant groups or they can be heavily mixed with many different population groups. Neighbourhoods can be places where intensive contacts between groups occur, or be areas of parallel lives where people pass each other as ships in the night having little in common with each other. Areas may be mixed with respect to 'hard' variables such as income, education, ethnicity, race, household composition and age structure, but also on the basis of 'softer' characteristics such as lifestyle, attitude and activities. Some people may choose to live in certain areas, while others have little choice. In most urban areas residents live harmoniously together, but in some areas underlying tensions can sometimes erupt into open conflicts between different groups.

Even in neighbourhoods with a homogeneous housing stock (in terms of tenure and type), the resident population may be quite diverse. In areas with expensive housing and a concentration of households with relatively high incomes large differences in terms of lifestyles may exist: some may be more neighbourhood-oriented than others; some may go out every night; and some are always at home in the evenings, leaving their place of residence only to go to work. Areas with relatively cheap housing will, in general, house people and households with (very) low incomes, but the residential population may be very diverse with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and behaviour and their wishes to stay in the area or to move on. In these areas the residents may happily live together: they take part in and enjoy activities; they may live parallel lives without meeting each other or may simply greet each other; or they may avoid each other because of perceived behaviour or appearance. For residents with low incomes the possibility to move to another place in the city is often limited.

Households with low incomes are generally concentrated in neighbourhoods with affordable housing. A number of these neighbourhoods might be characterised as dilapidated areas: the quality of the housing and of public spaces may be worse than in other parts of the city;

residents may feel more unsafe in such areas; and unemployment and the number of people on welfare benefits may be relatively high. In many of these areas we see concentrations of immigrants and their descendants, often originating from a range of countries, resulting in an increasing and complex ethnic diversity (Vertovec, 2007). There can be negative, intolerant, and discriminatory attitudes towards these areas and the people living in them. As a consequence these areas can be seen as areas where nobody wants to live, where people want to leave as soon as possible or even seen as no-go areas.

However, neighbourhoods in our cities with affordable housing stock are not by definition bad places to live. In many cases the residents of these areas see all kinds of advantages of living there: housing is relatively cheap; they feel at ease among people of their own ethnic group and/or socio-economic status; they like the diversity; or they might even find jobs in the local, sometimes very diverse, economy.

This book focuses on living with urban diversity. It will make clear that, despite the existence of negative discourses, people living and working in diverse cities and neighbourhoods often see positive aspects of diversity and may even profit from it. We are aware of the negative consequences of living in diverse urban areas, but we want to focus specifically on the often neglected positive aspects residents and entrepreneurs see, feel and experience. Living with diversity may occur in a neighbourhood that, at first sight, is not the most attractive place to live in. It will become clear that those who live (and work) in diverse urban areas do see advantages and positive aspects of living in such areas, for example, in terms of activities, social cohesion and social mobility.

Rotterdam, the focus of this book, is a highly diverse city with a current population of about 620,000 inhabitants. The former industrial city is one of Europe's most important ports (the largest cargo port in Europe and the 10th largest in the world). Rotterdam has a relatively high proportion of low-skilled workers. The city has achieved major successes in diversifying its economy and attracting national and international businesses; it has a broad workforce. Yet, it still has relatively high levels of unemployment, income segregation and more poor households when compared to other large Dutch cities. Due to its history as a port city, Rotterdam has attracted migrants from all over the world. Migrants have come to work on the docks or in the context of family formation and reunion. In 2015, almost half of the city's inhabitants (49%) were born, or had at least one parent born, abroad. On average minority ethnic groups have children at a younger age than Dutch citizens, giving Rotterdam a relatively young population compared to other cities in the Netherlands.

The research takes place in the district of Feijenoord in Rotterdam South. This area has about 72,200 inhabitants and can be considered to be one of the most diversified areas in the city in terms of its population, entrepreneurship and uses. Most of the dwellings are in the social rented sector and are relatively cheap. Low rents attract low-income households to the area. A large part of Feijenoord's population is low-skilled, unemployed, has lower than average

household incomes or receives state welfare benefits. Over the last decennium, there has been a concerted effort by the municipality of Rotterdam to attract higher-income households to the area through various urban regeneration and social mix programmes (Tersteeg et al., 2015).

Brief definitions of the core concepts ²

Diversity is defined as the presence or coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity, such as a city or a neighbourhood. We want to pinpoint how diversity relates to social cohesion, social mobility and the performance of entrepreneurs. Social cohesion can, in a very general way, be defined as the internal bonding of a social system (Schuyt, 1997). Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income (and status and power), while economic performance is concerned with the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs. Governance is seen as short-hand for a diversity of partnerships on different spatial and policy levels, leading to a certain goal.

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

Our aim is to discover if diversity ‘works’. Are there advantages for those who are directly confronted with it and who live within it? An important part of the research is focused on the influence of policy instruments and governance arrangements: How are they formulated? How important is diversity in policies aimed at improving cities, neighbourhoods and the situation of people (social and economic)? How do residents profit from these policies and arrangements? On the basis of interviews with residents in diverse urban areas, we aim to find out how they deal with living with diversity generally, and in particular. Do they see advantages of diversity in the places where they live or work? Do they encounter negative effects? And do they care? Interviews with entrepreneurs in our research areas will indicate why they started their enterprise there and if diversity had any effect on their decision. We hope to learn if they profit from diversity.

The research for this book is based on qualitative fieldwork. We interviewed politicians and policy-makers at both national and local levels, leaders of local initiatives, residents in the Feijenoord neighbourhood and entrepreneurs who have their businesses located in the area.

The next chapter outlines the main theoretical starting points for the book.

1.3 DIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS: SOME KEY ARGUMENTS³

1.3.1 From super-diversity to hyper-diversity

Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), super-diversity refers specifically to western cities with increasing ethnic diversity, and to the demographic and socio-economic diversity between and

within these ethnic groups. Vertovec (2007, p. 1024) talks about ‘...*the dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade*’. As such, Vertovec recognises the enormous diversity within categories of immigrants.

We will take this one step further, and will use the term hyper-diversity. With this term we will make clear that we should not only look at diversity in ethnic, demographic and socio-economic terms, but also look to the differences that exist with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. We will contend that such differences are important, for example, when explaining social cohesion or social mobility. People belonging to the same social or ethnic group may display quite different attitudes with respect to school, work, parents or towards other groups. They may have very different daily routines and lifestyles. Some adolescents and adults may exhibit extensive daily mobility patterns that stretch all over the city and even beyond, while others may remain largely within their own residential neighbourhood boundaries. While the sphere of daily interaction of Dutch residents may be restricted to their immediate surroundings, their foreign-born immigrant neighbours may be more mobile with respect to social and professional relations and vice versa.

‘Hyper-diversity refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, socio-demographic and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities’ (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p.6). The term makes clear that we should look at urban diversity in a very open way. Hyper-diversity refers to a significantly more complex situation than super-diversity, because the concept contains more variables, which leads to more involved interactions between these variables. The term hyper-diversity takes into account the fact that, for example, a group of poor, young Indian-born men living in a London neighbourhood may at first sight be considered as a homogeneous group. But at closer range they may be very heterogeneous: some men in this group like watching sports on television at home; another part of the group’s main activity may have intensive contact with the family in India (via email, Skype, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.); and a third group may enjoy hanging around on the neighbourhood square where they mainly interact with other Londoners.

Why should we pay attention to such immense diversification? In our opinion, the implications of the recognition of hyper-diversity force us to look differently at the possibilities to live together in a city or a neighbourhood. Mixing groups within a neighbourhood – in terms of income or ethnic descent, for example – may lead to physical proximity of these groups, but because they have different lifestyles, attitudes and activities, these people may actually never meet. Policies aimed at traditional categories such as ‘the’ poor, or specific ethnic or age groups, without taking into account the immense diversity in such groups or categories, are likely to fail. Policies aimed at improving the social cohesion in neighbourhoods will not work when the hyper-diversity of the population is not considered. Traditional policy frames often stick to

stable and sharply delineated population categories or to specific neighbourhoods in a city and thus ignore the hyper-diversified social reality.

A hyper-diversified city contains increasingly changing forms of diversities. According to the literature, new forms of diversity result from many factors including: increasing net migration and diversification of countries of origin (Vertovec, 2007); increased level of population mobility (Sepulveda and Syrett, 2007; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011); the dynamic nature of global migration, new social formations in the city and changing conditions and positions of immigrant and minority ethnic groups in urban society (Vertovec, 2010); transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (Vertovec, 2007); new power and political structures, and dynamic identities (Cantle, 2012); and increasing heterogeneity of migration in terms of countries of origin, ethnic and national groups, religions, languages, migratory channels, and legal status (Faist, 2009). Neoliberal deregulation, which has been feeding diversity in particular ways (economic globalisation, increasing income inequality, polarisation, segregation, etc.) for the last 30 years, contributes to the increasing complexities of the urban society.

1.3.2 Diversity and urban governance

Governance can be defined as a process of coordinating actors, social groups, and institutions to attain particular goals discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments (Le Galès, 2002). It is expected that the overall success of public policies will be more and more dependent on partnerships between the public and private sectors and that individual citizens and communities will have to take greater responsibility for their own welfare. Traditional government will no longer be willing to fulfil the needs of the present population in general, nor for the increasing diversity of groups in society particularly. Urban governance arrangements have to consolidate efforts in relation to physical condition, social and economic situations, and environmental amelioration to achieve a better quality of urban life.

Ostensibly, during the 2000s there was a convergence in urban policy and planning agendas in cities across the world with a move towards, what Beck (2002) has termed, the individualisation of society, or a 'sub-politics' characterised by less direct forms of state intervention and greater individual and community autonomy. The adversarial class politics of the post-World War II period has been replaced, it is argued, by a new 'post-politics' founded on consensus building, collaboration, and a more powerful role for active individuals and communities. For authors such as Beck (2002), Giddens (2002; 2009) and Held (2010) changes are an inevitable consequence of structural social shifts in which individuals and communities no longer identify themselves through the restrictive prisms of class identities and adversarial left/right politics. This is particularly relevant in cosmopolitan, hyper-diverse EU cities with their outward-looking populations and economies. Questions of governance have become increasingly complex and governments look for ways to tackle the growing divisions between shrinking institutional capacities (partly as a consequence of deliberate austerity measures) and a growing diversity of the needs of a diverse population on the increase.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011 Euro crisis, governments across the EU have put in place austerity agendas seeking to reduce the size of the state and to make governance arrangements more flexible and diverse. In the UK, for example, terms such as ‘Big Society’ have taken centre-stage. Advocates such as David Cameron (2011, p. 1) represent a ‘guiding philosophy’ of government, in which a leaner state can act as ‘...a leading force for progress in social responsibility ...breaking (open) state monopolies, allowing charities, social enterprises, and companies to provide public services, devolving power down to neighbourhoods, making government more accountable’. Similar trends are happening in cities and countries across the EU in which governance is being re-invented as a participatory practice that opens up opportunities for policy-makers and citizens to engage in a process of policy co-production and mutual working (Mulgan, 2009; Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw, 2010).

And yet, little is known about the capacities and motivations of diverse urban communities to take on these new and expanded roles in cities across the EU. The shift to a post-political, communitarian approach to governance raises questions of equality and social justice as it is by no means clear that reducing the role of the state and of government institutions necessarily improves either the efficiency or the accountability of governance processes. Devolution and localism can all too easily open the door to new forms of privatisation that may bring more efficiency but at the cost of reduced democratic accountability and increases in socio-economic inequality (see Boyle, 2011; MacLeod and Jones, 2011; Raco, 2013). Moreover, the extent to which existing institutional structures no longer ‘work’ and need to be reformed is a claim that authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Rancière (2006) and Žižek (2011) have challenged as a political ideological programme that, in reality, seeks to attack welfare state systems across the EU and marginalise poorer and more diverse communities in cities under the discursive cloak of ‘empowerment’ and ‘devolution’ agendas (Crouch, 2011).

1.3.3 Diversity and social cohesion

In its most general meaning, social cohesion refers to the glue that holds a society together (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004). The concept of social cohesion is not only applicable to society as a whole, but also to different scale levels (city, neighbourhood, street) or different types of social systems, say a family, an organisation or a university (Schuyt, 1997). Kearns and Forrest (2000) identify five domains of social cohesion: common values and a civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities; place attachment and shared identity; and social networks and social capital (we will return to the concept of social capital in the next section). We will mainly focus on common values, on place attachment and on social networks.

There is fundamental disagreement among social scientists about the association between diversity and social cohesion. The common belief in significant parts of the social sciences is that, despite internal differences, mixed communities can live together in harmony. Finding the balance between diversity and solidarity is not easy, but it is not necessarily an impossible nor undesirable mission (Amin, 2002). However, social scientists working in the communitarian

tradition, such as Putnam (2007), tend to see diversity and heterogeneity as a challenge, or even an obstacle, for social cohesion and cultural homogeneity as a fundamental source of social cohesion.

This distinction between optimists and pessimists is also reflected in the literature on social mixing policies (van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). On the one hand, policy-makers in many European countries see the stimulation of greater mixing across income groups and between ethnic communities as a means to create more social cohesion (Graham et al., 2009). On the other hand, many academic researchers tend to emphasise that diversity is often negatively related to cohesion. This conclusion is based on two types of empirical research. First, there are studies evaluating social mixing policies (either in a quantitative or a qualitative way), which usually focus on a small number of neighbourhoods, and that concludes that social mixing is more likely to weaken than to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013a; Bond et al., 2011). There are hardly any interactions between social groups (Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Joseph et al., 2007). Second, there is a highly quantitative research tradition in which the compositional characteristics of neighbourhoods are related to social cohesion. Kearns and Mason (2007) found that a greater diversity of tenure (as proxy for social mix) is negatively related to social cohesion.

Although there are many different types of diversity, most attention has been directed to the effects of ethnic diversity since Putnam's publication *E pluribus unum* (2007). There are divergent theories on the association between ethnic concentration and social cohesion (Gijssberts et al., 2011). According to the homogeneity theory, people prefer to associate with others who have similar characteristics. It is therefore expected that people in heterogeneous neighbourhoods tend to have fewer contacts with fellow residents than people in homogeneous neighbourhoods. According to group conflict theory, people feel threatened by the presence of other groups. There is more distrust towards out-groups when the numerical presence of these groups is stronger.

Putnam's (2007) 'constrict theory' partly overlaps with conflict theory. He found that higher ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood goes hand-in-hand with a diminished trust in local politicians. Ethnic heterogeneity can further negatively affect the number of friends and acquaintances and the willingness to do something for the neighbourhood or to work with voluntary organisations. Diversity does not only lead to less trust in the so-called out-group, but also to distrust in the in-group. Putnam (2007, p. 140) concludes: *'Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, to pull in like a turtle'*. This idea relates to the notion of a parallel society: people may live close to each other, but this does not necessarily mean that they have any contact with each other or take part in joint activities.

Although some of the academic literature tends to be pessimistic about the level of social cohesion in diverse areas, it should be stressed that there is no reason to assume that there is

a mechanistic (negative) association between diversity and cohesion. Contextual differences play a large role in the effects of diversity. Delhay and Newton (2005) have shown that good governance at the regional and national level positively affects social cohesion and eliminates the (alleged) negative effects of diversity. The effects of diversity may also differ from society to society based on difference in 'ethnic boundary making'. In the literature on 'ethnic boundary making' ethnicity is '...not preconceived as a matter of relations between pre-defined, fixed groups ...but rather as a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them' (Wimmer, 2013, p. 1027). This literature aims to offer a more precise analysis of how and why cultural or ethnic diversity matters in some societies or contexts but not in others, and why it is sometimes associated with inequality and 'thick identities' and in other cases not. This is, among other things, dependent on the specific type of boundary making and the degree of 'social closure' along cultural-ethnic lines (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Wimmer, 2013).

1.3.4 Diversity and social mobility

Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income (status and power). Social mobility has been defined in many ways, as well as in both narrow and broad senses. In almost all definitions the notion of the labour market career is mentioned. Individuals are socially mobile when they move from one job to another (better) job or from a state of unemployment to being employed.

In the context of social mobility it is important to place some attention on the concept of social capital. In its most simple sense, social capital refers to the possible profit of social contacts (Kleinmans, 2005). It therefore provides a link between social cohesion and social mobility. To Bourdieu, social capital is a resource or a power relation that agents achieve through social networks and connections: "*Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). This definition focuses on the actual network resources that individuals or groups possess that help them to achieve a given goal, for example, finding a job or a better home. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) draw on Bourdieu's definition of social capital when they speak of immigrants specifically.

The question of how individuals can profit from their social contacts is crucial here. With respect to these contacts we can think of practical knowledge or important information. The literature makes an important distinction between bonding capital on the one hand and bridging capital on the other (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2001). Bonding capital refers to the strong ties within one's social circle (similar others), while bridging capital is about relations outside one's social circle (weak ties). The latter type of connection is much more likely to deliver important information about opportunities, such as jobs (Granovetter, 1973). In this research project we see social capital as a resource for social mobility. In other words, this resource can be used as a means to reach social mobility. Social capital is therefore not seen as an equivalent to social mobility. The concept of social capital has some overlap with the concept

of social cohesion (see above), but while social cohesion can be seen as an outcome of social processes, social capital should be interpreted as a means to reach a goal, for example, having a strong social network can help to find premises to start a small business.

In studies of neighbourhood effects, the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and social mobility is central. In many of these studies, the effects of segregation (usually in terms of income or ethnic background) on social mobility have been key rather than the effects of diversity. Typical questions include Friedrichs's (1998): Does living in a neighbourhood with a specific type of population limit social mobility? Does living in an ethnic neighbourhood limit integration and assimilation? Do impoverished neighbourhoods have fewer job opportunities for their residents?

Concrete results from research into neighbourhood effects can be given. A study on the effects of income mix in neighbourhoods on adult earnings in Sweden (Galster et al., 2008) showed that neighbourhood effects do exist, but that they are small. Urban (2009) finds only a small effect on the neighbourhoods with children in relation to income and unemployment risks in Stockholm. Brännström and Rojas (2012) also found mixed results with respect to the effect of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods on education outcomes in areas with a relatively large minority ethnic population. Gordon and Monastiriotis (2006) found small neighbourhood effects on educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups. At the same time, they found more substantial positive effects due to segregation for middle-class households. The general outcome of such studies is always that personal characteristics are much more important for social mobility than the characteristics of the neighbourhood, at least in European cities.

Why are neighbourhood effects on various aspects of social mobility so small? This can probably be attributed to the fact that the lives of people do not organise completely around the home and the neighbourhood of residence. With increased mobility, better transport and almost unlimited contact possibilities through the internet and mobile devices, people now take part in multiple networks, visiting several places and meeting many people physically and virtually (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). People may have contacts all over the city, (ethnic) groups may form communities all over the world (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998), in the neighbourhood where they are resident, in their home countries where still large parts of their families may live, and possibly in other regions where family members and friends have migrated to (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013a).

1.3.5 Diversity and economic performance

When we consider urban studies, the literature mainly links the advantages of urban diversity to the economic competitiveness of the *city*. Fainstein (2005, p. 4), for example, argues that '*... the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment*'. From this widely accepted point of view urban diversity is seen as a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development by many others (Bodaar and

Rath, 2005; Eraydin et al., 2010; Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2008). Although some successful entrepreneurs may live in homogenous neighbourhoods, some scholars hold a contrary view even arguing that diversity and economic performance are not positively connected (Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005). The general opinion is that diversity has a positive influence on the economic development of cities. Inspired by similar ideas, urban diversity is seen as a characteristic feature of many policy-makers to realise a so-called 'diversity dividend', which will increase the competitive advantage of the city (Cully, 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010).

All these perspectives provide a solid understanding of how diverse communities can contribute to the economic performance of cities. What is less clear is the impact of living/working in a hyper-diversified city or neighbourhood where economic performance affects the individuals and groups living in these areas. In our research we have focused on the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs as we see the economic performance of people as an essential condition for the economic performance of a city. We aim to underline that diverse forms of entrepreneurship positively affect urban economic performance. Furthermore, increasing possibilities for building successful businesses (entrepreneurship) also contributes to the chances of social mobility in the city for diverse groups of people.

However, as Bellini et al. (2008) argue, research on the urban level indicates the existence of positive correlations between diversity and economic performance and sees cultural diversity as an economic asset (Nathan, 2011). Some of the positive impacts of diversity can be highlighted here:

- **Increasing productivity:** A study by Ottaviano and Peri (2006) shows that average US-born citizens are more productive (on the basis of wages and rents) in a culturally diversified environment. As Bellini et al. (2008) show, diversity is positively correlated with productivity as it may increase the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O'Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006; Berliant and Fujita, 2004). In the same vein, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) provide an overview of how the urban economy benefits from diversity within the population.
- **Increasing chances for networking:** Some scholars (Alesina et al., 2004; Demange and Wooders, 2005) point to the emerging literature on club formations, wherein ethnic networks grow from within. According to these researchers, a social mix brings about variety in abilities, experiences, and cultures, which may be productive and may lead to innovation and creativity. Saunders' (2011) work on the arrival city concept is of interest. He argues that some city areas with high levels of social mix provide a better (easier) environment for starting small businesses for immigrants, especially for newcomers, due to easy access to information through well-developed networks.
- **Increasing competitive advantage:** Emphasising the rising levels of population diversity, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) suggest using population diversity as a source of competitive advantage. Other studies highlight diversity as an instrument for increasing the competitive

advantage of cities, regions or places (Bellini et al., 2008; Blumenthal et al., 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010; Nathan, 2011; Sepulveda and Syrett, 2011; Thomas and Darnton, 2006). The common argument of these studies is that areas that are open to diversity (nationality, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) are able to attract a wider range of talent than those that are relatively closed. As a result, they are more likely to have a dynamic economy due to their creative, innovative and entrepreneurial capacities compared to more homogenous cities (see also Scott, 2006).

- **Increasing socio-economic well-being:** A number of studies pinpointed the positive contribution of urban diversity to the socio-economic well-being of mixed neighbourhoods (Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In fact, proximity to mixed neighbourhoods seems to be a locus for networking and for the fostering of social capital (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). 'Attractive' and safe living environments, 'good' and appealing amenities, pleasant dwellings and a 'nice' population composition can be crucial factors to attract and bind entrepreneurs to a city or neighbourhood (van Kempen et al., 2006).

1.4 THE OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

In the second chapter we will show how the city of Rotterdam is diverse with particular focus on the area of Feijenoord, located in the southern part of the city. The chapter will provide context for the rest of the book, with import on policies, residents and the entrepreneurs living and working in this area.

Chapter three focuses on policy discourses. How do policies deal with urban diversity? We will focus our attention on national policies as well as on local policies in order to sketch the development of policy over recent decades. The main focus will be on current local policies: how do Rotterdam's urban policies deal with diversity? Does Rotterdam see diversity as something positive, as a threat to urban society, or is diversity not treated as a relevant variable? Does Rotterdam consider diversity to be an asset or does it only think of diversity in terms of problems? In addition to the top-down policy discourses, we will also place attention on bottom-up initiatives. How do the leaders of local projects see diversity? How do they profit from diversity?

In chapter four we turn to the residents of the diverse urban area of Feijenoord in Rotterdam. We aim to find out why residents moved to the area, and if the diversity of the area was a motivating factor. It considers what the residents think of diversity. How do residents use the diversified neighbourhood? Do they use the neighbourhood intensively or are their activities and social contacts mainly outside the area? Does living in the area of Feijenoord help or hinder them in terms of social mobility? Our expectation is that the residents of a diverse urban area may have many activities and social contacts in their residential neighbourhood, but that in an era of high mobility opportunity, they also find that a lot of their friends and activities are

outside of the area, making the residential area less important for daily lives and future career possibilities.

In chapter five our attention turns to the entrepreneurs in the area. Has the diversity of the area been a motivator to start an enterprise there? How do they profit from diversity? Do they have a diverse clientele? Is the enterprise successful and can it survive? The basic idea here is that entrepreneurs in diverse urban areas have deliberately selected to start their enterprises in a diverse urban area because they think they can profit from the diverse clientele in this area.

We conclude with chapter six, where we will present an overview of our main findings. Furthermore, we will formulate some suggestions for policy-makers, politicians and other stakeholders who deal with diversity and diverse urban areas. How can they make use of our results?

2 ROTTERDAM AS A DIVERSE CITY

2.1 LOCATING ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands and is located in the Randstad⁴, which is the densely populated western part of the Netherlands (see figure 2.1). The city has developed from a small fishing village in the 14th century into a major international business and trade centre currently. Rotterdam was granted city rights in 1340 by the Count of Holland. Rotterdam's harbour has long been its economic motor. In the 17th century Rotterdam became one of the six 'chambers' of the Dutch East India Company⁵, which played an important role in the economic strength of the Netherlands during the Golden Age. However, the greatest growth spurt took place a few centuries later, after the Nieuwe Waterweg – a direct water connection between Rotterdam and the North Sea – was completed in 1872. During that period the city also crossed the river Meuse moving into the south. Initially, Rotterdam was built on the right (north) bank of the Meuse. Feijenoord was the first area developed on the left (south) bank and became an important centre for harbour and trading activities. Rotterdam acquired the status of a world harbour and expanded very quickly, from 210,000 inhabitants in 1890 to 430,000 in 1910. Many migrants came from the rural provinces in the Netherlands and settled on the south bank, where our case study area Feijenoord is located. Many *Rotterdamers* from the north did not perceive these migrants in the south as 'real' Rotterdamers. The division between north and south is still relevant today; residents on both banks identify strongly with the part of Rotterdam of their 'own bank' (Botman and van Kempen, 2001).

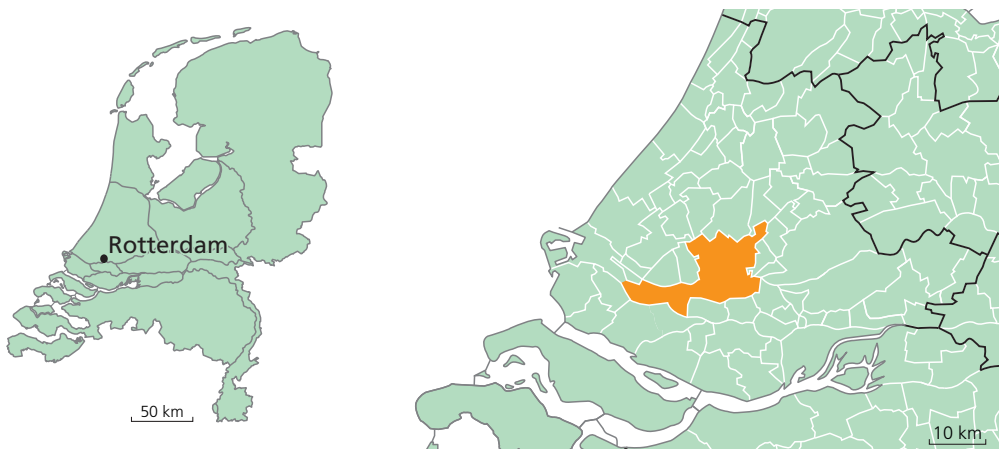


Figure 2.1 Location of Rotterdam in The Netherlands

As with many post-industrial cities, deindustrialisation and the transition towards a postmodern economy have caused a disconnection between the city's traditional blue-collar labour force and the increasing demand for service sector workers. Compared to the other large cities in the Randstad, Rotterdam is a relatively poor city in this regard. While the population of Rotterdam declined by 21% in the period 1960 to 1988 (Oswalt, 2006), since the mid 1980s the population has been growing again. In 1984, the city had just 555,000 residents while the current number of residents is 623,000. Over the last 20 years the population of Rotterdam has been fluctuating somewhat (see figure 2.2), with the population steadily increasing again from 2008 (583,000). At the same time, the surrounding municipalities are not growing. There are 1.172 million inhabitants in the Rotterdam region, a number that has been relatively stable over the last 15 years.

2.2 DIVERSE-CITY ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam is an ethnically diverse city, which hosts no less than 175 different nationalities (Entzinger and Engbersen, 2014). Almost half of the population is of a non-Dutch origin (table 2.1). The largest ethnic groups are the Surinamese and Turkish Dutch with each accounting for 8% of the city's population, followed by the Moroccan and Cape Verdean Dutch. Our case study area of Feijenoord is even more ethnically diverse. The Dutch population comprises less than a third of the population with first and second generation Turkish being the largest minority ethnic group at 19%. Given the fact that the age distribution within minority ethnic

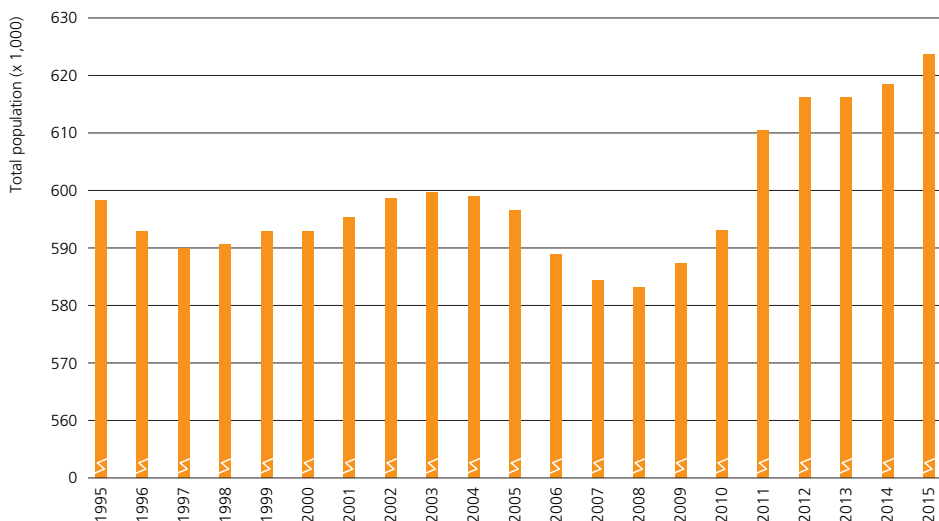


Figure 2.2 Population change in Rotterdam (1995-2015).

Source: Produced based on Statistics Netherlands (2015)

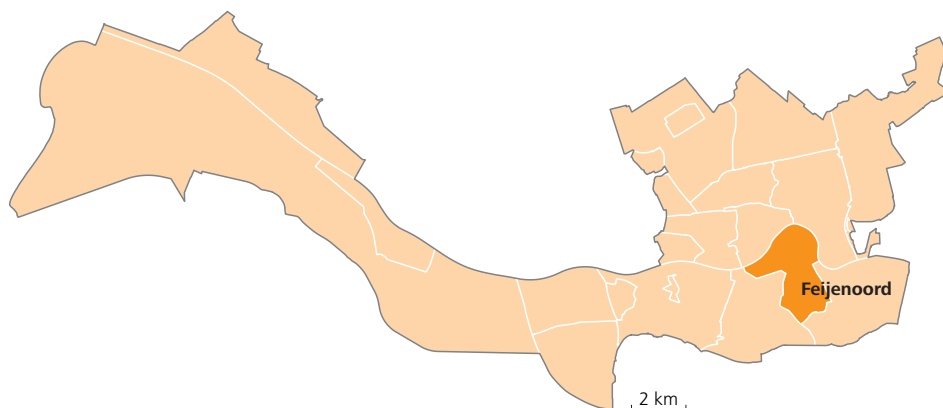


Figure 2.3 The location of Feijenoord in Rotterdam.

groups differs from Dutch⁶ residents, it is unsurprising that the Feijenoord population is younger compared to Rotterdam and the Netherlands as a whole. One third of the population is younger than 25 and only 11% is 65 years or older.

Feijenoord is one of 14 districts in Rotterdam. It is located on the south bank of the Meuse (figure 2.3) and has a population of 73,000 residents. There are eight neighbourhoods in Feijenoord: Afrikaanderwijk, Bloemhof, Feijenoord, Hillesluis, Katendrecht, Kop van Zuid, Noordereiland and Vreewijk. After the district of Charlois (also on the south bank of the Meuse), Feijenoord is the poorest district in Rotterdam with an average household income 9% below the city average and 21% below the national average (table 2.1). A few neighbourhoods in the north of Feijenoord, those close to the river, are gentrifying and have higher income levels than the city average (Kop van Zuid, Noordereiland) or have a slightly lower income level (Katendrecht). Afrikaanderwijk is the poorest neighbourhood in Rotterdam with a mean annual household income of € 16,000 (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015a). Other indicators in table 2.1 illustrate the weak socio-economic position of Feijenoord. 64% of households fall into the two lowest income quintiles, half of the population has a low level of education and almost a quarter of the households are dependent on benefits.

The housing stock in Feijenoord is quite old with more than half of the dwellings built before 1945. Most of them are multifamily dwellings and are quite small. 12% of households live in overcrowded situations, which is significantly higher than in the city as a whole. Only 20% of dwellings are in the owner-occupied sector, compared to 35% and 55% in Rotterdam and the Netherlands respectively. The average housing value (which also includes rental dwellings) is 18% lower than in Rotterdam and 43% lower than in the Netherlands. The differences in housing prices (which only include transactions in the owner-occupied sector) are somewhat smaller, but the gap is also substantial.

Table 2.1 Demographic and socio-economic indicators, 2015*

	The Netherlands	Rotterdam	Feijenoord
Area (km ²)	33,883	208.8	4.99
Total population	16,900,726	623,956	73,079
Age (%)			
0-15	17	16	18
15-25	12	14	15
25-45	25	30	31
45-65	28	25	25
65 +	17	15	11
Largest ethnic groups			
Dutch	78	51	32
Surinamese Dutch	2	8	10
Turkish Dutch	2	8	19
Moroccan Dutch	2	7	11
Antillean/Aruban Dutch	1	4	5
Cape Verdean Dutch	0	2	2
Other western (incl. EU-27)	10	12	10
Other non-western	5	8	11
Highest level of education attainment (%)			
Primary education; lower secondary education	35	40	48
Middle vocational education; upper secondary education	38	29	29
Higher vocational education; tertiary education	26	31	24
Average household income**	€ 24,200	€ 21,900	€ 19,000
Proportion of households in the lowest two quintiles	40	51	64
% of households receiving benefits (unemployment, social security or disability) as main source of income	9	15	24
Owner-occupied housing (%)	55	35	20
Average house value	€ 211,000	€ 148,000	€ 120,000
Average house price	€ 222,218	€ 185,507	€ 183,000 ***
Single family dwellings (%)	65	26	26
Small dwellings (<75 m ²) (%)	20	35	59
Overcrowded houses (%)	unknown	7	12
Dwellings built before 1945 (%)	19	31	53

Sources: Research and Business Intelligence (RBI), Municipality of Rotterdam; Statistics Netherlands

* The figures for income and level of education refer to 2012

** Standardised household income, corrected for size and composition of households

*** This is the value from 2010. More recent figures for Feijenoord are unavailable, but it is likely that the average price is lower now as house prices in Rotterdam and The Netherlands have declined since 2010. The average house price in Rotterdam in 2010 was € 222,250 and in the Netherlands € 242,000.

2.3 HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam has a long history of immigration dating back to trading contacts with Baltic states in the 14th and 15th centuries. During the Golden Age (from the end of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century) a large proportion of the population in the Netherlands consisted of immigrants. In 1600 Rotterdam was a small town with 13,000 inhabitants, of which only 40% of the population was born in Rotterdam, 25% were international migrants and 35% were migrants from other parts of the Netherlands. The proportions of international migrants in other cities in the western part of the Netherlands, such as Amsterdam (40%) and Leiden (55%) were even higher at the time (Lucassen, 2002). The economic decline in the 18th century led to a reduction in immigration to the Netherlands. Immigration declined even further after 1820, reaching an 'all time low' around 1880. However, the situation in Rotterdam was slightly different, as the expansion of the harbour attracted many immigrants, mainly from Germany. Nevertheless, in 1877 only 3% of the population in Rotterdam was foreign born, which is in stark contrast to 25% for both the Golden Age (Lucassen, 2006) and the present era. At the same time, Rotterdam was an exceptionally dynamic city at the end of the 19th century and was growing very fast due to migration from other parts of the Netherlands. On average, both the international and Dutch migrants to Rotterdam had a higher socio-economic status than the existing residents of the city. In this respect, there was a huge contrast between international migrants to neighbouring countries such as England (Irish immigrants), France (Italian immigrants) and Germany (Polish immigrants) where immigrants tended to be poorly educated. It is also a significant difference when compared to the present situation as immigrants to Rotterdam tend to have a lower socio-economic status than the Dutch population (Lucassen, 2006).

Throughout the 20th century Rotterdam's harbour continued to attract immigrants to the city, for example, Chinese sailors in the early 20th century (Entzinger and Engbersen, 2014), and Cape Verdean sailors in the 1960s and 1970s (Carling, 2004). Rotterdam is home to the largest community of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands. The two largest waves of international migration to Rotterdam were migrants from the Dutch colonies of Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles, and Mediterranean guest workers who mainly came from Spain, Italy, Turkey and Morocco. Initially southern European guest workers were recruited beginning with a treaty with Italy in 1960. By the end of the 1960s guest workers from Turkey and Morocco started to arrive (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000). In 1972 (a year before the oil crisis and the closing of the borders for new guest workers), the Spanish population was the largest Mediterranean group in Rotterdam (5,736 residents) followed by the Turkish (4,964 residents). Twelve years later, the Turkish were the largest Mediterranean group (12,597 residents), followed by Moroccans (10,563 residents). The numbers of all southern European groups had declined due to return migration, while the number of Turks and Moroccans increased, mainly as a result of family reunification (Mik, 1987).

Immigration from the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname was quite low in the 1960s, but there was a substantial influx from Suriname in the years around independence in 1975. Immigration from the Antilles was sizeable after 1985, when large refineries closed in Aruba and Curacao (the two most populated islands of the Antilles) causing a huge rise in unemployment there (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000).

Despite the increase of immigrants, Rotterdam could still be described as a mono-ethnic city in 1972. Then, more than 94% of the population were of Dutch nationality. This was reduced to 85.5% in 1984, which was not just due to an increasing number of minority groups (most notably Turks, Surinamese and Moroccans), but also to the massive decrease of residents of Dutch nationality. In 12 years Rotterdam had lost over 150,000 Dutch residents causing the city to shrink rapidly (table 2.2). Similar to what happened in the Northern American context, white Dutch middle-class households ‘fled’ to suburban areas throughout the 1970s, facilitated by the extension of the freeway system which connected the inner city to its suburban surroundings.

In statistical data from recent years, it is not common anymore to use nationality as an indicator of ethnic origin, as many immigrants have acquired Dutch nationality. Statistics Netherlands works with the concept of foreign background, which is based on a person’s country of birth and that of their parents. For someone with a first generation foreign background the origin is indicated as the country of birth of that person. For someone with a second generation foreign background the origin is indicated as the country of birth of the mother of that person. If the mother’s country of birth is The Netherlands, the origin is indicated as the father’s country of birth. Furthermore, a distinction is made between people from a Western and a non-Western background. People from the former category originate from a country in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America or Oceania or Indonesia or Japan⁷.

Table 2.2 Population of Rotterdam by nationality and ethnic descent, 1972 and 1984

	1972		1984	
	Number	%	Number	%
Turks	4,964	0.7	21,523	3.9
Moroccans	1,671	0.2	10,563	1.9
Spanish	5,736	0.9	3,226	0.6
Other Southern Europeans	6,936	1.0	6,833	1.2
Surinamese	12,000*	1.8	21,523	3.9
Antilleans	-	-	2,949	0.5
Other non-Dutch nationalities	7,213	1.1	14,075	2.5
Dutch nationality	631,540	94.3	474,587	85.5
Total	670,060	100.0	555,353	100.0

Source: Mik (1987)

* This is an estimate for the sum of Surinamese and Antilleans

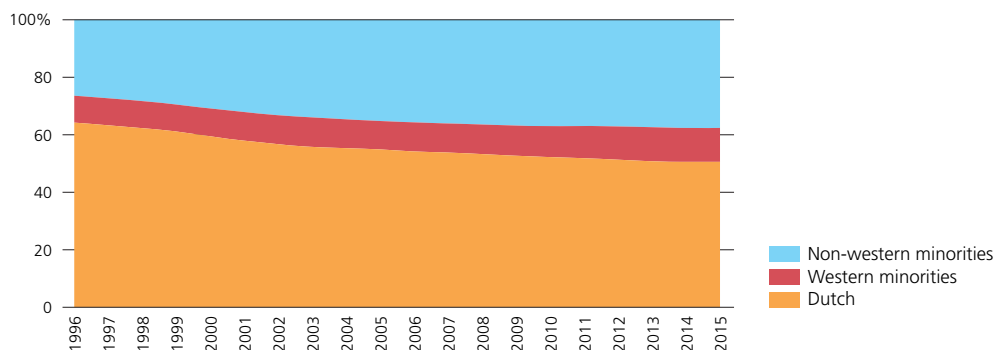


Figure 2.4 Changing ethnic composition in Rotterdam, 1996-2015.

Source: Produced based on Statistics Netherlands (2015)

Table 2.2 and figure 2.4 show that the diversification process that started in the 1970s continues to the present day. The proportion of people from Dutch origin declined from 64% in 1996 to 51% in 2005. The percentage of people of Western origin (from 9 to 12%) and those of a non-Western origin (from 26 to 37%) increased in the same period. There is also a diversification process within the latter two categories. In the non-Western groups there has been an increase since the 1990s in people from countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Somalia who have arrived as refugees (Entzinger and Engbersen, 2014). In the Western category, there has been a growing number of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe since EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007. In 2013, there were more than 9,000 registered migrants (1.5% of the Rotterdam population) from this part of Europe (Ostaijen et al., 2014).

The research area of Feijenoord has traditionally attracted many of these newcomers to the city, including Chinese, Surinamese, Antilleans, Cape Verdeans, guest workers from Turkey and Morocco and their families, and more recently labourers from Central and Eastern European countries (see table 2.1). Feijenoord was built as a residential area in the 20th century to house low-income harbour workers and their families. Over time, migrants have settled in Feijenoord because of the availability of affordable housing and the presence of co-ethnic family and friends. Despite the concerted effort by the municipality of Rotterdam to attract high-income households to the area through various urban regeneration and social mix programs, particularly in the areas closest to the city centre, Feijenoord is still relatively deprived compared to other areas of Rotterdam (see section 2.2).

2.4 SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY IN ROTTERDAM

The Segregation Index (SI) is a measure of segregation ranging from 0 (no segregation at all) to 100 (complete segregation). It is used to measure segregation along lines of ethnicity or socio-

Table 2.3 Segregation Indices of the largest first and second generation migrant groups in the four largest Dutch cities, 2002 and 2012

	Turks	Moroccans	Surinamese	Antilleans
Rotterdam 2002	45.8	40.7	22.4	31.0
Rotterdam 2012	39.1	38.0	18.3	25.9
Amsterdam 2002	41.9	40.0	33.0	36.2
Amsterdam 2012	43.7	40.3	33.9	29.8
The Hague 2002	51.3	48.6	34.8	27.8
The Hague 2012	49.2	46.3	30.2	26.5
Utrecht 2002	41.9	43.0	21.5	17.4
Utrecht 2012	41.5	42.5	22.8	12.4

Source: Statistics Netherlands (2013)

economic status. Table 2.3 shows that in Rotterdam the SI of people of Turkish and Moroccan descent is relatively high compared to the two other large minority ethnic groups (those of Surinamese and Antilleans descent). The segregation of all four groups has substantially declined between 2002 and 2012. As a consequence, the SI scores for all groups in Rotterdam are lower than in the other three large Dutch cities (Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht)⁸. This is mainly caused by the decreasing population size in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods as a consequence of urban restructuring policies. Bolt and van Kempen (2013a) demonstrated that urban restructuring policies in The Hague and Utrecht did not lead to a reduction of ethnic segregation in the period 1999-2005 due to population developments in new housing estates. These housing estates mainly attracted white Dutch households, many of which moved out of mixed neighbourhoods in these cities. The role of new housing estates in Rotterdam is much more limited as new housing in the city is mainly built in existing neighbourhoods. In 2005 9.6% and 7.4% of residents in The Hague and Utrecht respectively, lived in new housing estates, while in Rotterdam only 0.5% of residents lived in a new housing estate (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013a).

For the same reason, income segregation in Rotterdam is stable, while the SI scores for The Hague and Utrecht are on the rise. New housing in the latter two cities fuelled the income sorting process by making it easier for higher status households to move out of lower status neighbourhoods (cf. Dwyer 2007). The SI of the lowest quintile in Rotterdam rose slightly between 1999 and 2005 from 13.3 to 14.4 but it remains very low. The segregation of the highest quintile is substantially higher at 28.4, but has remained stable (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013a).

While income segregation is relatively low in Rotterdam, it should be stressed that there are many neighbourhoods that have to deal with poverty. Nine of the 20 poorest postcode areas in the Netherlands are located in Rotterdam (SCPA/Statistics Netherlands, 2014). Zwiers et al. (2015) constructed a ranking of Dutch neighbourhoods on the basis of social status (a composite measure based on employment, education and income data). They showed that more

than half of Rotterdam's neighbourhoods were in the 10th decile (i.e. the lowest status category) in 2010. Since 1971 Rotterdam as a whole has been in a process of downgrading compared to the rest of the Netherlands. A few neighbourhoods north of the river have upgraded, but others have descended on the neighbourhood ladder; in 1971 only one neighbourhood was in the lowest status category.

2.5 DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN ROTTERDAM

According to a 2014 report monitoring poverty by the Social and Cultural Planning Agency (SCPA) and Statistics Netherlands, Rotterdam is leading the poverty ranking in the Netherlands. In 2012, 17.2% of households in Rotterdam were living on a low income, just slightly higher than Amsterdam (17.0%), which is number two on the list. Despite this fact, there is a sizeable difference between both cities in the structure of the regional economy. The pace of deindustrialisation has been slower in Rotterdam, while the share of employment in advanced producer services is much higher in Amsterdam (Burgers and Musterd, 2002). According to the polarisation thesis (e.g. Sassen, 2001), the concentration of advanced producer services in cities yields high labour demand for both the highest and lowest occupational strata. This may be the reason why Rotterdam has a more substantial mismatch at the bottom of the labour market than Amsterdam (Burgers and Musterd, 2002). This finding was confirmed in a more recent data set concerning the developments of local economies between 1998 and 2008 in 22 Dutch agglomerations. As expected, the unemployment level was found to be lowest in cities with the highest share of advanced producer services⁹.



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

The local economy structure also makes a difference for the impact of immigration on wages at the bottom of the labour market. Immigration from non-EU countries has been found to decrease the earnings of low-skilled workers (e.g. Zorlu and Hartog, 2005), which is attributed to the fact that those immigrants compete for the same jobs as existing low-skilled workers. However, van der Waal (2010) stressed that this general conclusion is nuanced. He found that the substitution on the labour market only takes place in Rotterdam, and not in Amsterdam. Apparently, the labour demand at the bottom in Amsterdam is high enough to absorb the inflow of immigrants. Although the size and the composition of the waves of immigration are comparable in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam, it is only in Rotterdam that immigration has a negative impact on wages.

If we look at the current employment structure of Rotterdam's economy, it is of note that the sectoral distribution is comparable to that of the Netherlands as a whole (table 2.4), with two exceptions: in Rotterdam the wholesale and retail trade sector has a smaller proportion of employees (12.0%) than the Netherlands as a whole (16.8%), while the reverse is true for the transportation and storage sector (10.6% and 4.8% respectively) which can be attributed to the role of the harbour. Feijenoord's economic structure deviates strongly from the city as a whole. Of the 26,000 employees, more than half work in the non-commercial services sector (public administration, education and health). The industrial, construction, wholesale and retail trade and other commercial service sectors are under-represented in Feijenoord. There was a slight increase in employment in Feijenoord of 2.0% between 2009 and 2014, which is counter to the negative trend of Rotterdam (-4.2%) and the Netherlands (-1.3%). The transportation and storage sector (+3.0%) and the public administration and services (+4.3%) increased their share

Table 2.4 Employment shares by industry classes/branches in 2014¹⁰

	The Netherlands %	Rotterdam %	Feijenoord %
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1.3	0.1	0.0
Industry and energy	10.5	10.2	7.3
Construction	4.1	4.5	1.0
Wholesale and retail trade	16.8	12.0	5.6
Transportation and storage	4.8	10.6	9.3
Accommodation and food service	4.4	3.2	3.9
Other commercial services	24.1	23.8	16.9
Public administration and services	6.6	5.9	21.5
Education	6.6	8.3	10.7
Health and social work activities	17.4	18.5	21.8
Culture, recreation and other services	3.4	3.0	2.0
Total number of employees (100%)	7,711,620	288,493	26,273

Sources: Research and Business Intelligence (RBI), Municipality of Rotterdam; Statistics Netherlands

in the local economy (+4.3%), while health (-3.9%), education (-2.0%) and industry (-2.2) lost some of their importance in the Feijenoord economy.

Entrepreneurship is one of the key drivers of the Dutch economy. The share of business owners in 2012 (as percentage of the labour force) was 12.0%, which is very similar to the average of the EU15 countries (11.9%). In terms of the Total Entrepreneurial Activity Index (which is a measure for early-stage entrepreneurial activity) the Netherlands is a frontrunner in Europe (Wennekers, 2014). The share of minority ethnic entrepreneurs is increasing in the Netherlands, up from 14.0% in 2007 to 16.1% in 2012. The proportion of entrepreneurs as a percentage of the labour force is still higher among Dutch (12.3%) than among Western (10.9%) and non-Western minority ethnic groups (6.6%), but the differences between these groups are decreasing (Panteia, 2014). For Rotterdam, the available data is somewhat older, but the trend towards a growing proportion of minority ethnic entrepreneurs is also visible here. In 2004, 31% of entrepreneurs in Rotterdam belonged to a minority ethnic group, as against 27% in 1999 (Bertens and De Vries, 2008). Nevertheless, the proportion of entrepreneurs among non-Western ethnic groups is still substantially lower than among Dutch, not only in Rotterdam, but also in the other large Dutch cities. The proportion of entrepreneurs among the second generation of Western immigrants is about on par with Dutch in Rotterdam, and even higher in the other big Dutch cities (table 2.5). Overall, the proportion of entrepreneurs is lower in Rotterdam than in the other cities.

There is a significant difference in the spatial distribution across Rotterdam between non-Western entrepreneurs and non-Dutch Western and Dutch entrepreneurs. Non-Western entrepreneurs are much more likely to be settled in poor neighbourhoods, while they are under-represented in richer neighbourhoods (table 2.6). This is not surprising given the fact that non-Western residents tend to live in poor neighbourhoods and many entrepreneurs have their businesses in the same neighbourhood as where they live. At the same time, there are also substantial differences between poor neighbourhoods in regards to the opportunities that are offered to entrepreneurs. Beckers and Kloosterman (2014) show that pre-war neighbourhoods in the large Dutch cities offer more commercial spaces and less restrictive regulations compared

Table 2.5 Proportion of entrepreneurs by ethnic descent (number of entrepreneurs per 1,000 in the 18-64 age category) in the four largest Dutch cities, 2004.

	Rotterdam	Amsterdam	The Hague	Utrecht
Dutch	78	121	86	74
Non-Western, 1 st generation	35	50	50	42
Non-Western, 2 nd generation	23	34	29	35
Western, 1 st generation	51	97	62	62
Western, 2 nd generation	77	127	98	80
Total	60	95	73	67

Source: Bertens and De Vries (2008)

Table 2.6 Distribution of entrepreneurs across neighbourhoods (by average house values) in Rotterdam in 2004, by ethnic descent

	Mean housing value (x € 1,000)			
	<100	100-150	150-200	>200
Dutch	3	60	23	14
Non-Western, 1 st generation	8	79	10	3
Non-Western, 2 nd generation	9	77	10	4
Western, 1 st generation	4	66	18	12
Western, 2 nd generation	2	60	21	17
Total	4	64	20	12

Source: Bertens and De Vries (2008)

to the (mono-functional) post-war neighbourhoods. Most neighbourhoods in Feijenoord fall into the former category.

2.6 CHALLENGES OF ROTTERDAM AS A DIVERSE CITY

A major challenge for Rotterdam is to strengthen its economic base. Although the city has achieved success in diversifying its economy and attracting (inter)national businesses, it still lags behind other big cities in the Netherlands. The share of advanced producer services is still relatively small and the entrepreneurship rate is the lowest of the large Dutch cities. As a consequence, the city has relatively high levels of unemployment, poor households, and low property prices. The situation is most pressing on the left bank of the Meuse, where our research area Feijenoord is located. The scale of socio-economic problems in Rotterdam South has led to a unique urban governance construction (in the Dutch context) whereby multiple governmental and non-governmental parties at different spatial scales collaborate with the collective aim to improve the economic well-being of the area and its residents. The goal of the National Programme Rotterdam South (NPRS) is to decrease deprivation among residents and to improve the quality of life in the south so that in 20 years the area will be on a comparable socio-economic level with other urban areas (PANPRS, 2013). The programme focuses on three themes: education, work, and housing. It aims to increase the educational performance of young residents, increase employment levels, and to improve the housing stock to counteract selective migration. The focus districts for the NPRS are Charlois, Feijenoord and IJsselmonde. The programme seeks to achieve its goals by diversifying the housing stock. A diverse housing stock is thought to attract and keep high-income groups in the area. Framed in this manner, diversity is seen as a quality. Yet, the NPRS does not clarify how income diversity will exactly benefit the residents of Rotterdam South.

For the city as a whole, a key challenge is to attract more middle and high-income groups. In its housing policy the current city government aims for an inclusive approach to improve the

living quality of its citizens in both low and high income brackets. Nevertheless, in the next chapter we will demonstrate that the 2014-2018 city plan of the ruling coalition shows a strong financial and policy focus on the needs of middle and high income earners and the creative industries, which the coalition refers to as ‘strong shoulders’, rather than on low-income groups.

Alongside of the expansion of the owner-occupied sector, Rotterdam also seeks to attract residents with a higher socio-economic status by investing in cultural facilities and investing in prestigious architectural projects (Doucet et al., 2011; Kloosterman and Stegmeijer, 2005). Nevertheless, the crux in attracting high-income groups is in the diversification of the economy. Without an enlargement of high-end jobs, Rotterdam will not be able to attract the amount of high-income groups the city is aiming for. Attracting higher income groups has been a constant goal of Dutch urban renewal policies since the end of the 1980s. Rotterdam does not stand alone with regards to its focus on these groups. Since the 1980s, large cities in the Netherlands replaced their ‘building for the neighbourhood’ program (which focused on building for low incomes) to social mixing strategies (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013b). As a consequence, a substantial part of the social housing stock in Dutch urban neighbourhoods has been demolished¹¹ or sold, which has in Dutch urban neighbourhoods has been demolished or sold, which has led to a substantial enlargement of the owner-occupied sector from 22% in 2000 to 35% in 2015.

Another important challenge for Rotterdam is to accommodate the vast and increasing ethnic and cultural diversity among its population, by profiting more from its social and economic potential and counteracting socio-cultural tensions. As the next chapter will show, the city lags behind in these respects, which some civil servants speak of as a ‘taboo’ that needs to be addressed. Ethnic diversity is a highly sensitive topic in public and political debates in Rotterdam. The ongoing discussions around the Act on Exceptional Measures Concerning Inner-City Problems, which was first implemented in Rotterdam in 2005 to stimulate a wider income mix in low-income areas clearly demonstrates this sensitivity. The act is now popularly called the Rotterdam Act as it was first proposed by the municipality of Rotterdam, arguing that certain deprived areas in Rotterdam could not accommodate any more residents with a weak socio-economic position. It is presently in effect in five designated areas (of which one is the Hillesluis neighbourhood in Feijenoord) in Rotterdam. Six major housing associations in Rotterdam have committed themselves to the Act. Several scholars and politicians in the Netherlands are critical of the act and argue that it violates the freedom of establishment (vulnerable groups, see e.g. van Eijk, 2013a; 2013b). In addition, they believe that the act unofficially aims at limiting the housing opportunities of disadvantaged minority ethnic groups (Ouweland and Doff, 2013). That is due to the fact that the trigger for the Rotterdam law was a report by the Rotterdam Bureau of Statistics, which presented a prognosis that minority ethnic groups would make up over 50% of the population and that this figure would be even higher in some districts. In response to this report, Vice Mayor Pastors of Liveable Rotterdam argued for an ‘immigrant-stop’ or a ‘fence around Rotterdam’ to prevent (deprived) immigrants moving into the city (Maan et al., 2014). There was no political support for this idea outside

of his party. Moreover, the idea of an immigrant-stop violates the constitution. Therefore, the proposal of the 2002-2006 coalition that led to the Rotterdam Act focused on addressing the concentration of disadvantaged people instead of the concentration of immigrants. Thus, the sting in the political discussion between Liveable Rotterdam and the other two parties was removed by the following semantic solution:

‘...Ethnicity or descent is not the main issue. It is the relative wealth and socio-economic position of newcomers and the opportunities in the city for social mobility. In short, the colour is not the problem, but the problem does have a colour’ (Municipality of Rotterdam 2003, p. 12).

In 2002, Rotterdam was the first city where an anti-immigrant, right wing populist party won in local elections. It was the first time since WWII that the Labour party was not in the ruling coalition of Rotterdam. The political shift towards the right has influenced the policy discourse on diversity in Rotterdam to a great extent. As the next chapter will demonstrate, Rotterdam has moved from a pluralist discourse in which diversity was celebrated under Labour party rule at the end of the 1990s to an assimilationist framework in which there has been a decline in policy efforts to facilitate (positive) encounters between ethnic groups. Since 2014, the assimilation stance has intensified even more, as illustrated by the 2015 Integration Memorandum that compares the integration of residents with a migration background (49% of the city population in 2015) with filtering in on a highway where the Dutch population supposedly drives at the same speed.

It can be concluded that the first major challenge for Rotterdam is to not lose sight of low-income groups when attracting high-income groups to the city. In addition, it is important that the city forms a more positive stance towards ethnic diversity, in which differences in this respect are seen as an asset rather than a problem. While ethnic diversity is sharply on the rise and has become an everyday reality for most citizens in Rotterdam, the biggest political party and their supporters find it hard to see its social and economic potential.

3 POLICY DISCOURSES ON DIVERSITY IN ROTTERDAM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines current policy approaches with respect to diversity for the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. As way of background, an overview of the national political system and the governance structure for diversity in Rotterdam is provided first. It examined which actors – both governmental and non-governmental and at multiple levels of scale – are involved in the governance of diversity in the city. In addition, the chapter provides a brief outline of key shifts in national policy discourses on diversity, citizenship and in-migration since the 1980s.

First, the dominant governmental discourses on urban policy and diversity in Rotterdam will be analysed. Therefore, we examine how diversity is addressed in the most significant documents that deal with diversity in the city. On the basis of qualitative interviews, we also investigated how governmental policy actors in the city understand the policies. Second, non-governmental views on diversity policy in Rotterdam are examined. Among other things, we identify their understandings of the importance of diversity as a policy issue in terms of budgets and human capital, and the meaning, objectives and target groups of the relevant policies, in various important fields such as integration, housing, education, and work.

We then contrast our findings at the city level with a study of how diversity is dealt with at the neighbourhood level, by local initiatives in Feijenoord. It analysed what factors contribute to the success or failure of the local initiatives. For this, we interviewed leaders and executives of ten local initiatives in the hyper-diverse district of Feijenoord who have a clear and local impact.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

The next section (3.3) is on the structures and shifts in national policy approaches towards diversity in Rotterdam and is based on secondary data analysis. The sections on governmental (3.4) and non-governmental discourses (3.5) on diversity are based on qualitative interviews with ten governmental and ten non-governmental policy actors on their experiences with present policy on diversity in Rotterdam, and the analysis of policy documents that interviewees identified as most influential for the governance of diversity in the city. The fieldwork took place between September 2013 and January 2014, with an update of the document analysis in April 2016. The governmental actors interviewed work at the national, city and neighbourhood level, e.g. at the ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, diverse municipal departments and

municipal districts. The non-governmental interviewees work in research and knowledge institutions that collaborate with the municipality concerning the governance of diversity. A list of the interviewed policy actors and analysed policy documents can be found in appendices I and II.

Section 3.6 is based on the analysis of ten local initiatives that have a clear, local impact in the district of Feijenoord in Rotterdam and aim at increasing social cohesion, social mobility and/or the economic performance of local residents. We examine how such initiatives adapt to a context of urban diversity, how they work and what determines their success or failure when defined as factors that respectively contribute to or counter the initiative's main goals.

Fieldwork was conducted between February and July 2014. We conducted qualitative interviews with 20 leaders and executives from ten local initiatives, participant observations and a focus group interview with the leaders of local initiatives in and outside of Feijenoord. A list of interviewees and participants from the round table discussion is provided in appendices IV and V. In addition, we examined written and electronic documents on the initiatives where available. Local professionals were consulted to identify possible initiatives. With their input we generated a diverse sample of initiatives on the basis of six criteria: its objective (social cohesion, social mobility and/or economic performance); basis (area or group based); origin (at the neighbourhood, city or other level); stakeholders (public, private, non-profit, grassroots, etc.); duration (short, medium or long-term); and stage (early, advanced or completed). Appendix VI shows the diversity of the local initiatives examined in Feijenoord regarding these criteria.

3.3 NATIONAL POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS DIVERSITY: STRUCTURE AND SHIFTS

3.3.1 The political system and governance structure for urban diversity policy

The Dutch three-tier government structure

The Netherlands is administered by three levels of government: the central government; 12 provinces; and 390 municipalities. In addition, several municipalities form metropolitan regions. Rotterdam is part of the province of South Holland and three urban regions in the Netherlands: the Randstad (a conurbation of urban agglomerations); the Metropolitan region of Rotterdam/The Hague; and the Urban Region of Rotterdam (comprising 15 municipalities, including Rotterdam).

The central government sets out a policy framework for other government bodies to abide to. It also collects and redistributes the state budgets (Korthals Altes, 2002). Through special purpose grants the central government can control municipal policy strategies (Tasan-Kok, 2010). Nevertheless, the central government devolves the implementation of significant parts of its policy agenda to municipalities. Based on the policy agenda of the central government,

the national ministries develop a policy framework for the provinces and municipalities. In the case of Rotterdam, the provinces and metropolitan region are not significantly involved in the governance of urban diversity. The latter is a concern for the municipality. Social policy development, implementation and finance are increasingly being devolved to municipalities (URBED and Van Hoek, 2008).

Government in the city of Rotterdam

In Dutch cities, and also in Rotterdam, the mayor and vice-mayors form the main executive body. In the Netherlands, the mayor is not elected, but appointed by the government. The mayor chairs the council of mayor and vice-mayors, who are recruited from the parties of the ruling coalition. This council is complemented and monitored by the city council. The mayor is responsible for public order and safety. The vice-mayors are accountable for all other policy matters (URBED and van Hoek, 2008) including citizenship, citizen participation, education, housing, urban planning, and work and income. Rotterdam is divided into 14 municipal districts, with each having an elected 'area committee' comprising local citizens (as of 2014). The area committee is not an executive body, but it provides advice to the city council of Rotterdam on any issue(s) relevant to the area. Based on the policy agenda of the ruling political parties and in collaboration with the area committee, the municipal departments set out a policy framework and coordinate and implement policies for the municipal districts.

The role of non-governmental actors in the governance of Rotterdam

The municipality of Rotterdam traditionally maintains warm relationships with non-governmental actors. Governing the city through public-private partnerships is the official policy strategy of the municipality at present. For policies on matters of diversity, the elected city government sets out a general policy agenda on the basis of which municipal departments develop policy. During this process the departments can, but are not obliged to, consult non-governmental stakeholders (e.g. foundations, community organisations, and researchers). The degree to which policy is developed interactively differs for each department and policy document. The area committees work with a network of local governmental and non-governmental actors such as the police, schools, housing associations, and local businesses.



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

Key actors in Dutch urban diversity policy

Relevant government actors

'Diversity' is not a theme that is specified as such in Dutch national policy. However, it is indirectly addressed in the policy agendas of various ministries (see figure 3.1). Before 2013, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the most important actor regarding migration, citizenship and diversity. It was responsible for the social management of, as well as the spatial planning for, diversity. It developed policy frameworks and funded policy programmes on integration and 'good' citizenship. It also administered the Common Integrated Approach Programme (CIAP), which aimed to tune the integration approaches of the central government and municipalities. As for the spatial dimension, the ministry developed policy on access to housing, and the social and economic well-being of neighbourhoods. As of 2013, the social domain has shifted to the Ministry of Social Affairs. The spatial domain remains the responsibility of Internal Affairs. Since 2010, the national government is cutting back heavily on subsidies for organisations that represent (ethnic) minority groups at the national level and subsidies for integration programmes at the national and local level.

Although Rotterdam has participated in the CIAP, diversity is not mentioned frequently in its urban policy. Diversity is indirectly addressed in the working fields of various municipal departments (see figure 3.1). The Department of Social Affairs is an important actor for diversity policy and discourses in Rotterdam. It develops and coordinates policy on citizenship and integration.

Relevant non-governmental actors

The Netherlands is home to more than 1,500 migrant organisations that vary in size, age, target groups, and activities (van Heelsum, 2004a; 2004b). An important institution representing the interests of minority ethnic groups was the government-subsidised research and knowledge centre FORUM Institute for Multicultural Issues. With the shift from 'group-focussed' to 'problem-focussed' policy in the Netherlands (Scholten, 2013), FORUM made way for the Knowledge Platform Integration and Society in 2015, which focuses on the integration of diverse minority groups. At the regional level, RADAR – research, advice and knowledge institute operating against discrimination – is a key player.

Rotterdam is home to multiple organisations that represent the interests of migrants. An influential example is Platform Foreigners Rotterdam, an umbrella organisation for 55 migrant self-run organisations. However, the number and power of these organisations has declined significantly due to reductions in municipal subsidies in recent years, particularly for categorical organisations representing specific ethnic groups. Between 2012 and 2016, the Rotterdam municipality subsidised four knowledge centres with a focus on: diversity; emancipation of women; emancipation of homosexuals; and anti-discrimination. As of 2016, the Rotterdam municipality funds only the Urban Expertise Centre on Integration Radar, which was launched in 2016 with a focus on the integration of minority ethnic groups, the

emancipation of homosexuals and anti-discrimination. The knowledge centres have acted as umbrella organisations for the multitude of organisations concerning these topics in the city. They collaborated with various non-governmental and governmental actors to collect and share knowledge about their focus areas.

Figure 3.1 provides an overview of the key governmental and non-governmental actors at multiple levels of scale and their relations in the governance of diversity in Rotterdam.

3.3.2 Key shifts in national approaches to policy on migration, citizenship and diversity

In the context of Dutch national policy, the concept of diversity is related to matters of citizenship, in-migration and minority ethnic groups. Based on the studies of Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2011); Schinkel, (2007; 2008); Scholten (2007; 2011; 2013; van der Brug et al. (2009);

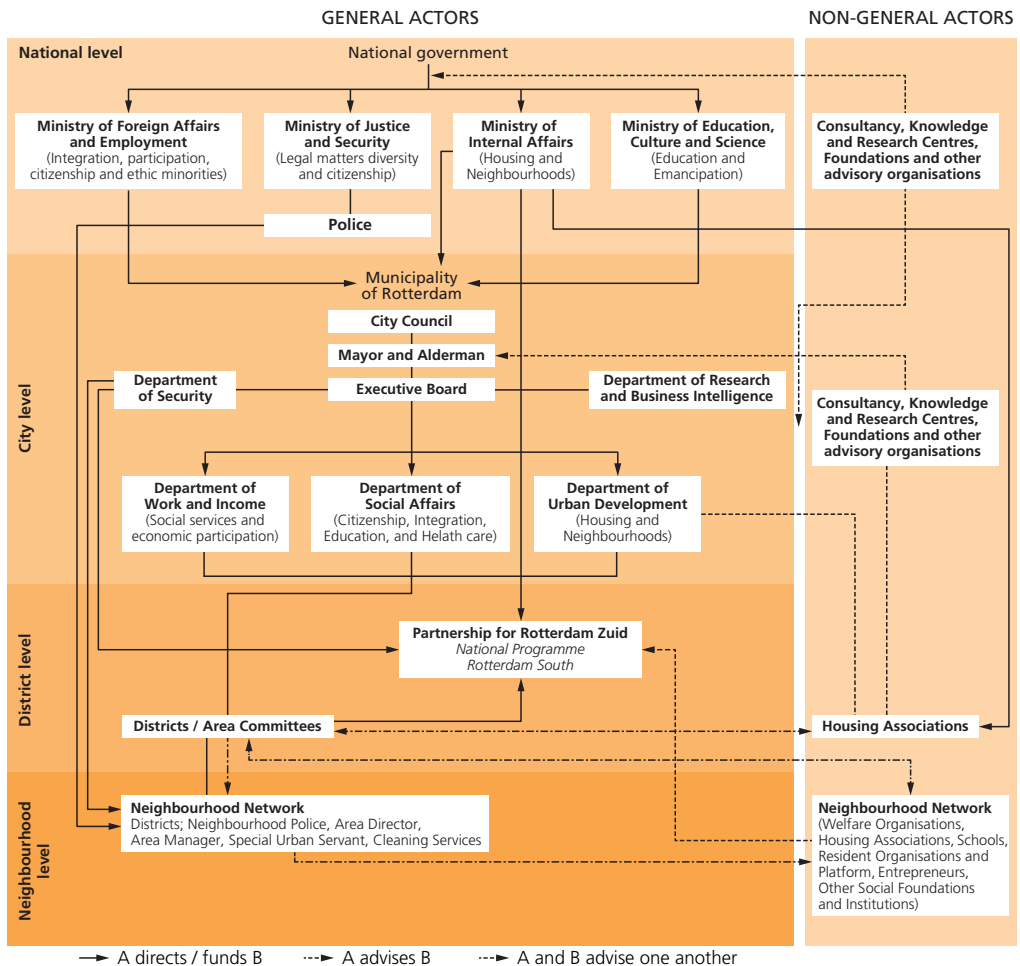


Figure 3.1 Map of key actors in the governance of diversity in Rotterdam

and Vasta (2007) on the construction and evolution of Dutch policy discourses concerning these themes, this section provides a brief overview of the key discourse shifts in national diversity and integration policy since the 1980s.

National policy discourses on immigration and integration since the 1980s

The creation of the first Dutch integration policy in the late 1970s

Before the 1970s, there was no policy for newcomers, let alone one for integration, in the Netherlands. Migrants were seen as transient and they were not regarded as full citizens. A few guest worker policies facilitated temporary accommodation and return services. The absence of equal rights compared to Dutch citizens differentiated them from society (Scholten, 2007).

In the late 1970s, social tensions, for example riots in Rotterdam, and the appeals of scientists such as Han Entzinger (1975) raised awareness of the fact that immigration was not as temporary as the state had thought. A report by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) titled *Ethnic Minorities* (1979) was a catalyst for the first integration policy in the Netherlands: the *Ethnic Minorities Policy of 1983* (Scholten, 2011). This policy called for the recognition of the permanent stay of migrant groups and more comprehensive measures to accommodate these groups.

Pluralism in the 1980s

The *Ethnic Minorities Policy* in the 1980s was pluralist in nature. Its rationale was that cultural minority groups with a low socio-economic status should receive special attention from the state to prevent being marginalised. Thus, individual migrant groups such as the ‘Surinamese’ and ‘Moroccans’ were first named under the common denominator minority ethnic groups (Scholten, 2007). Minority ethnic groups were granted active and passive voting rights (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011) and were allowed to maintain their own cultural practices. Developing a distinctive cultural identity was thought to stimulate socio-economic emancipation.

The *Ethnic Minorities Policy* initiated a wide range of policy initiatives in multiple domains: anti-discrimination law and voting rights for immigrants in the legal domain; policy for housing and education, and reducing unemployment rates among migrants in the socio-economic domain; and funding for cultural institutions to preserve migrant cultures, religions, and language in the cultural domain (e.g. Vasta, 2007). The Ministry of Internal Affairs coordinated the policy.

The *Ethnic Minorities Policy* was heavily criticised, both in public debates and by researchers, at the end of the 1980s. The 1989 advisory report by the WRR played a key role in facilitating the shift in Dutch integration policy towards socio-economic integration in the 1990s (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). The WRR argued that under the *Ethnic Minorities Policy*, too little progress was made in labour market participation and in the educational performance of minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, a public speech on the dangers of Islam for the

integration of migrants in society by Frits Bolkestein, leader of the Liberal Party, is thought to have played an influential role. The Dutch government held onto the idea that immigration was temporary. Laws were developed to prevent further immigration.

Integration in the 1990s and the rise of area-based policies

In 1994, the integrationist policy Contourennota Integration Policy Ethnic Minorities was launched. It was different from the previous policy in at least three ways: it no longer focused on groups but on individuals; it emphasised the individual 'civic' responsibility of migrants to participate in society; and it no longer focused on socio-cultural but on socio-economic participation (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). Minority ethnic groups were no longer mentioned as the target of the policy. The hope was that general measures, e.g., to enhance labour market participation, would reach minority ethnic groups. The Dutch Integration Law was launched in 1998 under this policy framework. With this law, civic integration courses such as language courses – first initiated by local governments – were introduced to improve the socio-economic position of newcomers (Scholten, 2007).

Integration policies first took the form of area-based policies, rather than group-based, in the 1990s. Precipitated by the four largest cities in the Netherlands (including Rotterdam), the Big Cities Policy was launched in 1994. It aimed to tackle the complexity of spatial, social and economic problems characteristic of many large cities including segregation, poor housing, poverty and unemployment (van Kempen, 2000). Alongside the Big Cities Policy, various policy programmes, such as Powerful Neighbourhoods (Krachtwijken), were launched in the 1990s and 2000s directed at deprived neighbourhoods. These policies shared an area-based approach with integrated measures including social, economic and physical restructuring. Accommodating and reflecting the shift from group-based to area-based policies in the 1990s, a Minister for Urban Policy was appointed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1998. As the target neighbourhoods of area-based policy programmes often consist of high concentrations of groups with a low socio-economic status and minority ethnic groups, Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2011) argues, among others, that they are essentially integration policies as well.

A complex series of events at the turn of the millennium, including the publication of a newspaper article by Paul Scheffer (2000) on '*the failure of the multicultural society*', the growing popularity of the populist politician Pim Fortuyn, and several violent acts committed by migrants e.g. the murder of film producer Theo van Gogh, contributed to a sense of policy failure with respect to integration (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). In 2004, a parliamentary research committee was appointed to examine this apparent policy failure concluding that integration had actually been relatively successful (Blok Committee, 2004). Policy makers found this to be unsatisfactory and decided to develop stricter integration policies regardless.

Assimilation tendencies since the 2000s

There was disappointment with the integrationist policy, which evolved into the Integration New Style policy in 2002 (Scholten, 2007) that built on 1990s policy in terms of its

expectations of ‘self-responsibility’ and the ‘good citizenship’ of first and second generation migrants. What was different from previous policy was that the Integration New Style policy moved away from mere socio-economic integration and towards a focus on bridging socio-cultural distances between migrants and ‘mainstream society’, or citizens without a migration background. Newcomers were expected to adjust to ‘mainstream’ Dutch culture reflecting an assimilation discourse. Integration has become a substitute for being a ‘good’ citizen (Schinkel, 2008). Also, immigration and integration policies have become stricter. Immigration flows are actively prevented (even more than during the 1990s). Both Scholten (2007) and Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2011) discuss how, after the turn of the millennium, immigration and integration discourses in policy became more closely linked. For instance, through the use of a mathematical model, Integration New Style aims to adjust the number of immigrants to the extent in which they can effectively integrate into society, both socio-economically and socio-culturally (Scholten, 2007). For this purpose, migrant selection is justified. Furthermore, since 2004, all migrants are obliged to pass an integration exam in order to apply for Dutch citizenship. The integration exam is supposed to teach newcomers about the socio-economic and cultural aspects of ‘Dutch’ society. The coupling of immigration and integration discourses is also embedded institutionally with the move of integration policy coordination from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Justice.

The most recent integration policy, Integration Agenda, launched by the Social Democratic Minister Lodewijk Asscher in 2013, remains assimilationist in nature as illustrated by its call for first and second generation migrants to ‘*internalise core (cultural) values of Dutch society*’ and the requirement for newcomers to sign a ‘participation contract’ obliging them to be active in the labour market in order to receive (and suggestively maintain) Dutch citizenship (Asscher, 2013; 2015).

3.3.3 Conclusion

Studies on the evolution of policy discourses on immigration and integration in the Netherlands show a change from a pluralist paradigm in the 1980s, in which cultural differences are appraised, towards the present assimilationist paradigm where cultural differences are regarded as problematic. During this shift, immigration has become increasingly regulated. Table 3.1 provides an overview Scholten (2011) illustrating the different paradigm shifts discussed in Dutch immigration and integration policy, as mentioned above.

3.4 GOVERNMENTAL DISCOURSES AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN ROTTERDAM

In line with discourse shifts in national policy on citizenship, migration and diversity, Rotterdam started with the Ethnic Minorities Policy in the 1980s and the Facet Policy in the 1990s. Both policies targeted specific groups, though the latter focused on non-minority ethnic groups as well. The focus on specific (ethnic) groups changed in the 1990s when policies

Table 3.1 The evolution of Dutch integration policy paradigms since the late 1970s

	Guest worker policy < 1978	Pluralist policy 1978-1994	Integrationist policy 1994-2003	Assimilationist policy >2003
Terminology	Integration with retention of identity	Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society	Integration, Active citizenship	Adaptation, 'Common citizenship'
Social classification	Immigrant groups defined by national origin and framed as temporary guests	Ethnic or cultural minorities characterised by socio-economic and socio-cultural problems	'Citizens' or 'Foreign', individual members of specific minority groups	Immigrants defined as policy targets because of social-cultural differences
Causal stories	Social-economic participation and retention of social-cultural identity	Social-cultural emancipation as a condition for social-economic participation	Social-economic participation as a condition for social-cultural emancipation	Social-cultural differences as obstacle to integration
Normative perspective	The Netherlands should not be a country of immigration	The Netherlands as an open, multi-cultural society	Civic participation in a de-facto multicultural society	Preservation of national identity and social cohesion

Source: adapted from Scholten (2011)

started to become more mainstream¹². From 1998 to 2002, Rotterdam had a cross-cutting diversity policy called The Multi-coloured City. The policy was based on a pluralist discourse. Diversity was defined along socio-cultural lines and it was seen as a quality, and a matter that concerns all citizens (groups) and employers in the city. In 2001, Rotterdam openly celebrated cultural diversity as the European Capital of Culture. This approach came to an abrupt end in 2002 when, after decades of rule by the Labour Party, the populist party Liveable Rotterdam (Leefbaar Rotterdam) came to power. In line with national discourses on diversity at that time, the party aimed to achieve socio-cultural assimilation of newcomers, particularly first and second generation Muslim migrants. Ethnic and religious differences were framed as a safety threat for the city. Policy actors who we interviewed argue that the so-called Islam debates organised by Liveable Rotterdam had a polarising effect. Liveable Rotterdam gave voice to existing discontent among a significant part of the population. Yet, by doing so, diversity was framed as a problem and a matter of ethnic and religious divides. The Labour Party governed the city again between 2006-2014, with Liveable Rotterdam back in power since 2014¹³. Both of these coalitions did not (re-)introduce the kind of diversity policies which were in place prior to 2002. This chapter will explore how the coalitions from 2006-2014 dealt with growing diversity. We will now discuss seven interrelated themes concerning the extent to, and ways in, which policies address diversity in Rotterdam. These themes emerged from the analysis of policy documents and the interviews carried out with ten governmental policy actors. An overview of the analysed policy documents and outcomes of the document analysis can be found in appendices II and III respectively.

3.4.1 Little attention on diversity

Document analysis indicates that Rotterdam does not have an articulated diversity policy. Instead, diversity is addressed in policy documents in six municipal policy fields including: general urban policy; citizenship and integration; housing; work and income; safety; and education. The word diversity is only explicitly referred to in three existing policy documents in the field of citizenship and integration: Participation: Selecting Talent 2012 to 2015; Integration 010; and Full Participation in Rotterdam 2016-2018. These policies are funded from the city's budget for citizenship and integration and have suffered large budget cuts in recent years: from an annual € 8 million in 2010 to € 2.4 million in 2016.

Most governmental policy actors interviewed confirm that the word 'diversity' is not often explicitly mentioned in present policy documents in Rotterdam. Interviewees argue that diversity is also not discussed much in municipal departments, districts, and social institutions. For instance, a political advisor argues:

"Years ago, I used to work with it (diversity) a lot as a civil servant. But in recent years this is not the case anymore. I believe that it has faded away a bit. Before there used to be an entire post for Integration and Participation (policy). Today, this (formal attention for diversity) has certainly become less."

Interviewees explain that within the municipality, diversity is currently a matter of the Social Affairs Department. Nevertheless, they argue that it should cut across all matters: all civil servants should be very aware of how policy and their actions affect the diverse population. In addition, a number of interviewees argue that the personnel of the municipality and institutions should become more diverse to represent the diversity of the population of Rotterdam more effectively. They argue that this will contribute to better services as the municipality will then have better knowledge of the diverse city.

Some interviewees mentioned that the municipal budget for the governance of diversity is fairly low. When asked, most argued that only the budgets for citizenship and integration policy can be regarded as budgets for governing diversity. Our document analysis indicates that many more services are indirectly working with diversity, such as the departments of housing, education, safety, and work and income. However, most interviewed governmental actors do not identify this as a diversity focus in their work.

3.4.2 Narrow definitions of diversity

Although diversity is sometimes defined broadly, e.g. as *"a matter concerning cultural diversity, religious diversity, sexual orientation, et cetera"* (Policy Advisor), both document analysis and interviews indicate that it is more often framed and understood narrowly, either in terms of ethnicity or income. In both citizenship and integration, and safety policy, diversity is mostly understood in terms of ethnicity, while housing, work and income policy define diversity in

terms of income. The coalition programmes¹⁴ and educational policy use both definitions of diversity.

The majority of governmental policy actors interviewed interpret diversity as a matter of ethnicity. When asked about diversity in Rotterdam, the former vice mayor on Housing, Spatial Planning, Property, and Urban Economy uses the concept of multiculturalism while an area director talks about ethnic groups in the neighbourhood (e.g. the Turks, Antilleans, Moroccans, etc.). Rather than perceiving it as a dimension of diversity, the area manager distinguishes between socio-economic background and diversity, which she refers to as ethnicity:

“Many people with low incomes move to these neighbourhoods because of the affordable housing stock. The people that move in are often of foreign descent because often many (foreigners) have a low income. But is the starting point then diversity? Would it not be the socio-economic situation?”

Housing policy makers are the only exception. They claim that diversity is not interpreted as a matter of ethnicity but as one concerning income and lifestyle:

“For us diversity is primarily about income groups. To generate a stable socio-economic basis in a specific area, or at least to make sure that it (the housing stock) will not become too one-sided. (So) that an area does not become increasingly vulnerable.” (Senior Policy Advisor)

3.4.3 Diversity is often understood negatively

Most of the governmental policy actors we interviewed confirm that diversity is often understood as a problem that the city needs to cope with. Even though the city – particularly in citizenship policy under the previous coalition and current education policy – does try to frame diversity as a quality, for instance by talking about ‘talent development’ and the city’s ‘174 nationalities’, policies often pay more attention to potential negative effects of diversity, such as social tensions, economic competition, and socio-economic exclusion rather than on extending positive developments, interviewees argue. According to the former vice mayor on Housing, Spatial Planning, Property, and Urban Economy:

“In everyday practice people worry (indeed) about the negative sides (of diversity)... People are concerned with the here and now. When you are unemployed and thousands of people move here, it makes no sense (for me) to tell a good story about ‘it is all so important for Europe’ et cetera. The unemployed will just see the negative consequences.”

When governmental policy actors were asked why policy-makers avoid discussing diversity, understand diversity in terms of ethnicity or hesitate to portray it as a quality, several interviewees argued that it derived from Liveable Rotterdam’s first term when they had significant power on the city council (2002-2006). This caused a radical policy discourse shift

from pluralism to assimilation. Interviewees note that negative experiences of ethnic diversity were emphasised. A programme manager describes it as follows:

“A motion was submitted – no diversity policy – and hereafter the taboo emerged. It is very strange. Abroad, we talk about diversity with no trouble – nice stories – then everyone is impressed and wants to come and have a look at Rotterdam. But, internally we do not talk about it and you do not see it on paper either. In the entire City Plan, I think diversity and integration are mentioned once as words, but then no more. It is the fear in politics. In this case I would say it is the PvdA (Labour Party) who is scared to put diversity in the foreground. It is just not talked about.”

However, according to the two former vice mayors interviewed, there is no need to reintroduce diversity as a policy issue in Rotterdam when it is defined in terms of ethnicity. It will merely lead to emotional discussions on the pros and cons of diversity, they argue, which is unfruitful because diversity is a fact: *“fortunately, we do not bicker about ‘is it something good or something bad?’ anymore”* (vice mayor on Labour, Higher Education, Innovation and Participation, 8 January 2014). Also, with decreasing municipal budgets and a shift towards networked governance, both question whether it is the role of the municipality to govern social experiences of diversity today.

3.4.4 Cultural and economic assimilation

In the period that we interviewed municipal policy actors (2013-2014), many of them argued that the Department of Social Affairs was moving *“beyond integration”*, by which they meant a shift from a cultural integration discourse under the first term of Liveable Rotterdam (2002-2006) towards a focus on economic integration of all Rotterdammers, inspired by the 2012 research report *The State of the Integration: Amsterdam and Rotterdam Compared*. The report concludes that the city cannot ask foreign groups to assimilate into Dutch society as half of the population of both cities have a foreign background. The interviewees did acknowledge that not all municipal departments had made this shift and that the municipality was still looking for a suitable and affordable approach. We interviewed an area manager who argued that even under the Labour Party (2006-2014) assimilation often underlies urban policy as economic and cultural integration discourses seem to be very much intertwined. She illustrated this using an example relating to work tours that were organised by the 2010-2014 coalition in Rotterdam South under a citizenship and integration policy for unemployed young people – who often belong to a minority ethnic group – to make contact with potential employers at the harbour:

“The harbour employers say: of course, we would like to employ people from this area, there is plenty of work. But when it comes down to it, the education levels and social skills of the people that seemed eligible for the jobs appears insufficient. Thus, economic and social dimensions intersect. Somehow, it is the case that people in this area have to adjust to the employers will. And it stands or falls on trivial things: giving a weak hand. In Turkish and Moroccan culture this is a sign of respect. Yet, a harbour employer wants a strong hand, strong, steady. When the applicant

does not look you in the eye during an interview it is a sign of respect, but they (employers) find him too hesitant. These type of things. So, then it goes wrong.” (Area Manager)

In an interview with the vice mayor for Labour, Higher Education, Innovation and Participation at that time, they agreed that discrimination at work needs to be addressed. However, both the area manager and the vice mayor on Housing, Spatial Planning, Property, and Urban Economy at the time argued that it is fair that for some jobs (on the higher end of the labour market) employees are asked to adjust to existing work cultures.

The perceived municipal discourse shifted away from socio-cultural integration in the Social Affairs Department under Labour Party rule (2010-2014) when it came to an abrupt end and Liveable Rotterdam took charge again in 2014. Despite the influential 2012 research report *The State of the Integration* and critiques from professionals, scholars and politicians in the Netherlands (see van Eijk, 2013a; 2013b; 2015; Daftari, 2015; Ouwehand, 2006), the coalition placed both socio-cultural and socio-economic integration high on their agenda. Socio-cultural integration is mentioned in the coalition programmes for citizenship and integration and safety policy and problematises ethnic diversity. It calls for the socio-cultural adaptation of those citizens with an international migration background (and Dutch nationality) to a suggested homogenous Dutch culture, which is ascribed to those citizens without such a background. The most recent citizenship policy, for instance, starts as follows:

‘In Rotterdam, it is the obligation and responsibility of the migrant to integrate. By integrating... we for instance mean learning the Dutch language and respecting and acting upon existing norms’ (Full Participation in Rotterdam, 2016-2018, p. 3).

In the same breath, the current vice mayor for Urban Development and Integration compares the socio-cultural integration of first and second generation migrants with merging on a highway:

‘Integration can be compared with merging on a highway. The highway is the Netherlands. The migrant merges using the acceleration lane. It is firstly the merger’s responsibility to merge safely. When necessary and possible, we expect drivers on the main road to give way. It is a matter of decent zipping and reciprocity’ (Integration 010. 2015, pp. 5-6).

Narratives on socio-economic assimilation can be found in citywide coalition programmes and in policy on Rotterdam South for work and income, citizenship, integration and housing, which problematises the relatively high concentration of low-income groups in the city. Citizenship policy, for instance, argues:

‘Overall, we can speak of a heavy pressure on social structures in Rotterdam and a division of what can be called a fast (1) and a slow city... (2) (defined as) 1: the successful entrepreneurs, the cultural sector, the highly educated, Information Communication and Technology (ICT),

design, the advanced harbour industry...; (and) 2: the city of the beneficiaries, the low educated, the isolated population groups, of poverty and stagnation... These developments can threaten the future of the city' (Doing More: Rotterdammers in Action. Integration Strategy, p. 2).

Similarly, the current coalition plan argues that the city is in need of 'strong shoulders', which they define as middle and upper income groups who can tackle processes of 'urban decay', which they suggest are due to the presence of lower income groups. The most recent housing policy therefore aims to create 'vital neighbourhoods', particularly in Rotterdam South, 'by which we mean a healthy socio-economic mix of residents with increasing amounts of middle-classes and high quality houses' (Housing Vision Rotterdam, Head for 2030, Agenda until 2030, p. 21). The work and income policy phrases the problem as such: 'currently too many Rotterdammers do not have paid work and depend on state benefits for their income' (Strong by Work, Policy Framework Work and Income 2014-2018, p. 3). The problem is addressed by making it obligatory that the lower income groups conduct work activities, such as collecting waste, in return for benefits and further sanctioning those who are 'able but unwilling to work' (Rotterdam Works! Policy Framework Work and Re-integration 2011-2014, p. 12).

3.4.5 Policies with a positive understanding of diversity generally focus on the economic benefits

When diversity is referred to as an asset in policy, the municipality mainly mentions its potential economic qualities. The previous coalition programme, for example, defines diversity broadly in terms of age, household composition, ethnicity and lifestyle and sees its potential for generating social capital in times of austerity:

'We will define the economic power of our city through the diversity of our population... Rotterdammers develop their talents...and hereby help the city make progress... Less welfare state means more welfare society: citizens rely more on one another' (Implementation Strategy Rotterdam 2010-2014, p. 4).

This is the only sentence in the document that mentions diversity and the document does not mention how residents are going to support one another nor how the policy is going to help. A similar story can be found in the National Programme Rotterdam South 2012-2014, which refers to the local population as young and having 'a mix of backgrounds' (p. 8). The mixed population is portrayed as an asset as the residents are thought to be 'successful in matters that governments and institutions easily overlook' (ibid). Yet, here these 'backgrounds' and 'matters' are not defined.

The interviews also confirm the municipalities pre-occupation with the economic qualities of diversity. Two narratives can be distinguished in this respect. First, several interviewees argued that a diverse labour force will allow the municipality and other non-governmental organisations and businesses to get to "know the city" better (Senior Policy Advisor). This will allow organisations to be more responsive to society and the market. Second, interviewees

argue that the city should use the international networks of its citizens to improve its economic competitiveness:

“The fact that the city is so diverse makes it easier to build bridges to the rest of the world. You (the city) are not one group, but you represent the rest of the world. ...but in order to recognise the diversity and talent and to seek how to develop it, that is what we are currently trying to find out” (Programme Manager).

3.4.6 Inconsistencies in the scope of policy (implementation)

Many inconsistencies appear to exist in policies that address diversity, one of which was discussed frequently and extensively by the interviewees, namely the tension between the stated mainstream nature of a policy and its focus on specific groups (in its actual implementation). Inconsistencies exist both within policies as well as between policy fields. Most citizenship and integration policies use a mainstream approach, that is, they explicitly state that they treat all citizens of Rotterdam as equal and therefore do not target specific groups. Newcomers to a city experience difficulties concerning a number of matters including language barriers and knowledge of local institutional arrangements. Nevertheless, according to this policy newcomers should not expect to be treated differently from existing residents as this would favour them above existing citizens:

‘We want equal opportunities for all Rotterdammers and we will counteract unbalanced approaches. We think this is also part of the constitutional law. The constitutional law forms a framework for the integration of new Rotterdammers. It creates order in society, entails rules, and offers protection and opportunities to all citizens’ (Doing More: Rotterdammers in Action. Integration Strategy 2011, p. 4).

In contrast, the safety policy is focussed on a wide range of specific groups:

‘The structure of the population is changing. There are more young and elderly people. Newcomers arrive. We will keep in touch with all of these groups and their social networks’ (Programme Safety 2014-2018. #Safe 010, p. 6).

It remains unclear who ‘all of these groups’ are exactly. However, safety policy in Rotterdam states that it will target specific minority ethnic groups (e.g. the Action Programme Antilleans), and several other so-called ‘risk groups’, such as ‘drug criminals’, radicalised people, EU migrants, homeless people as well as (criminal) young people who cause nuisance.

Both the former and current coalition programmes and housing policy identify a wide variety of specific target groups (e.g. young urban professionals, families, residents on benefits and migrants). At the same time, they are explicitly framed as mainstream policy:

‘It is our ambition to improve the quality of living for all Rotterdammers. It is important that everyone, contemporary and future residents, reside with pleasure. ...we look beyond the middle

and higher income groups that we seek to retain and attract. We pay attention to residential satisfaction of all Rotterdammers, also those with a low income. Rotterdam should become a residential city for everyone' (Housing Vision Rotterdam. Head for 2030. Agenda until 2030, p. 16).

Indeed, interviewees argue that “*to the outside world, the municipality communicates to strive for mainstream policy*” (Programme Manager). However, this is not evident in all policies. A programme manager argues:

“As a municipality we seek to communicate unambiguously, but in our practice you can see different trajectories. For instance,...(the citizenship policy team) says: we do not practice policy for specific groups very explicitly. In the Programme Mee(r) Doen (Doing More), when it is necessary, for instance, to talk with the Pakistanis, we go and talk with the Pakistanis... So that is the Social Affairs Department, then you have the Department of Work and Income, they say: our policies do not target specific groups. To the outside world, the municipality communicates: our policies do not target specific groups. But (in practice) it depends on the relevant alderman, managers and civil servants whether, and why, they deviate from this. For example, we have the Somalis. That is a group with many problems. The Department of Work and Income makes an exception for this. Not structurally though. Previously, we had structural subsidies for specific groups. That we have no longer.”

Mainstream policy is not always evident in policy implementation either. According to two policy advisors, the implementation of mainstream policy depends on the employees of a municipal district. They argue that the district of Delfshaven is much stricter with the requirement that NGOs can only get subsidies when activities target multiple social groups than the district of Feijenoord.

Some interviewees are concerned that a mainstream policy approach is not sensitive enough to meet the needs of diverse social groups, particularly vulnerable groups in society. A policy advisor expresses his concern about mainstream policy and argues that more attention should be paid to disadvantaged groups. Not only does mainstream policy run the risk of excluding certain social groups, he argues, but when it is not sensitive to diversity it will be ineffective as well:

“If you want to do something about the health of children in Rotterdam West, then it is certainly important to know that the parents who live there have a certain background, that they communicate in a different way with their children than in Schiebroek or Kralingen (more affluent areas in Rotterdam) or that manners and communication are different. I am not only talking about language. Sometimes, that can be a problem as well, but also the way you interact with each other is undoubtedly different, family relations are different. So if you want to reach children there, in Rotterdam West, then you need to implement different instruments. If you do not take local diversity into account, you will simply become less effective.”

3.5 NON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

The views of non-governmental policy actors in diversity policy in Rotterdam show similarities with those of governmental policy actors, although some differences exist too.

3.5.1 Little attention on diversity

Non-governmental policy actors argue that urban policy in Rotterdam pays relatively little attention to diversity. They argue that diversity is not mentioned often in urban policy nor is it talked about much by policy actors, that relatively few policymakers work on the matter (mostly in the Social Affairs Department), and that the budgets for diversity are relatively small. For instance, according to a policy advisor at the Rotterdam Knowledge Centre on Diversity (RKCD)¹⁵ few people are working on the theme of diversity, when really it:

“Should be carried out by many services... The theme diversity does not belong to one vice mayor. There should be a vice mayor (on it), and simultaneously, the ministers, the executive board, everyone should carry it out.”

Non-governmental policy actors argue that the policies in which diversity is most prominently addressed – citizenship and integration – have experienced relatively severe budget cuts when compared to other policy themes. Rather than framing this as an opportunity, as the former vice mayor on Labour, Higher Education, Innovation and Participation did, a policy advisor at the Knowledge Centre for Anti-Discrimination (KCAD) explains that the cuts caused a loss of activities on matters of diversity. In addition, they have caused many NGOs to disappear causing a loss of knowledge.



A local youth band performs in the Afrikaanderwijk, Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

3.5.2 Ethnic diversity is perceived as a problem

Similar to what emerged from the interviews with governmental policy actors, non-governmental policy actors argue that diversity is often framed and understood as ethnic diversity. As with governmental policy actors, many interpreted diversity as a matter of ethnicity when interviewed. For instance, when asked about diversity in Rotterdam, a programme manager explains that the issue of diverse nationalities at work has recently been much discussed. Again, housing policy is identified as an exception, as here diversity is said to address income and lifestyle solely.

More often than governmental policy actors, non-governmental actors argue that diversity is understood as a problem that the city needs to cope with. A research director says:

“I hope that we can reach a stage in which it (diversity) can be seen as a quality. However, in recent years it was absolutely not (understood as) a quality. Rotterdam – not necessarily the people, I think it is not that much of an issue there – has done its very best to get on all the black lists. It was only negative city marketing that they have done in recent years: we are the poorest city, the city with the most problems, the city with the highest number of migrant groups, the greatest diversity and ethnic backgrounds – and that was presented as a problem that needed to be solved.”

As with interviewees working in government did when explaining the lack of attention for diversity, the interpretation in terms of ethnicity and the negative connotations of the term in present policy discourses, non-governmental interviewees refer to the way in which Liveable Rotterdam addressed diversity during their first period of governance (2002-2006). A policy advisor at the RKCD talks about the so-called ‘Islam debates’ that took place under Liveable Rotterdam at that time, and how it generated stereotypes and feelings of ‘them and us’ between Muslims and non-Muslims. As with most municipal interviewees, (not including the two vice mayors interviewed) most non-governmental interviewees describe the phenomenon as a taboo that needs to be addressed. For instance, a former vice mayor at the municipality of Rotterdam, and founder of the Colourful City programme in 1998, argues that the previous Labour Party coalition wanted, but never dared to, reintroduce pluralist discourses for fear of losing (populist) votes. This did not prevent Liveable Rotterdam taking power again in 2014-2018.

3.5.3 An emphasis on the economic assets of diversity

Several non-governmental interviewees discuss how – when diversity is seen as a quality in policy – governmental as well as non-governmental policy actors mainly portray it as an economic benefit. The director of the National Programme Rotterdam South (NPRS) explains that policy-makers previously placed focus more on creating social cohesion, while at present economic performance is the main goal, as it is in his programme. This is in line with findings from the documentary analysis. Social cohesion is rarely referred to, and if it is, it is used as a token for generating economic benefits (see 3.4.6). A policy advisor at RKCD argues that in

the highly diverse city of Rotterdam it is important that the municipality gives attention to the social qualities of diversity alongside the economic ones, for instance, by encouraging a more positive and tolerant understanding of differences. Moreover, when more people can work with diversity within the population, this will benefit the economy as well, he argues. A researcher and founder of an urban revitalisation programme in Rotterdam South and the Director of the Knowledge Centre for Emancipation (KCE) both emphasise the importance of training people to be able to work and live together ‘*interculturally*’, thus sensitive to complex cultural diversities. These views are in contrast with those of several governmental actors, including the vice mayors, who no longer believe this to be a municipal duty.

3.5.4 A mainstream and assimilationist policy approach

As with some governmental interviewees, non-governmental actors spoke about the tension between a universal and a more focused policy approach. They argued that some municipal departments practice mainstream policy, while others target specific groups and that there often seem to be exceptions to the rule. For example, the director of KCE explains that the national government demands local organisations use a mainstream approach, yet they often ask the organisation to organise a social programme on a specific theme (e.g. hidden women, honour-related violence, domestic violence, forced marriage and sexuality) in specific ethnic communities. In addition, non-governmental policy actors speak about how organisations can get around the demand for mainstream policy (implementation) by:

“Adding a sentence that says that an activity should be accessible to all (when applying for municipal subsidies). Of course everyone is welcome. Yet, at the same time when a certain group of people comes together, it excludes other people” (Director of Research).

As with several other municipal interviewees, non-governmental interviewees are worried about the prioritising of mainstream policy and argue that policy should pay more attention to disadvantaged groups. According to a policy advisor at RKCD, mainstream policy wrongly ignores the diversity of the population. A policy advisor at KCAD questions: “*there is mainstream policy, but does it manage to reach everyone?*” Furthermore, a policy advisor at RKCD asks: “*against the standards of what particular groups in society was a mainstream policy developed?*”

While at the time of the interviews (2013-2014) several governmental actors spoke of a shift away from a cultural assimilation discourse in urban policy (see 3.4.5), the majority of non-governmental actors argued that there was an assimilationist notion in policy (practice) then:

“In my view present policy is focused on ‘we must make sure that foreign people integrate, while I think integration should come from various sides. But essentially, we should think of how citizens can be involved in the city – independent of their ethnic background.’” (Policy Advisor RKCD).

According to the director and policy advisors at the Knowledge Centres, ‘*Dutch culture* is still a benchmark for mainstream policy in most policy fields. The director of the KCE says:

“In general it (the way in which the municipality addresses diversity) is not so bad. But they (the municipality) could be much more inviting and should also integrate the Dutch population. The process cannot be one-way. That is emphasised too much, that newcomers should integrate in the city. But today, many newcomers were born here. They have the same rights to citizenship as a Dutch person.”

A programme manager at a housing association also provides an example of this. He explains that, in line with municipal and national discourses on integration, leaflets are only provided in Dutch despite the fact that a significant number of their clients do not understand the Dutch language well.

3.5.5 Not really a shift from government to governance

Municipal responsibilities are increasing in the Netherlands due to decentralisation processes while their budgets are in decline. The total budget for the municipality of Rotterdam has decreased from € 4.4 billion in 2010 to € 3.8 billion in 2016. Therefore, in policy documents and interviews municipal policy actors talk about the municipality becoming one of multiple partners governing the city rather than being a top down manager. In this way, the current coalition aims to generate more direct democracy by: increasing the budget for local initiatives; using a citizens jury and consulting with citizens by referenda and panels, particularly when developing area-specific programmes; and giving residents the right to take over local municipal facilities and services if they think this will improve them (Full Speed Ahead. Coalition Agreement 2015-2018).

Interviewed municipal policy actors argue that the municipality no longer works as a government actor, but as one of the managerial actors in a governance model. A programme manager says:

*“We are one of the players and we are not the one with the final say. This...has to do with the fact that civil society can survive without government. ...have you heard of the essay *The Rhizome and the Tree*?¹⁶ The rhizome is the network society and the tree is the government that stands strong, but really is no longer that strong at all. As a government, we are looking at how we can participate and thus also at how we can handle diversity.”*

Nevertheless, this is not how the majority of non-governmental interviewees experience the role of the municipality. According to the director of the National Programme Rotterdam South, the municipality is very influential regarding policy development and implementation in Rotterdam, being one of the main reasons the programme was installed. Several knowledge centres were, or are still, funded through citizenship and integration policy. However, and also in the experience of the director and policy advisors at the knowledge centres, neither they nor other non-governmental parties are included in the policy development process. For example, a policy advisor at the KCAD says:

“It feels very much imposed. This is our policy and this is how we will apply it. If you do not agree, no subsidy. I think it is being imposed. But afterwards (if you accept the requirements) you are able to participate. See, it should have been different at the formation of the policy, involve the people.”

Likewise, a policy advisor at RKCD says that NGOs used to collaborate with civil servants when developing policy. This is not the case anymore, he says. One reason for this is that many NGOs have disappeared due to budget cuts. The municipality has stopped funding special interest groups citing budget cuts and the focus on mainstream policy. Consequently, he argues that organised civil society is not that strong anymore.

3.6 LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS AND INITIATIVES

3.6.1 A study of ten local initiatives in Feijenoord

The picture of urban diversity and its potential advantages is not the same everywhere across the city. In this section we examine how initiatives at the neighbourhood level in Rotterdam deal with urban diversity. We are especially interested in how such initiatives adapt to a context of urban diversity and what determines their success (or failure). We examine how ten local initiatives with a clear local impact in the district of Feijenoord in Rotterdam perceive and use diversity. Feijenoord is home to a wide range of local initiatives that work with diversity. We have selected those that seek to increase social cohesion, social mobility and/or economic performance of local residents (see table 3.2). Most of the local initiatives are located in the

Table 3.2 Contribution of the local initiatives towards the three main objectives

Local initiative	Type of initiative	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Experimental Garden	Community centre	***	**	
Spectacle at the Cape	Annual community-based cultural festival	***		
Do-it-yourself houses	Self-assemblage housing project to revitalise low-income areas	*		
Another Chance	Non-conventional institute for the resocialisation of criminal youths		***	
B.R.I.G.H.T.N.E.S.S.	Youth movement for positivity	**	***	*
The Flywheel ¹⁷	Women's centre	*	***	
Primary School Bloemhof	Primary school with extra-curricular activities for a broad education		***	
The Creative Factory	Co-working spaces for starting entrepreneurs in the creative industries		**	***
The Neighbourhood Kitchen	Community kitchen aimed at stimulating entrepreneurship amongst staff	*	**	***
The Neighbourhood Cooperation	Local platform of entrepreneurs to advance the local economy	*	**	***

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Feijenoord neighbourhoods of Bloemhof, Katendrecht, Hillesluis, Afrikaanderwijk and Feijenoord and originated locally with a few being initiated at city level. They differ in size, management structure, target groups and impact. Most are at an advanced stage, while some are at an early stage or have been completed. The initiatives are commercial, grassroots, non-profit, public-private and/or public in nature and include businesses, foundations, public organisations, projects and movements. Most arrangements target a specific group in Feijenoord, for example, children or women without work (paid or unpaid)). Experimental Garden and Spectacle at the Cape are two that aim to include all people in a certain neighbourhood. The initiatives vary in terms of budget, number of employees and participants as well. We will synthesise the outcomes of individual analyses from the ten local initiatives (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b for an elaborate description of these initiatives). Key features of the analysed initiatives are provided in appendix VI.

An innovative and asset-based approach to diversity

How do these local initiatives perceive and use urban diversity? Although ethnic diversity is seen as one of the most important dimensions determining social differences in Feijenoord, the initiatives we examined use a broad, and sometimes complex, understanding of diversity as a function of various demographic features (e.g. age, education, gender and income), interests, needs, cultures, knowledge, skills and social networks. The Neighbourhood Cooperation, for instance, seeks to fill a niche in the economy of Rotterdam and the Netherlands by highlighting the economic value of entrepreneurs and residents of disadvantaged areas:

'Whoever looks at the (disadvantaged) neighbourhoods in large cities with numerical and financial glasses will initially see poverty, disadvantages and other threats. Yet, the Neighbourhood Cooperation has eyes for the large diversity of cultures, talents, knowledge and skills of residents. It sees the city as a large market for its (the Neighbourhood Cooperation's) 'product'. By means of work and other services and products, the Neighbourhood Cooperation sees the opportunity to enlarge the self-organising ability of people and to counteract the (current) waste of talent' (Neighbourhood cooperation, n.d., p. 4).



*Local artists can exhibit their work at Art Gallery Niffo. Feijenoord, Rotterdam.
© Zoë D. Cochia*

The way in which the initiatives conceptualise diversity shows both elements of the concept of hyper-diversity as defined by Tasan-Kok et al. (2013), and Vertovec's (2007; 2010) concept of super-diversity. That is, the local initiatives address the immense diversity of the population in Feijenoord in terms of socio-economic, social and ethnic features, and attitudes, which are three key elements of hyper-diversity according to Tasan-Kok et al. (2013). They are, however, not particularly focussed on lifestyles, activity patterns or the changes between and within categories that define diversity, which Tasan-Kok et al. identify as three other important features of the concept of hyper-diversity. Furthermore, as with Vertovec's (2007; 2010) understanding of super-diversity, many leaders of local initiatives see ethnic diversity as one of the most important factors underlying the social differences between the residents of Feijenoord, that is with respect to behaviour, culture, socio-economic status, household features, religion, and hence interests and needs.

Nevertheless, most local initiatives see diversity both as an economic and social quality, and as an opportunity. Nine out of ten initiatives (all except for Another Chance) build on local diversity to achieve their goals. Initiatives aim at increasing social cohesion by bringing together diverse people to teach them how to live, work, profit from and appreciate social differences within and outside of the project.

“We aim to attract diverse people to enable crossover. So that people can experience how great the performances (of local artists) are or how beautiful the new (self-assembly) design houses are from the inside, because they are allowed inside. We hope that people will talk with each other...and develop a common pride (despite of the local cultural diversity)” (Director Festival at the Cape).

Furthermore, according to a policy-maker for (new) residents in diverse neighbourhoods, such as Feijenoord, taking part in local initiatives can be a way to connect with people. The diverse social networks of participants of the initiatives give entry to, for example, local facilities, work and social support.

Initiatives seek to foster social mobility by using the diversity of cultures and the talents of participants to create a flywheel effect; initiatives provide education for participants and let them to educate one another in turn. In this way, the initiatives can encourage social mobility at low cost and relatively fast. For instance, a women's centre that we examined lets women who are at distance from the labour market organise knowledge and skills sharing activities. It also provides courses aimed at personal growth and professional skills development, and then encourages the women to teach what they learned to new participants.

By offering a multidisciplinary and individualised activity programme for excluded social groups (e.g. criminal youth, unemployed women and children from disadvantaged families, often with multiple and complex problems), several local initiatives address a niche in urban policy in Rotterdam. Due to the current segmentation both in policy for, and the practice of, social services, there are limited municipal services that provide proper support for these

groups. This is reinforced by the abolition of target group policy and the introduction of mainstream policy by the city (see 3.3.7). The latter ignores that people are subject to different circumstances. Several of the initiatives fill this gap: For instance, the director of Another Chance explains that in order to really get to, and support criminal youth, an unconventional approach to resocialise is essential:

“You have to watch out for being naive. It makes no sense to ask for unrealistic things... If you make a big fuss about drug and alcohol use, they (participants) will be gone. Everyone smokes and uses (drugs), everyone drinks... Instead you should base your intervention on the lives that they live and generate a discussion about it.”

For the initiatives that we examined that aim at encouraging entrepreneurship, diversity is seen as a strategy and a selling point. The main product that the Neighbourhood Kitchen sells is its diverse ethnic food. A director of the Neighbourhood Kitchen explains:

“If we would solely have a Moroccan or a Pakistani chef, we would not be home to all those (diverse) cuisines... It is the diversity that enables us to deliver the 12 cuisines...and all the variations of those (cuisines), because of the collaborations and differences between the participants.”

Main factors contributing to the success of the local initiatives

Catering to the diverse interests and needs of participants

A key factor that contributes to the successes of the local initiatives is their ability to cater to the diverse interests and needs of their target groups. In the context of Feijenoord, leaders of the local initiatives argue that sensitivity to, and knowledge of, cultural, religious and ethnic differences is particularly important. The initiatives attract a diverse group of participants by offering a multidisciplinary set of activities. In this way, the initiatives are accessible to many people and simultaneously offer participants a personalised programme. Indeed, most interviewees emphasise the importance of not using a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to achieve their goals. Initiatives that are run by local residents succeed particularly well in responding to diverse local demands.

A shared objective

Having a common interest, e.g. belonging to the same neighbourhood, jointly experiencing social exclusion, or working in a business towards the same goal, contributes to the success of local initiatives. The shared objective allows participants to connect, despite their other diversities. Experimental Garden is a community centre housing 69 community initiatives (e.g. a knitting group, sports clubs, religious organisations, and social services) who attract a very diverse group of participants in terms of age, ethnicity, culture and religion, education and occupation, household type, interests, needs, knowledge and skills. An all-volunteer team of representatives of the diverse initiatives manage the centre through monthly meetings. The

diversity of initiatives and visitors to the Experimental Garden originated when local initiatives decided to collaborate out of financial necessity. A project leader explained that the shared objective to preserve the centre encouraged participants and project leaders to cooperate.

A strong focus

According to leaders of local initiatives, a strong focus concerning the goals or target group of the initiative allows them to promote themselves better. Potential sponsors and other partners will then be able to recognise them more easily.

Generating a flywheel effect

Local initiatives aim to achieve increased social mobility and/or entrepreneurship by building on the existing talents and interests of the target group, offering participants education, and letting them educate one another. One interviewee called this a 'flywheel effect'. Bringing together people with diverse interests and needs, letting them follow relevant courses and encouraging them to share their abilities with others generates a low-cost, dynamic, inclusive and positive learning environment. By enabling the exchange of cooking information and skills between ethnically and culturally diverse chefs, the Neighbourhood Kitchen acts as a flywheel for personal and professional development.

Embedding the local initiatives in the neighbourhood

To enable their goals, the local initiatives participate in local social networks and in the economy of the neighbourhood. By collaborating with local partners, the initiatives ensure that existing financial, social and cultural capital contributes to the neighbourhood. A strong local economy benefits both residents and entrepreneurs as it provides better services and more customers. Using and presenting existing capital contributes to a shared sense of belonging among residents and entrepreneurs as well.

A diversity of financial and professional partnerships

Working in diverse financial and professional partnerships is a crucial factor for the success of local initiatives. Many local initiatives are social enterprises or do not pursue profit, and focus on low-income groups. Consequently, most are dependent on external funding and support. Initiatives that depend on multiple funders and sponsors are more resilient to financial and organisational shortfalls. Involving external actors (e.g. multinationals, banks, universities) for material and immaterial support allows the initiatives to be more successful. Several initiatives provided good examples of public/private partnerships. In order to support starting entrepreneurs in creative industries, the Creative Factory has partnered with professionals at local banks, universities and other prominent companies and institutions. These professionals train and coach starting entrepreneurs. Similarly, Primary School Bloemhof collaborates with several local companies, which sponsor the project with food. Leaders of local initiatives also argue that local initiatives can support one another more by opening their networks to one another.

Good leadership

The leaders of local initiatives play a crucial role in the success of the initiatives. According to several project leaders we interviewed, those with the following competencies contribute to an initiative's success: the ability to communicate and collaborate with diverse participants and partners; an open-minded attitude towards differences; a welcoming approach towards the target group (outreach); engagement with the initiative and its participants; an intrinsic motivation which is not based on increasing financial profits; extensive knowledge of local needs, qualities and ethnic and cultural differences; extensive social and professional networks; the capacity to allow other people and organisations to attain success; the ability to be open to changes; and confidence in oneself and the project. The skills and behaviours of project leaders were found to set good examples for participants. Participants seem to trust the leaders most when they are not part of the initiative's target groups. When perceived as a neutral party, the leaders can encourage participants to interact and to communicate with one another as equals and with respect. They can also ensure that the initiative remains inclusive for diverse people.

An enabling city

Local leaders argue that the attitude of the municipality of Rotterdam towards local initiatives is the most important factor determining their success. The municipality can support the initiatives by acknowledging their importance for the community, by recognising their significance, collaborating with 'best persons' (the people who initiate and lead successful local social initiatives) (van den Brink et al., 2012), and by giving initiatives more responsibilities. In addition, project leaders argue that in the allocation of money, it helps the initiatives when the municipality and district government can 'think out of the box' in terms of local qualities and needs rather than in terms of regulations. Many local initiatives do not meet all criteria for municipal subsidy schemes, for instance, when they focus on a specific group, when they provide a broad range of activities, or when they are innovative in other ways. The municipality could support the initiatives more by being less strict when applying criteria for the allocation of a subsidy, or by developing criteria that makes it easier for local initiatives to apply.

Main factors of failure

Insufficient funding and support

Local initiatives that solely depend on the state for their existence are in a vulnerable position. The national and municipal governments in the Netherlands are implementing large budget cuts regarding the funding of local initiatives, particularly those that are primarily aimed at social cohesion or that target a specific social group (Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Partly because of this, most local initiatives experience budget shortages. Some initiatives we examined are unwilling to look for alternative support structures, such as private funders. Nevertheless, more often the nature of local initiatives (as facilities for low-income groups and for communities) makes it hard for them to attract these funders. One interviewee speaks of Another Chance, an institution for criminal youth with multiple problems in Rotterdam: "*What private parties would have an interest in helping 'the drain' of Rotterdam?*" (Research Director of The

Far Mountains Foundation). In addition, social enterprises often do not want to depend on (municipal) subsidies because the requirements for sponsors are not in line with their social and/or commercial goals. As several initiatives we examined were found to fill important niches in urban policy for vulnerable groups in Rotterdam, the low budgets of district governments for such initiatives together with the policy discourse that community facilities should be self-reliant, even when the community is poor, could be seen as factors for failure. Hence, the director of Another Chance argues that the government sometimes fails to see the ‘business case’, by which he means that the costs for society are much lower with the presence of organisations such as Another Chance than without. Another Chance’s target audience are criminal youth who regular social services fail to reach. Another Chance lessens crime by keeping them off the streets and teaching them good citizenship (see also the project evaluations of Bieleman and Boendermaker, 2010; Toxopeus, 2011).

Competition for resources and short-term subsidy schemes

At present, local initiatives compete with one another for short-term municipal subsidy schemes as municipal budgets for local initiatives are increasingly limited. According to the project leaders and participants of a round table talk who were interviewed, this competition and the absence of structural funding cause a loss of social and financial capital. In the last decade, Feijenoord was home to numerous local initiatives that existed for a short time only. Project leaders argue that the municipality does not grant local initiatives time to learn. When a subsidy scheme ends, unsuccessful initiatives are withheld new subsidies resulting in a waste of investment costs and discontinuity in the community. The municipality could encourage local initiatives to join forces when applying for funding, and they could provide more continuity in subsidies for local initiatives.

A lack of skilled volunteers

Another challenge for local initiatives in low-income communities in the district of Feijenoord is a lack of volunteers who can perform complex and responsible (managerial) tasks. Such tasks are often carried out by external volunteers and/or professionals. As the area has few highly-skilled residents, those who volunteer at local initiatives are charged with high workloads, interviewees explain. The initiatives would be more successful if more local residents with a higher social-economic status would participate. However, involving these residents can be a challenge. Hence, the condition of current municipal subsidy schemes for local initiatives under citizenship policy that only a small number of external professionals may be involved, is difficult to achieve.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the discourses underlying urban policy on diversity in Rotterdam resound with, or have sometimes even been leading those at the national level, yet show vast differences with those of local initiatives at the neighbourhood level. We find

that present policy in Rotterdam pays little attention to diversity. The city does not have an articulated diversity policy. Two policies address diversity explicitly: a citizenship and an integration policy. Other policies examined (e.g. on housing, education, safety, work and income and Rotterdam South and the city plan) touch upon the topic but do not address it directly. Interviewees mention that diversity is not talked about often within the municipality nor within social services. In addition, they state that municipal personnel and other organisations in Rotterdam are still not representative in terms of ethnicity and gender for the population of the city. Finally, the policy actors we interviewed argue that the municipal budget for the governance of diversity is relatively low. Most policy actors indicate that the budgets of citizenship and integration policy can only be regarded as budgets for governing diversity. Furthermore, these budgets have decreased significantly in recent years.

This chapter has shown that – with the exception of housing policy – diversity in Rotterdam is mostly understood narrowly, as a matter of ethnicity or income. Moreover, diversity in policy is more often understood as a problem rather than as an asset or opportunity. Another finding from the interviews is that the municipality strives to practice mainstream policy. Several policy actors have expressed their concerns about this approach, despite the fact that not all departments appear to follow this trend, and that in practice municipal and non-municipal parties work around this requirement. Although policy actors value the fact that mainstream policy does not differentiate between groups – and thus also does not stigmatise – they argue that it runs the risk of overlooking the specific needs of vulnerable social groups.

Both culturally and economically, policies in Rotterdam hold an underlying assimilationist discourse: the policies are aimed at all Rotterdammers, but an extra effort is asked from residents with a foreign background and those belonging to, what the municipality calls in its integration policy ‘the slow city’, to catch up with the mainstream which policy portrays as the existing residents of the ‘fast city’ (Doing More: Rotterdammers in Action. Integration Strategy 2011, p. 2). The policies examined call for a redistribution of resources to form a safety net for the poorest. Yet, the redistribution only seems modest as most policies aim to invest in ‘all’ Rotterdammers including the successful ones, to make the city more attractive to higher-income groups. Indeed, in the analysis we found that improved economic performance for Rotterdam is currently the main drive behind urban policy. When diversity is discussed as an asset in policy it is seen as an economic quality.

Several policy actors have expressed their disappointment about the absence of a discussion on how to deal with complex social diversity, and speak of a ‘taboo’ which should be understood in light of discourse shifts on the matter of diversity in Rotterdam, and in national policies from pluralism and integrationism at the end of the 1990s to economic and cultural assimilation today. Yet, as one municipal policy actor has argued, in a complex and highly diverse city such as Rotterdam, it is essential to pay more attention to the positive experiences of difference and connection between varied groups in policy.

Across several matters, the perceptions and uses of urban diversity at the neighbourhood level in Rotterdam contrast sharply with those in urban and national policy, as our study of local initiatives in the district of Feijenoord in Rotterdam shows. First, many local initiatives we examined deliberately build upon diversity to achieve their goals: the initiatives aim at fostering social cohesion by enabling positive exchanges between diverse people; they aim at increasing social mobility by generating a flywheel effect, that is, participants educate one another; and to stimulate entrepreneurship, the initiatives use diversity as a selling point or as a strategy to raise social capital. Second, while national and urban policies promotes a mainstream approach, in which policies are meant to target all citizens in the municipality rather than specific groups, local initiatives acknowledge and cater to the diverse characteristics of participants. Third, in contrast to urban policy, local initiatives use a broad definition of diversity and mostly see diversity as a social and economic quality or opportunity. Without ignoring the difficulties that particular ethnic and cultural diversity can bring, a welcoming, pluralist discourse underlies the approaches of the local initiatives that we examined. Another important matter in which local initiatives at the local and city level differ is their objective: for many local initiatives fostering social cohesion in context of hyper-diversity is a key goal, while current urban policy in Rotterdam mostly focuses on the economic assets of (ethnic) diversity.

4 RESIDENTS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first chapter, we introduced the term hyper-diversity as a concept to describe the increasing heterogeneity of cities and neighbourhoods in economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The main question we ask in this chapter is how are residents dealing with this increasing diversity. To answer this question, we aim to answer a number of more specific questions: Why do people move into or stay in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods? (section 4.3); What aspects do they value in their neighbourhoods? (section 4.4); How do they use the neighbourhood? Do they undertake many of their daily activities within their residential neighbourhood or not? (section 4.5); Where are their family and friends and where do they find support? (section 4.6); Do they, in one way or another, profit from the highly diverse population of their residential neighbourhoods? (section 4.7); and how do they perceive diversity-related public policies and initiatives? (section 4.8).



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This chapter is based on interviews with 56 residents from the Rotterdam neighbourhoods of Afrikaanderwijk, Bloemhof, Feijenoord¹⁸, Hillesluis, Katendrecht, Kop van Zuid, Noordereiland and Vreewijk in the district of Feijenoord. These interviews were held between September and December 2014. We will outline the methodology we adopted in the next section.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

The population in our research area of Feijenoord is very mixed with respect to ethnicity, income, education, lifestyle and age (see also chapter 2). The studies' research population includes all adult residents in the district of Feijenoord, Rotterdam. We have aimed to include people from as many social groups as possible, rather than to create a sample that is representative of the population.

We approached a wide range of interviewees by means of 'purposeful sampling' to ensure that we spoke with people from the groups mentioned above. Within this framework, three different methods were used. First, we asked local organisations, of which most we knew from previous research in the area (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b), to introduce us to individuals in the neighbourhood. Second, we approached individuals on the streets and in their homes in order to include local residents who were not related to local initiatives. Finally, through the use of the 'snowballing method', we asked interviewees to suggest another possible interviewee who they feel is different from themselves (e.g. in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, and/or lifestyle). We also asked interviewees to introduce us to a local resident whom they have mentioned in their interview, for example, a friend or acquaintance. About half of the interviews were held at people's homes. If people did not feel comfortable to be interviewed at home, we then conducted the interview in an alternative (quiet) place at the suggestion of the interviewee, such as a community centre, library or café. All interviews were taped and transcribed and then analysed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

We managed to speak with a large variety of residents in Feijenoord in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, household type and religion, although the majority had a low socio-economic status (SES)¹⁹. Appendix VII gives a detailed description of the people interviewed. Nevertheless, we did not manage to interview Chinese residents who migrated to Katendrecht in the 1930s-1960s or their children, nor young adults and middle-aged residents from the Middle East. Multiple attempts to approach these residents groups – for example at a local Chinese church, Chinese supermarket, a mosque visited by Middle Eastern people, and in the streets – were unsuccessful, due to language barriers and assumed mistrust. For these reasons, as well as time restrictions, the number of people we interviewed who are over 60 years old, upper middle/upper class, labour migrants from Eastern Europe, asylum seekers and other refugees is relatively small. Finally, we have interviewed people who were able to express themselves in Dutch or English; we did not speak with people who were unable to do so.

4.3 HOUSING CHOICE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

The main questions that will be answered in this section are: Why do people choose to live in the diverse and deprived neighbourhoods that they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? To what extent do people experience the move as an improvement on their residential situation?

In general, life course events are important reasons causing people to move: a growing household (going to live together with a partner or having a child); a shrinking household (as a consequence of children leaving home, a divorce or the death of a partner); or people wanting to move because they want to change their housing situation (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). A shrinking income can also be an important reason to move as it could cause present housing situations to become too expensive. Rising incomes may work the other way around: households in these situations can afford to live in more luxurious homes that are of better quality or larger in size (Kley, 2011). The decision to move can also find a cause in dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood (e.g. South and Crowder, 1997). The neighbourhood might have become more unsafe, nice neighbours might have moved, traffic might have increased or the social composition of the area might have changed.

Why do people move to specific neighbourhoods? The availability of housing can be a major factor. When looking for new homes, people look for places that match their preferences in terms of tenure, size and price and will look for these dwellings in a specific set of neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood characteristics may also play a role: people may want to live close to the city centre, in areas with good schools or in areas that are considered safe and that have not deteriorated.



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Does the diversity of an area play a role in the decision to choose a specific neighbourhood? On the one hand, a diverse neighbourhood can offer residents many advantages, such as a diversity of amenities, work opportunities, (housing) cultures, social formations and activities, and support networks. On the other hand, it can also lead to a situation in which resident groups live parallel lives or even come into conflict with one another. For some residents, the population diversity may be an important pull factor for moving to the area, while for others it may not have been considered at all. Some people may consider living in a diverse area as an improvement on their residential situation, while others may experience it negatively. In Dutch public and policy debates areas such as Feijenoord are often portrayed as places that are residentially unattractive and that offer few opportunities for residential mobility. But is this really the case?

4.3.1 Why move to a deprived and diverse area?

For most interviewees, a 'life course event', e.g. moving in with a partner or having children, were primary incentives for moving. For example, Hannah (62, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) has been living in her neighbourhood for 37 years and explains:

"...my son was born there (previous house)...the dwelling became too small. There was a living room, a bedroom and a large kitchen. We were given the opportunity to move into this house (present dwelling)."

Most interviewees express having made a conscious decision to move to their present dwelling and neighbourhood. Yet, for some residents in social housing the decision was not entirely voluntary. Almost a fifth of the interviewees were forced to leave their previous dwelling due to demolition or restructuring programmes. Others had limited housing options because they were in urgent need of a dwelling. For example, Nancy (41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent) moved into her apartment 23 years ago because it was allocated to her by social housing services when she became pregnant unexpectedly and needed a house on short notice. Some interviewees, such as Cynthia (48, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) needed a house five years ago because they were homeless or staying in a shelter:

"I had problems. Basically, I fled (my former house), so I applied for a certificate of urgency (for social housing) and was granted one... It went very fast. I was obliged to find a house within three months (by the shelter). One was required to accept the third (house)... So, I accepted it."

Although relocation options were sometimes limited, most interviewees chose to move to their present dwelling and neighbourhood. Furthermore, as the next section will show, most interviewees had a positive experience with this move. Many interviewees preferred to stay in their area, that is moving within the same neighbourhood or from an adjacent neighbourhood.

Of the interviewees who moved in from outside the area, we found that many have lived in the neighbourhood previously and have deliberately moved back. Yavuz (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) grew up in the neighbourhood of Feijenoord and moved back one year ago

to live with his brother after living in the Prins Alexander district of Rotterdam for two years. He moved back as most of his family, friends and acquaintances live in Feijenoord, and this is where most of his daily activities take place. He visits a local mosque twice a day, volunteers at a local food bank and with disadvantaged local youth, and works as a part-time salesman in the neighbourhood. Yavuz's attachment to Feijenoord, and hence his decision to move back to the area, were determined by the people and institutions in the neighbourhood. Yavuz explains:

"I did not like it there (Prins Alexander), so I came back (to Feijenoord). I find the atmosphere in the neighbourhood important, as well as what I can do for the neighbourhood. There, nobody was active, nobody organised any activities for youth... It was just everyone for themselves. Here this is not the case. Here, we want to support the youth, who can contribute to society... I tried to (organise activities for youth in Prins Alexander), but I had no connections that would enable me to do so... I do have those connections here, because I grew up here."

For the majority of interviewees including Yavuz, bonds with local people and institutions were an important reason to settle or stay in the neighbourhood, particularly for interviewees with a lower education level. Interviewees point to four types of social bonds in this respect.²⁰ First, interviewees moved or stayed in the neighbourhood because they prefer to live close to family members. Having family members living nearby seems to be particularly important for lower-educated residents. Second, the presence of friends or friendly neighbours was an important reason to move to the current dwelling. Third, interviewees mention the presence of local acquaintances as a motive to settle in the current neighbourhood. These acquaintances are described as local people whom interviewees became familiar with and sometimes interact with in (semi-)public spaces in the neighbourhood, and who are not considered family or friends. For instance, Maanasa (26, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) moved back to the neighbourhood she grew up in three years ago and explains:

"I meet a lot of people from the old days whom I grew up with. Most of them still live here, or they moved to Noordereiland (adjacent neighbourhood)... (I meet) their parents, or friends of their mothers. I love that... When I walk outside in the summer, when you go out to buy some bread, it takes at least half an hour to get home because you bump into people and chat with them everywhere."

Finally, some interviewees mentioned bonds with local institutions, such as a mosque, school or community centre as a motive to move to, or keep living in, the neighbourhood. For these interviewees, it is important to live close to the institutions as visiting them is part of their daily or weekly routines and allows them to sustain their (local) social networks.

The characteristics of the dwelling have acted as pull factors for some interviewees: recent construction; unobstructed view; larger in size; larger number of rooms; and an affordable property price. When asked how he came to live in his current dwelling, Edward (43, male, Dutch, owner-occupied house) explains:

“We were looking for a (bigger) house. We considered (buying a house in) Rotterdam Zuid because of the affordability of the owner-occupied houses there. I mean, it saves us €100,000 buying a house that is four km away (from the city centre). This (house) was affordable and large. At first, my wife told me that this is not a good neighbourhood to live in... But when we came to have a look, it (the neighbourhood) was nicely renovated in recent years, already before we moved here. So, we chose this house mostly because of the location, we have an unobstructed view, with a park over there (at front side of the house), the size (of the dwelling), and because I will never get the opportunity to buy such a house for such a low price again.”

All in all, for the current residents of Feijenoord, some aspects of diversity do play a role in choosing to live in the area, but for other residents, especially those with a higher socio-economic status (SES), other neighbourhood and housing aspects seem to be more important.

Moving to the present neighbourhood: an improvement or not?

Progress in terms of the neighbourhood

Why do people prefer living in their current neighbourhood more than in their previous neighbourhood? First, some interviewees mentioned aspects that have to do with the population composition. Dunya (40, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent), for example, lives in Hillesluis and enjoys the liveliness in her neighbourhood, which she attributes to the diversity of cultures among fellow residents. She argues that her previous neighbourhood, Lombardijen, lacked such a liveliness and cultural diversity. Another example of an experience of improvement in terms of the composition of people comes from Yavuz. In his experience people in his current neighbourhood, Feijenoord, are more sociable and socially engaged with fellow residents than the people in his previous neighbourhood, Prins Alexander. This makes him feel more at home in Feijenoord.

Second, interviewees discussed how moving to or within the current neighbourhood has allowed them to build and maintain strong social networks. For example, Lauren (50, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) discusses how people in her neighbourhood are more open to developing neighbourly bonds than in her previous neighbourhood. She experiences the friendly relations that she and her husband have developed with several neighbours in the area as an improvement of her residential situation. For Cynthia and Maanasa, moving (back) to their current neighbourhood has allowed them to maintain a good relationship with their mothers.

Third, interviewees mentioned the proximity to, and quality of, local amenities such as markets, parks, public transport, schools, and shops. For example, Ebru (52, female, Turkish Dutch, social rent) was forced to leave her previous house due to a restructuring programme 12 years ago. By moving within her neighbourhood, the Afrikaanderwijk, she could continue to visit the local market. This is important because she cannot afford to buy all of her groceries at regular supermarkets and thus depends on the market for her subsistence.

Progress in terms of the dwelling

As might be expected, most interviewees see their new dwelling as an improvement when compared to their previous one. The physical condition of the house, its view, size and number of rooms are mentioned as important aspects by different interviewees. Also, accessibility and location of the dwelling are mentioned. The way in which interviewees value these features relates to their individual housing preferences and needs. Edward and Lauren both had two children from previous marriages and decided to move in together. Their previous dwelling did not accommodate a household of six, but their present dwelling in Hillesluis does. They see the larger size of and increased number of bedrooms in their new home as an important improvement. Likewise, Emre (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) moved to his present dwelling with his family after his mother gave birth to his brother and the household was in need of another bedroom. The current dwelling provides this extra space.

For a limited number of interviewees the move to the current dwelling and neighbourhood was not seen as a positive step in their housing career. Due to urban restructuring, Ebru and her three children were forced to leave their house in the Afrikaanderwijk. They moved to a dwelling that was offered to them nearby. However, the present dwelling is smaller in size and the rent is considerably higher than that of the previous dwelling. Furthermore, the dwelling is located close to cafes and coffee shops and their customers regularly cause nuisance. In another case, Eric was forced to move due to the demolition of his home. He was offered a slightly more spacious dwelling in better condition within the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, he was not in need of it and his monthly rent increased considerably. Therefore he does not define his new situation as an improvement.

4.3.2 Conclusion

For most residents, the diversity of the neighbourhood was not mentioned spontaneously as the most important reason to move to their current dwelling. Generally speaking, diversity has not been a pull factor for settling in Feijenoord. However, some elements of diversity – the characteristics of the local people and institutions – were mentioned as important pull factors, particularly for residents with low education levels. Many residents have moved to their current dwelling, and within or to their present neighbourhood, to live close to family, friends, local acquaintances or because of their bond with local institutions, such as a mosque, school or community centre. Residents have moved within or from an adjacent neighbourhood, or have returned to the neighbourhood after having lived elsewhere, because they were happy with its people and institutions. For highly-educated residents, though, the quality and location of the dwelling were the most important pull factors.

Most interviewees experienced their move as a step forward in their housing position. For residents of diverse (and disadvantaged) urban areas such as Feijenoord moving to or within the area can be a positive experience. It can benefit people and allow them to improve their housing situation. Nevertheless, even though most interviewees experienced having had agency on the move, it is important to bear in mind that for many the relocation options were in fact quite limited: they mostly moved within the social rented sector.

4.4 PERCEPTIONS OF THE DIVERSITY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

From the literature on perceptions of diversity, we know that the way in which people perceive others depends on the aspects and behaviours that they find important in other people (Wessendorf, 2014b), and not necessarily on traditional demographic categories such as ethnicity, tenure, or income alone. Furthermore, peoples' perceptions of diverse others depends on the extent to, and spaces in which, people interact with these others (Wessendorf, 2014a). The literature also shows that people's perceptions of individual people are often not scaled up to the group (Valentine, 2008): people can have positive experiences with a person from a particular social group, but can think very negatively about the social group in general.

4.4.1 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

Interviewees based the perceived geographical boundaries of their neighbourhood on multiple aspects of the neighbourhood. First, most interviewees define their neighbourhood by the spaces and places they visit regularly or those that they know well.

Second, implicitly or explicitly, many interviewees define their neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods through the administrative neighbourhood boundaries. Third, physical barriers such as water, railway lines, and roads shape the perceptions of boundaries of the neighbourhood as well. This is most apparent in narratives of residents in the neighbourhood of Katendrecht, a peninsula surrounded by water on the south, west and north, and a subway line on the east. A fourth way in which some interviewees define the borders of their neighbourhood is through their local social networks. For example, Eric (69, male, Dutch, social rent) defines his neighbourhood as the part of Katendrecht in which he grew up and many of his family and friends still live. While, the neighbourhood where Louisa (59, female, Dutch, social rent) lives encompasses parts of the administrative neighbourhoods of Hillesluis and Feijenoord:

“...the Beijerlandselaan (shopping street in Hillesluis), they have all sorts of new shops there, and a Turkish butcher and a supermarket, it is very nice... Also, two sisters of mine live in Feijenoord, so it (what she sees as her neighbourhood) is quite wide-ranging... I go there quite often as well.”



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

Finally, a few interviewees define their neighbourhood as the areas within walking distance from their house. Szilvia (39, female, Hungarian, private rent):

“The neighbourhood runs to the Beijerlandse laan (shopping street in Hillesluis), to Zuidplein (shopping centre in the south), and the Millinxpark. This area I am familiar with... (That is) basically, everything within a walking distance.”

There are no clear differences between the perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries between ethnic and socio-economic categories, or household types.

4.4.2 Perceptions of neighbours

How do the residents of Feijenoord see their neighbours? We asked an open question: ‘Could you describe your neighbours?’ First and foremost, many interviewees perceive their neighbours positively. In their answers interviewees discuss and combine a wide range of individual features and observed practices of their neighbours.

Individual features

In their responses, interviewees most often describe their neighbours in terms of their ethnicity combined with their religion, gender and household type and size. Sonia (41, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) describes her neighbours as follows:

“There is a Dutch man who lives next door, I hardly see him. I sometimes wonder whether he still lives there. Upstairs an Algerian man. Downstairs a Surinamese woman and on the bottom floor, she comes from Eritrea. A very kind woman. Then there is also a Hindustani woman who lives on the bottom floor. ...upstairs there is also a Moroccan couple. I have not seen them for ages. They have been living there for a long time. The Algerian man upstairs lives by himself. The woman downstairs has two children. The Hindustani woman lives by herself. At the other side (of the corridor) are two-bedroom flats. On this side are three-bedroom flats.”

Interviewees with a medium to high SES also describe their neighbours in terms of socio-economic features including class, occupation, education and tenure type. For example, Cheng (30, male, Asian Antillean Dutch, private rent) describes his next door neighbours as “...mostly middle class”, Lauren (50, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) mentions that her next-door neighbour is “...a sociology teacher at a high school, so (he) is educated well” and Vera (41, female, Dutch, high school teacher) talks about how her next-door neighbours are all owner-occupiers, as she herself is.

Other individual features mentioned by a small number of interviewees to describe their neighbours include age, duration of stay, and political orientation. For example, René (40, male, Dutch, owner-occupied house) describes his neighbours as follows:

“It starts at around 30, in this block, we had a party for (residents in) this building on Sunday and we were by far the youngest, so starting 38, with my neighbours 35. And the others are all 50+ to 70, more elderly people ...we noticed that the older people live in those apartments (with a balcony) and the families in the core (of the building).”

In some cases descriptions include lifestyles. Michael (39, male, German, private rent) describes his next-door neighbours as:

“...a group of fairly alternative, left-wing people with high education levels and an idealistic outlook on life.”

Positive and negative daily practices

Many interviewees described their nearby neighbours in terms of observed daily practices. Practices that match peoples' own norms, values and lifestyles are mostly valued positively, while differences in this respect are valued positively, negatively and neutrally (Wessendorf, 2014b).

Practices that most interviewees with different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and households value positively and (wish to) have in common with their neighbours are greeting, showing interest in and supporting your neighbours. For example, when describing her nearby neighbours, Cynthia (48, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) argues:

“My Antillean neighbour never greets me. She has lived there for one and a half years, but the language when I approach her, she never greets. It annoys me, you know. They do not communicate... I have a Turkish neighbour downstairs but she never greets me either.”

Interviewer: “So is greeting important to you?”

Cynthia: “Yes, absolutely... My neighbour opposite to me, Dutch, she greets me every day. We watch out for one other... We communicate. ...I have a neighbour, Dutch man. When I just moved in, he came to greet me... Now he greets me every day.”

In an effort to enable positive social bonds with neighbours, many interviewees with diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and households argue that it is important that their neighbours have some proficiency in the Dutch language. Hilda (64, female, Dutch, social rent) for instance wishes that her next-door neighbour of 20 years would speak Dutch so that they could become closer:

“I have a next-door neighbour with a lot of children, Turkish, older children, who are married, and she talks, she says ‘hi’, but nothing else. She does not speak Dutch. The children do though. But they flock together. Children who have found a wife in Turkey, and among one another (Turkish community).”

Another theme that many interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and households raise when describing their neighbours is a *proper balance between living within*

close spatial proximity and safeguarding privacy (Van Eijk, 2012). For example, Vera (41, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) lives with her husband and three children. She describes her neighbours as:

“...very nice people, just...whom you can approach, visit anytime, for a chat, but also for advice, or to borrow something, but who also know well how to respect each other’s privacy. For instance, we (neighbours) teach our children not to walk in the garden of neighbours when the gate is closed, for instance when we have dinner in the garden in the summer. That way we can give the children the freedom to, ‘you can just walk in’, but they also know when it is not the right moment.”

Although Vera’s neighbours seem to agree on a proper balance between proximity and privacy, in line with previous studies on neighbouring, interviewees often seem to disagree on where to draw the line (Stokoe, 2006). For example, Rajesh (21, male, Antillean, social rent) describes his neighbours as Cape Verdeans who enjoy playing loud music, which he thinks is great because he enjoys doing the same. Yet, several interviewees who are aged above 30 and have another ethnicity than Cape Verdean or Antillean experience neighbours – often identified as Antillean – who play loud music as a nuisance. Another form of noise nuisance that interviewees touch upon when describing how norms of neighbours differ from theirs is talking loud or yelling frequently. Interviewees with diverse ethnic backgrounds ascribe this behaviour to specific non-Western minority ethnic groups (e.g. Surinamese, Antillean, Turkish or Moroccan Dutch).

Other differences between norms and values of neighbours that a smaller number of interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds value negatively include unauthorised rubbish disposal in (semi-)public spaces around the house, foul language and youths not showing respect towards elderly people.

Interviewees communicate their perceptions about nearby neighbours using normative words such as ‘nice, friendly, helpful, sweet, strong, and honest’ but also ‘weird, strange, crazy, and anti-social’. As long as neighbours match with interviewees’ norms, values and lifestyles, differences between neighbours can be valued neutrally or even positively. For example, Maanasa (26, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) describes her elderly Dutch neighbour upstairs (who she argues and exuberantly celebrates national football games with) and who lives on her own as a role model because she “...has been alone for a long time and really manages to make something of it (her life).” Yet, when the daily practices of neighbours do not fit in this respect, differences between neighbours, such as not greeting and playing loud music appear to become problematic.

4.4.3 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects

What do people think of their residential neighbourhood? Most interviewees identify their neighbourhood as highly diverse, e.g. in terms of residents’ ethnicity, religion, language,

duration of stay, household types and age, yet point out that a relatively large group of residents have a low socio-economic status, referring to their unemployment and low income and education levels. We have asked two open questions: ‘What do you find to be positive about your neighbourhood?’ and ‘What do you find to be negative about your neighbourhood?’ In response, individual interviewees discussed multiple positive and multiple negative experiences. We focus first on the positive experiences relating to diversity, and then the negative.

Positive experiences of local diversity

Positive responses relate mostly to ethnic, cultural and religious diversities and to a lesser extent to the age, household types and socio-economic diversities of local residents.

First, interviewees with diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions argue that ethnic, cultural and religious diversity offers them new experiences and the opportunity to learn about other things, for example, different foods and cooking styles, religious practices, and marriage and family cultures. Cheng (30, male, Asian Antillean Dutch, private rent) explains how local diversity provides intercultural cooking experiences:

“I mix with families, women. I am very interested and enthusiastic (about social mix). I always want to learn from them: how they cook. I really love cooking. I hang out with Turkish and Moroccan (people). I am always curious. ‘Hi, how do you cook this, how do you prefer (that)? Oh that is a difference, but I think it is delicious’. This way I learn new things from them. I always try, I always ask (them): ‘if you would like to learn to cook Chinese, I can teach you’. We can help one another.”

Second, many interviewees with a non-Western ethnic background value the business and the liveliness that comes with ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. These interviewees argue that they enjoy their neighbourhood because “...there is always something happening” (Nancy, 41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent). Turkish, Pakistani and Moroccan marriage ceremonies often play loud music with dancing in the streets and cars honking their horns, and are mentioned as examples of events that positively contribute to the liveliness of the neighbourhood. Dunya (40, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent):

“The diverse and mixed cultures in the neighbourhood make it fun.”

Interviewer: *“What do you think is fun?”*

Dunya: *“The liveliness, differences, like yesterday I was walking that way and suddenly I heard a sound ‘ooooo’, it was a wedding. ...the happiness, the atmosphere that comes with it. You can see the people sing and dance (in the streets), and then I surely go have a look, to see what is happening.”*

Third, a few interviewees from diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions discuss how a diverse local facility and amenity structure can cater well to the diverse interests and needs of the ethnically, culturally and/or religiously diverse population.

Fourth, a number of interviewees from diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions discuss that when belonging to a minority group, living in a context without certain majority groups makes them feel more comfortable (Wessendorf, 2014b). According to Emre (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent), the commonality of being part of a minority ethnic group among residents of the Feijenoord neighbourhood has motivated residents to treat each other as equals, despite their differences. A few interviewees who belong to a non-Dutch minority ethnic group argue that for this reason they prefer not to live in a neighbourhood with a majority of Dutch residents. Similarly, Rick (45, male, Dutch, anti-squat shared housing) explains that he prefers to live in his current neighbourhood with diverse household types rather than in his former neighbourhood, which was mostly inhabited by couples with children, because he had recently divorced and lived by himself in anti-squat shared housing. Living in a diverse neighbourhood in this respect makes him feel less 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996).

Finally, a number of interviewees of diverse ethnicity and a medium or high SES, mostly parents, discuss the value of children growing up in diverse neighbourhoods. Vera (41, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) explains that the advantage of living in a diverse neighbourhood is that she can bring her children to ethnically and religiously as well as socio-economically mixed schools where children with diverse backgrounds can play together:

“I find that a very good thing...because it (diversity) is just an everyday reality... One day, they (the children) will together have to deal with it in Rotterdam, or somewhere else. The more you know about and understand each others' world, the more you will be able to make joint decisions on how to handle things. If you don't know one another, it will become very difficult to understand why some people want certain things. Yet, if you grow up with it, 'yes for a Muslim it is important that there is a mosque, so therefore this is not a point that we should take into consideration, we just need to see how to go at it'. Of course, this is a much better way than if you don't know it, and therefore think it is not important. ...just being realistic: this (diversity) is what you grow up with, and later on you will also be part of these people. People with little money, much money, people with high education levels, low education levels, then you will know how to deal with it.”

Negative experiences of local diversity

We asked interviewees to talk about their negative experiences concerning residents in their neighbourhood. Though interviewees from diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions generally have positive experiences with local residents, many also raise negative experiences which centre on four topics.

The first complaint is about the behaviour of youth groups. A large number of interviewees repeatedly relate local male youth groups²¹ to crime, drug abuse and use, feelings of fear, safety concerns and nuisance (noise). Most interviewees, who are again from diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, attribute the (perceived) negative behaviours to the relatively

disadvantaged socio-economic position of local youth groups. Yavuz (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) argues:

“...poor people, it brings a lot of problems: robberies, people are being robbed, houses robbed, that sort of things because there are no jobs for young people. They want to work but are not hired anywhere because they are too old or do not have the right background”

Interviewer: *“Are you talking about ethnic background?”*

Yavuz: *“Yes, exactly. So that is why many youths get into trouble. They do not know how to pay off their debts. Therefore they become criminal. They regret it when they (have to) go to jail though.”*

Long-term Dutch residents who have a relatively low socio-economic status attribute the perceived negative behaviours of youth groups to the ethnicity of youths. A quite generalised, example of such a perception comes from Eric (69, male, Dutch, social rent):

“Moroccans, the young generation, often behave badly outdoors... They steal, break into houses, all those crazy things... Especially the young ones are bad guys... Then there is also the Antilleans, dope and booze, acting crazy. You don't see them during the day. They come out at night, they are like cockroaches when they come out. Of course we (long-term Dutch residents) are not like that... Those young Antilleans are out of control. But luckily, Antilleans and Moroccans do not like each other. Those groups, no, it is not ok man.”

The second negative experience of living in a diverse neighbourhood concerns language. A number of interviewees with various ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and households have problems with residents who do not speak the Dutch language in public and semi-public areas. They feel that language diversity has a negative impact on social cohesion between local groups. For example, Rick (45, male, Dutch, anti-squat shared housing) and Sonia (41, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) explained how hearing ethnic groups of youth or women speaking in a foreign language makes them feel excluded (see also Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000).

Some interviewees with a medium to high SES of different ethnicities discuss language diversity in relation to the disadvantaged position of children and local schools in the area. Lauren (50, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) volunteers at a local school with children of diverse ethnic backgrounds. She argues that many children have deficiencies in the Dutch language because their parents do not speak Dutch with them. *“As a result, the children have deficiencies in maths as well, because all the maths assignments involve reading assignments.”* She explains that due to this most local Dutch parents take their children to schools that are less ethnically mixed.

Third, some long-term residents experience a decrease of social cohesion between local residents, particularly between ethnic groups, over time due to changes in the composition of the local population. These interviewees were less positive about the social cohesion in the neighbourhood now than they were before. The interviewees include women of all ages and

ethnicities with a low SES, who either grew up in the neighbourhood or have children who grew up there. For example, Nancy's (41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent) three children grew up in her current neighbourhood. She argues:

“In the old days, when your kids went outside, one was certain that someone would watch over them, that the neighbours would keep an eye on them. Nowadays, everyone is busy and keeps more to themselves.”

Finally, a number of long-term Dutch interviewees with a low SES complain about the changes in neighbourhood facilities. They mainly argue that traditional Dutch shops gradually disappear.

4.4.4 Conclusion

Our study indicates that residents in Feijenoord are aware of, and often value, the diversity of people in their neighbourhoods positively. Contrasting with the findings of Valentine (2008), the perceptions of most interviewees from nearby neighbours do not differ too much from perceptions of social groups in the neighbourhood in general. Residents describe their neighbours and other local groups in a wide variety of ways, referring to observed socio-demographic features and daily practices of neighbours. Resident's experiences of other residents are diverse because their perceptions of others appear to depend on their own individual norms, values and lifestyles. Therefore, and as with Wessendorf (2014b), we find that people certainly do not perceive their neighbours in terms of traditional demographic features such as ethnicity and class alone. Instead, people describe their neighbours and local social groups along multiple and different dimensions of diversity. Therefore, their narratives reflect a complex understanding of local social formations.

Residents experience local diversity positively because it can offer them and their households the opportunity to learn about and exchange new experiences through a lively and busy residential atmosphere and diverse local facilities and amenities structure. Furthermore, a diverse social context without particular majority groups offers residents who belong to minority groups (culturally or in terms of lifestyle or household type) an environment in which they feel less 'out of place'.

Negative experiences with local diversity relate to: crime associated with disadvantaged local youth groups, sometimes connected with a particular ethnicity; residents who do not speak the Dutch language in public and semi-public local spaces; and a lack of particular amenities for specific local groups. No clear differences were found between the perceptions of diversity for particular ethnic groups, social classes, age, gender or household type.

4.5 ACTIVITIES WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Decades ago researchers and urban theorists made clear that the importance of the neighbourhood was not the same for everybody. Highly mobile middle-class professionals (the ‘cosmopolitans’) were far less interested in social contacts and relations within the neighbourhood than the ‘locals’ (Merton, 1957). Infrastructure developments and growing incomes made it possible for more and more people to own a car. This made it easier to visit friends and families who lived further away and to perform activities outside their neighbourhoods, for example, visit suburban shopping malls to go shopping (Webber, 1964; Stein, 1972). Expanding cities presented new housing opportunities, also for those with medium and high incomes. In the Netherlands, new developments in suburban environments saw many households in different income categories move from inner city neighbourhoods to more suburban locations in and around the cities.

This did not mean that old neighbourhoods became less important for their residents. Although social contacts are now more spread out than decades ago, neighbourly relations are still important for many people (see section 4.6) and all kinds of important facilities still exist in the neighbourhood, such as local shops, primary schools, health centres, sports facilities, etc. The question then is: who makes use of these facilities? It becomes clear from the literature that, especially for some specific groups, the neighbourhood may still be important, most notably for low-income households, immigrants and minority ethnic groups, children and the elderly (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014).

Some polarisation might emerge within neighbourhoods between groups that are more neighbourhood oriented (see previous paragraph) and those who are much less interested in having activities in the neighbourhood. These might be Merton’s ‘cosmopolitans’, but they emerge more in the literature on urban restructuring in which inexpensive housing is demolished to make way for more expensive alternatives. This more upmarket housing attracts new inhabitants with a higher SES and they are, in general, much less interested in the local neighbourhood with respect to activities such as shopping, going out and meeting friends (van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003).

Our focus in this section is on what activities the residents of Feijenoord undertake and where these activities take place. We are especially interested to know for who the neighbourhood is an important place for activity and for who the neighbourhood holds less importance.

4.5.1 Activities: Where and with who?

Within or outside of the neighbourhood?

We might expect that many residents of deprived and dynamic urban areas undertake many of their daily activities within their own neighbourhood. However, from our interviews it becomes clear that for the overwhelming majority of interviewees, daily activities take place



Women in a community garden project.
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The multicultural Afrikaander market attracts people from across the city. © Zoë D. Cochia

both within, and outside of, the neighbourhood. For example, Yaryna's (41, female, Croatian, owner-occupied house) children go to a local school. She is a member of the parent committee at school, a co-director of a local playground association and a participant in 'Opzoomeren'²², a community based initiative aimed at increasing social cohesion. She visits local acquaintances and neighbours at their home. Yaryna also visits friends, markets and shops in other areas of the Rotterdam metropolitan region including Barendrecht, Berkel en Rodenrijs, Rotterdam Noord and the city centre frequently. Furthermore, she exercises (with other women) in a park on the other side of the city (Kralingse Bos) three times a week.

It is often mentioned in the literature that minority ethnic groups undertake most activities locally, however that is not the case in our research. There are no clear differences between non-Western ethnic groups and the Dutch, nor differences with respect to gender and household type. This means that households with children have activity patterns that extend beyond the neighbourhood, despite the fact that their children often attend local schools.

A group of residents that clearly has more activities outside the neighbourhood are those aged between 18 and 45 years old, who work at least three days per week outside the neighbourhood and belong to the medium or high SES category (relatively high education and incomes). In some cases, they moved to the neighbourhood because new housing opportunities became available. For example, Simone (29, female, Dutch, private rent) moved to a renovated apartment in Feijenoord three and a half years ago because it was inexpensive and located not too far from the city centre and her place of work. She does her grocery shopping at a local supermarket and exercises at a gym in a nearby neighbourhood in Rotterdam South. All of her other activities take place outside of the neighbourhood; she cycles to her work at a hospital in the city centre five days a week and conducts activities with colleagues, friends and family in other parts of Rotterdam or in other cities in the Netherlands.

Activities with who?

With who do interviewees undertake which activities? We distinguish activities as being with family, friends, neighbours or other acquaintances.²³

Activities with direct family (parents, siblings) and other family members who live close by often take place at home. It is only sporadically that family members go out to have a drink together. They will go for a walk, undertake joint activities with children, or do their grocery shopping together more often. Most of these contacts are for fun, but sometimes they are out of necessity, for example, because an older parent is handicapped or ill and is therefore less mobile. Activities with family members in the neighbourhood are typical for families with a lower SES as, generally speaking, they have more family members in the neighbourhood than those with a higher SES. In many cases family members belong to the same, often relatively low, SES groups.

Activities with friends occur more often outdoors rather than within the home. Within the neighbourhood people visit community centres together, they go to parks to walk, for a picnic or to play ball games, or they visit a mosque or a church. Activities outside the neighbourhood include eating and drinking, shopping together (e.g. for clothing in the city centre) or occasional daytrips and sometimes even on holidays. Networks of friends are more diverse than family networks in terms of SES and ethnicity (see section 4.6.1).

Many interviewees (with diverse SES, ethnicities, ages, household types and genders) occasionally undertake activities with neighbours and other local acquaintances. They often take place within the neighbourhood. Activities sometimes take place in homes (e.g. visiting each other and sharing meals), but more often they take place in shared or public spaces in the neighbourhood. Joint outdoor activities that interviewees commonly discuss take place under subsidised programmes such as Burendag and Opzoomeren, in which residents can apply for funding for community-based initiatives such as street cleaning, planting flowers and plants, organising a neighbourhood barbeque, or developing a community garden. For example, Louisa (59, female, Dutch, social rent) explains how she participates in local activities for neighbours but is not involved in the organisation of them:

“We have ‘Neighbours day’ (Burendag; funded by a relatively large national foundation) and now and then there is a barbecue in the park (organised) by local people. A Dutch lady, who used to live at the corner and has a handicraft shop, usually organises the activities. I usually participate, but I do not help with the organisation... The Neighbours Day, barbecues, and there is also (the activity of) planting flowers.”

Interviewer: *“How do you know about these activities?”*

Louisa: *“Often a neighbour across the street does this. She comes by and calls to ask if I’d like to participate.”*

Interviewer: *“Do most of your neighbours participate?”*

Louisa: *“Most of them, yes.”*

Interviewer: *“How often does this happen?”*

Louisa: *“Most often twice a year.”*

The reasons why interviewees do not undertake activities with (certain) neighbours are diverse. Most Moroccan, Turkish and Pakistani Dutch women explain that they do not participate in joint activities with men for religious reasons and/or because they are not allowed to by their husbands. Some interviewees do not undertake activities with neighbours because they spend most of their time outside of the neighbourhood. Other interviewees, often with a high SES and without children, prefer not to interact with neighbours too much, and spend most of their time with family and friends.

4.5.2 The use of public space

For several groups, public spaces in close vicinity of the home can be very important. They can be used for activities and for meeting people. In most cases, these spaces are free to use and for that reason they can be attractive to those with lower incomes. In this section we will briefly discuss several public places that were mentioned by our interviewees. Focus is on the function of these places, on the groups that make use of them, and on how people interact with each other in them²⁴.

Parks

Parks, both large and small, can be found in, and close to, the neighbourhoods where our interviewees live. They are used by a variety of people for a range of activities. Some people make use of the park on their own to jog or to walk. Dog owners (described as a multi-ethnic and diverse group of people) walk their dog and sometimes talk to each other. Groups of women often go together to a park to chat or to play with their children whereas groups of men may visit parks to play ball games or to just sit and relax. Young people often do the same, sometimes in men only, women only or in mixed groups. When people go to the park together, they usually do not interact with other groups and keep to themselves.

Pavements

People sometimes meet coincidentally on the pavement, perhaps on the way from their home to a shop. When walking alone, they may meet a friend or acquaintance and start-up a conversation and interact with one another. Conversations rarely occur with someone they are not already acquainted with. Contact is sometimes limited to a simple hello, but in other cases a small conversation is held or arrangements are made to meet at another time somewhere else.

Shopping streets

Shopping areas are not only used for shopping, but are also used as meeting places, especially for groups of young people. They meet there because it is free, convenient (close to home) and often a little bit more sheltered than in a park, an important consideration with inclement weather. The groups of young people are often relatively mixed in terms of ethnicity. They know each other from school, via a youth or neighbourhood centre, from living on the same street, or they met in a street or a park. The young groups mainly just sit or stand around and relax, talk to each other about all kinds of things and occasionally comment to passers-by. Other people

may sometimes feel uncomfortable by the gathering of such groups. For example, Louisa (59, female, Dutch, social rent) argues:

“I used to go to the Zuidplein shopping mall often. But there are these groups of youths you have to pay attention, all of those youth groups in the streets. It makes me feel less at ease. Because they group together, I do not like that.”

Local markets

During opening hours, the local shopping streets are characterised by a large diversity of people, whereas the local market (Afrikaandermarkt) is hardly used by Dutch inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The market can be seen as a place for a diversity of ethnic groups. Dutch people prefer the supermarkets in the shopping streets or go to markets elsewhere. Contacts on the local market are very limited; visitors do their shopping, talk to the salespersons, but seldom interact in a meaningful way with fellow shoppers. The local market does not seem to be an important place for generating and maintaining social contacts.

Playgrounds

Local playgrounds are used by children and their parents from a diversity of ethnicities and social classes. Parents occasionally go to the playground together or in small groups, or they meet other parents who they already know from earlier meetings or from school there. Friendships between new people rarely begin in playgrounds. Visitors usually keep to themselves or to their own (small) group. However, visitors do report having ‘light’ encounters, such as greeting each other or engaging in small talk about children. There are also no indications that the playgrounds are used by other groups other than parents and their children. Groups of young people meet elsewhere (see above).

Local library

Due to budget cuts and privatisation, the number and opening hours of libraries have been drastically reduced in Rotterdam over the past few years. Currently, *‘t Slag* is one of the few libraries in Rotterdam South. This library was equipped with a broad mix of functions to make it more attractive to a range of groups: while it is still possible to borrow books, the library also has a media and computer section, a children’s area, a newspaper table and a café (Peterson, 2016). The library is visited by a wide range of people in terms of ethnicity, households and lifestyles. Although encounters between visitors are generally superficial and short, the library appears to broaden the social networks of visitors and to make them feel more at home in their neighbourhood (Peterson, 2016).

Restaurants, cafés and terraces

Neighbourhood facilities can either have an exclusive character, or be more inclusive. Restaurants and cafés that are aimed (through their prices and products) at audiences with higher incomes can be seen as exclusive facilities. We have come across several instances in which interviewees with a lower SES feel excluded from such premises. For example, Eric (69,



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

male, Dutch, social rent) explains that due to an influx of middle-class residents in Katendrecht, more expensive restaurants and cafés have opened which are not accessible to lower income groups in the neighbourhood, including Eric and his friends.

Cafés and coffeehouses for Turkish men can also be seen as exclusive facilities. While other men might be allowed to drink coffee or tea there, they usually do not enter on their own free will. In some of these facilities, women will not be allowed to enter. This exclusiveness is generally not defined as a problem by our interviewees and such places (and their surroundings) are not considered as unsafe places. Some Muslims, particularly women, do feel unhappy and unsafe near cafés due to people drinking alcohol.

Visitors to restaurants, cafés and terraces seldom interact with strangers: they go there with people they know or meet people they know there.

Community centres

Some community centres are described as relatively homogenous in terms of the ethnicity and/or the age of its visitors, while others are used by a wide variety of groups. Most users of community centres have a low SES, but belong to different ethnic groups. Depending on the activity organised, different age groups also visit different community centres. Community centre *de Proeftuin* is a joint initiative of different grassroots organisations in the fields of culture, education, healthcare and sports joined forces. The main goals of the experiment are to foster social cohesion and promote social mobility by providing rooms for neighbourhood groups to hold activities and celebrations and by offering financial and social help (Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Peterson (2016) finds that repetitive encounters in the community centre lead to

an intimate and homey atmosphere. As groups meet there repeatedly and many are organised around a shared passion (such as knitting or cooking), participants can identify with each other strongly. Their bonding diminishes the cultural, ethnic or religious differences. As the centre hosts many different groups, visitors become acquainted with previously unknown others. This makes them feel more at home in the neighbourhood because they start to recognise others on the street and elsewhere.

Churches, mosques and temples

Religious institutions in Feijenoord are generally homogenous in terms of religion and ethnicity. Mosques are generally visited by Muslim men. No information is available on the SES of visitors to mosques, churches and temples. One mosque in the area is visited by a diversity of ethnic groups, including non-Muslims. Yavuz (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) explains that 'his' mosque offers a room to local youth with different religious and ethnic backgrounds so that they can do their homework, or even to organise a computer gaming-event, in an effort to keep them off the streets.

4.5.3 Conclusion

Several researchers have indicated that the neighbourhood is losing importance for many of its residents, especially because people have become increasingly mobile. At the same time the literature also makes very clear that for some groups – notably low-income groups, minority ethnic groups, the elderly and children – the local environment can still be important for several reasons. It has become clear that both statements are true: people take part in many activities within their neighbourhoods, but they also undertake activities away from the neighbourhood. In general, activities such as grocery shopping, walking (alone, with friends or with a dog) are often performed in the neighbourhood because it offers many possibilities (small shops, supermarkets, markets and parks). Other activities are usually performed outside the neighbourhood because they are not possible within the neighbourhood; shopping for convenience goods or going out to specific places. Most people combine activities outside their residential neighbourhoods with activities closer to home. There are no indications to suggest that a low income hinders people from conducting activities outside of their neighbourhood.

The activity patterns of people with a low SES tend to be more local than those of people with a higher SES. Many people with a low SES have family members living close by, often in the same neighbourhood who are important to them. They undertake many activities with family members, either at home or outside. Activities at home are less frequent with friends, with whom they visit places in the neighbourhood or outside.

Public spaces in the neighbourhood are important. It is here that people meet and interact with each other. At the same time, places like parks, pavements, playgrounds shopping streets and the local market are not the places where new friendships emerge. When people visit a park or playground, although they sometimes do go in small or bigger groups to talk to each other and have fun, they mostly interact with people from their own groups and with individuals who

they already know. Most public spaces are attractive to many people, irrespective of their SES, ethnicity, gender or age, though some restaurants and cafés specifically seem to have a focus on a clientele with somewhat higher incomes. All in all, most public spaces are important for specific activities, but not for making new contacts as individuals and groups tend to keep to themselves. In contrast, semi-public spaces such as libraries, community centres and religious institutions do appear important for developing both weak and strong social bonds. We will discuss this in more detail in the next section.

4.6 SOCIAL COHESION

As people have become more mobile, they have become less dependent on their neighbourhood for their social contacts. Some scholars have warned that the declining role of the neighbourhood can result in a lack of social cohesion between local residents (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). This can manifest itself in reduced trust and less solidarity and support (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013b; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Studies on neighbouring show that the extent to which the neighbourhood is important for social relations differs between social groups. Most studies indicate a (gradual) decline in local contacts, but this does not mean that neighbourhoods have lost their meaning for social networks for all social groups (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999; Pinkster, 2007; van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). For people with low incomes, elderly people and people with children particularly, the neighbourhood continues to remain important for the development of relationships (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Wissink and Hazelzet, 2012). Because the neighbourhood is not equally important for the formation of social ties for all, living within a diverse neighbourhood does not have to result in diverse social networks. Indeed, and also in the Dutch context, several studies indicate that the social networks of residents in socially mixed neighbourhoods are often fairly homogenous in terms of ethnicity and social class (e.g. van Eijk, 2010b; Pinkster and Völker, 2009).

The aim of this section is to gain insight into the degree to which living in a highly diverse residential area affects the development of social cohesion between residents. We are particularly interested in which elements foster, and which hinder, the development of social cohesion in the area.

4.6.1 Composition of interviewees' networks

To map the social networks of people, interviewees were asked to name at least three people who they feel most close to. In their responses, interviewees mentioned three types of networks: family members, friends and local acquaintances. The networks are not mutually exclusive. For each network type we examined: the geographical distribution according to the place of residence; the composition in terms of ethnicity, education and occupation; and the function in terms of activities and forms of support.

Family social networks

How important is the neighbourhood in relation to the social network of family members²⁵ with whom interviewees are close? For interviewees with a low SES and for elderly people²⁶, the neighbourhood appears to be particularly important for the maintenance of family relations. For both groups, family members live within the same neighbourhood or in surrounding neighbourhoods more often than for those with a medium or high SES, or for young adults and middle-aged people. Furthermore, interviewees with a low SES and the elderly find it more important to have close family live nearby, and to have contact with their family more often than interviewees with a medium or high SES, young adults and middle-aged people. For example, all of Rajesh's (21, male, Antillean, social rent) relatives live in the neighbourhood of Katendrecht. He explains that this is important for him because:

“otherwise it would be boring, you couldn't do anything, you don't have anyone to talk to.”

Likewise, Peter (69, male, Dutch, social rent) argues:

“Both our children live close, one a ten minute cycling distance, and the other a 15 minute journey by car. And we find that very convenient. We have a very good bond with them, we see our grandchildren often. At one point we were thinking of moving to the province of Drenthe (about 250 km north), where we have some friends and acquaintances. But then our daughters protested: whenever we need support, they are able to help us if they are close. And we think this is a nice idea.”

The family networks of interviewees are generally homogenous in terms of ethnicity and SES. Thus, residents with a relatively high SES most often have family members with high education levels and who are in high-skilled jobs, while residents with a low SES mostly have family with low education levels who are in low-skilled jobs. Family networks mostly consist of people with the same ethnicity, although a number of residents have a family member from another ethnic background as well. Some interviewees argue that interethnic marriages occur among younger people more often than among older ones. Hilda (64, female, Dutch, social rent):

“The youths, they mix. A son of mine had a Turkish girlfriend once, years ago. It ended. They were dating when they were young. Then he dated a Moroccan woman, my son. Not from this neighbourhood though. But they split up. He is presently dating another Moroccan woman.”

Interviewees whose family (often with a low SES) mostly live locally place different meaning on their family network than interviewees whose family mostly do not live nearby. The former meet family and undertake activities (at home and outside) with them more often than the latter group. For example, Marcelio (24, male, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent) teaches kickboxing at a community centre in Feijenoord on a voluntary basis and sees his family relatively often:

“I see my mother every day, because she and my brother practice at the gym. My brothers, I see once or twice a week. We see a movie, catch up. I see my uncle almost every Saturday, so once a week. With other family members it (frequency of contact) depends. I try to see my grandfather once or twice a week as well... I have a good bond with all eight of my brothers and sisters.”

Many residents with local family networks (and a low SES) cook for, share meals and have coffee with family on a daily or weekly base. They also describe taking care of each other (in case of illness or disability), babysitting, and keeping an eye out for family members and friends much more often than the latter. The findings indicate that for interviewees with a low SES and for elderly people, having family live nearby is very important. Local family networks provide interviewees with care and support. As an example, Willemijn (41, female, Dutch, social rent) grew up in her current neighbourhood, and recently moved back to it with her son, to live close to her parents, among other reasons. They live across the street. When asked how important it is for her to have family live nearby, she says:

“Yes, it is very nice to have your parents live nearby, because they are getting older. They are both 70. I can support them. Of course it is also nice for my son, and convenient for me: when I need to do some shopping, I tell him ‘go visit your grandmother.’”

Interviewer: *“How often do you see your parents?”*

Willemijn: *“Very often, I see them daily, here (at home) or at their place.”*

Social networks of friends

How important is the neighbourhood for the social networks of friends? The geographical distribution of social networks of friends shows almost the same pattern as those of family networks. Close friends of interviewees with a low SES live nearby more often than those with a middle or high SES. Furthermore, the former group meet their close friends more often than the latter. For example, Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, male and female, Moroccan Dutch, owner-occupied house) work as a neighbourhood supervisor (civil servant) and a cleaner, respectively, and have low and medium education levels²⁷. Most of Mouad and Lina’s friends (and family) live nearby. For both of them, most of their friends live in the neighbourhood and they meet most of their friends within the neighbourhood.

In contrast, Rick (45, male, Dutch, anti-squat shared housing) has an academic degree and works as an architect-designer. His two best friends:

“...are friends from my student days in Delft, they were roommates... One works in the energy sector and is a council member in Delft (a city 13 km from Rotterdam). The other runs his own business in Genève (Switzerland)... I hardly ever see the one in Genève. My friend in Delft (I see) about once a month.”

No clear differences were found between the family networks of age groups.

The friend networks of interviewees are more diverse in terms of ethnicity and SES than those of family networks. Still, most interviewees have quite homogenous networks of friends in terms of SES: interviewees with a high SES have friends with a high education level and high-skilled jobs, while interviewees with a lower SES often have friends who are similar in this respect. Whether or not people have a socio-economically heterogeneous network of friends was not found to relate to an interviewees SES, but it was found to relate to their ethnicity. Interviewees from a Dutch ethnic background will, more often, have a more homogenous network of friends in terms of SES than other ethnic groups.

Many interviewees have at least one close friend from a different ethnic background. No clear link was found between the ethnicity of interviewees and the extent to which their network of close friends is ethnically diverse. Yet, people with a mostly local network of friends and a relatively low SES appear to have more ethnically diverse friends than people with a non-local network of friends and a higher SES. Furthermore, many local interethnic friendships appear to have started off in the neighbourhood, indicating a neighbourhood effect. Therefore, for people with a low SES, the neighbourhood appears to be important for the development of heterogeneous friendships.

Interviewees with a neighbourhood-based network of friends (and a low SES) see their friends more often than interviewees with a non-local network of friends. The former meet their friends at least once a week. For example, Winta (middle-aged, female, Eritrean Dutch, social rent) meets her Eritrean female friends two to three times a week, who she argues are “... *just like family*.” They meet at each other’s homes or at the Experimental Garden community centre. Most of them have known one another for a long time. She explains that: “...*four or five ladies live here in Feijenoord and we have become very close.*”

The kinds of activities that interviewees undertake with close friends do not seem to differ according to interviewees’ ethnicity, SES, or the geographical distribution and composition of their friends networks. The most common activities among friends are: visiting each other, eating and/or drinking out (having dinner or coffee), going out (dancing, cinema), shopping and daytrips (amusement parks, city trips).

Interviewees with a local network of close friends (and a low SES) provide healthcare and take care of children of friends more often than interviewees with close friends who live further away. It appears that for caring tasks, having close friends living nearby is more important for interviewees with a low SES than for those with a high SES. Forms of support between friends that interviewees of all socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds discuss include emotional support (e.g. talking about individual experiences and family matters), companionship (e.g. regularly visiting each other at home) and for providing informational/advisory support (e.g. giving advice on personal and family matters).

Social networks of local acquaintances

When discussing people they feel close to, many interviewees use the term ‘local acquaintances’. They describe these as local residents, next-door neighbours excluded, who they sometimes interact with in (semi-)public places in the neighbourhood and who they do not consider as family or friends.

We asked interviewees to describe their local acquaintances in terms of demographic features and explain how they got to know one another. Interviewees appear to have gotten to know their local acquaintances from both outside of, and within, the neighbourhood. The former category includes colleagues who interviewees know from work mostly, and who happen to live nearby and who they meet in the neighbourhood. For example, when asked about her bond with colleagues at work in the city centre of Rotterdam, Nancy (41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent,) explains that several of her neighbours live in a neighbourhood adjacent to hers. When asked how often she sees those colleagues outside of the workplace she responds: “...sometimes, if we eat out... I think we do meet at least once a month, for example, we eat a pizza together.”

Interviewees’ networks of local acquaintances appear to be much more diverse in terms of ethnicity than networks of family and friends. The networks of local colleagues are often homogenous in terms of education levels and occupations, but ethnically very diverse. For instance, Mirjam (45, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) teaches Dutch language classes at the Flywheel women’s centre on a voluntary basis. She has developed an ethnically diverse network of local acquaintances at the centre, who she calls:

“...colleagues. Friends I do not have here (at the centre)... Desiree lives very close to the local market, she is one of my closest colleagues. She is Antillean.”

Interviewer: *“How about your other colleagues?”*

Mirjam: *“African, Turkish, Moroccan, there is also a Surinamese... I’m not sure where she comes from, the one from Africa. Usually, they all live in the neighbourhood, close to my place.”*

Networks of local acquaintances who interviewees know through the neighbourhood are not only highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of education level, occupation, professional and social networks and knowledge (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b). For example, Lauren (50, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) explains that through her part-time work as a local councillor and a volunteer at a local school, she has developed an extensive and ethnically and socio-economically diverse network of local acquaintances who come to her for advice and who inform her on local matters.

4.6.2 Living together with neighbours

How do residents in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods experience living together with neighbours? How important are neighbours for the social (support) networks of these residents? We have

examined this by asking interviewees to describe their bonds with neighbours, forms of support between neighbours, and their level of trust of neighbours.

Bonds with neighbours

The way in which interviewees value their neighbours depends on their own needs, norms and values. Whether people experience having few interactions with neighbours positively or negatively depends on their experiences and expectations of their neighbours. Through encounters with neighbours, bonds can become stronger or weaker over time.

How do neighbours get to know each other? Most interviewees in this study have gotten to know their neighbours through encounters in shared and public spaces around the house. Initial interactions with neighbours have often occurred due to a small or major crisis, such as problems with children, fire or sudden illness. When describing the bond with her next-door neighbours of 20 years, Hilda (64, female, Dutch, social rent) argues:

“A long time ago, Maximo (Hilda’s son) had a hole here (points towards face). They (next-door neighbours) immediately drove him to the eye clinic. Even though we had only lived here for a short while at that time. I was cleaning at a school (as a cleaner). I cycled back and that is when I heard that the wheel of a bicycle had hit Maximo’s head just above his eye. They had taken him (to the hospital) immediately. I had not been home. My eldest children were home and they told me: ‘look the neighbour took him immediately’. Still, at that time we did not know them (the neighbours) that well yet, but they came to help us straight away.”

Most interviewees express having a good relationship with nearby neighbours. In addition, most have a relatively strong bond with at least one nearby neighbour.



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

Do neighbours interact mostly with people ‘like them’, or do they interact with people from other social groups as well? The extent to which neighbour relations are diverse appears to depend largely on the tenure type in relation to the scale and mix of buildings. In Feijenoord, owner-occupied housing blocks are often much more homogenous in terms of ethnicity, household type and the SES of residents than social housing blocks. This could partly explain why in our study interviewees who are owner-occupiers have homogenous networks of close neighbours in these respects more often than interviewees in social housing. Interviewees who live in social housing generally have very diverse networks of close neighbours in terms of ethnicity and household types, which they value positively. For example, Aida (36, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) says:

“I live with very neat, honest neighbours. Luckily, I have a mix of Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch families. I am very happy with that mix... The foreign families are young and the Dutch (neighbours) are older, really old people. We have a very good bond with them... Whenever I have cooked, I bring some food to the elderly neighbour downstairs. He just lost his wife.”

Forms of support between neighbours

We asked interviewees whether they believe that neighbours in their neighbourhood generally support one another. Most interviewees agree. Nancy (41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent) argues:

“If you go to your neighbours for support, I think they will help you”, particularly “...when it is really necessary”

Fuat (18, male, Kurdish Dutch, social rent) says “...in case of an emergency.” Yet, not everyone believes neighbours support one another. A family friend of Genji (23, female, Chinese Dutch, social rent) was once robbed when she was walking in a busy shopping street close to Genji’s home. As no one made an attempt to help her friend, Genji has become sceptical and is sometimes a bit anxious around fellow residents in her neighbourhood including her neighbours.

Nevertheless, most interviewees express having given support to, and received support from, nearby neighbours regularly. The forms of support between neighbours that interviewees mention are rather diverse. Some common forms of mutual support between neighbours include: running errands or carrying errands up the stairs; gardening and doing odd jobs for neighbours (e.g. repairing electronic devices, painting the house); cooking and sharing food with neighbours (e.g. in time of illness or loneliness); lending things to neighbours (e.g. a bicycle or phone); informational or advisory support (e.g. helping with paper work, referring neighbours to social services); babysitting the children of neighbours; caring for children of neighbours in case of personal or family problems; keeping neighbours company; keeping an eye out for neighbours (on their house in case of absence, illness or loneliness); giving support in case of emergencies (e.g. fire, burglary, illness).

Trust in neighbours

Despite the relatively strong bonds with neighbours, opinions about the extent to which interviewees trust their nearby neighbours are divided. This may relate to the fact that *'the spatial and scripted nature of neighbour relations are bound up with (unchosen) spatial proximity of neighbours and the need for privacy in one's home that follows from this proximity'* (van Eijk, 2011, p. 6). Some interviewees trust their nearby neighbours fully, some only trust a few neighbours, and others do not trust any neighbour at all. Having a spare key to the house and allowing neighbours to babysit their children appears to be an important indicator of mutual trust between neighbours. When asked if she thinks that she can trust her neighbours, Aida (36, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) says:

"...my neighbours? Absolutely. My neighbour opposite me and my Dutch neighbours downstairs for sure. Actually (I trust) all of them, but in different ways"

Interviewer: *"What are the differences?"*

Aida: *"My downstairs neighbour I have given the key to my mailbox in the summer holidays. My neighbour opposite her, we visit each other at home. My daughter, she is nine. I have allowed her to go home (from school) on her own. I come home half an hour after her. This neighbour opens the door for her, comes inside with her and gives her something to eat and drink, and then she leaves. That trust is there. Or my daughter stays with her. Surely a close bond."*

When interviewees trust neighbours, they often say this is because they know them well or they see them often. Particular commonalities between individual features and daily practices of neighbours, such as having children, similar parenting strategies, greeting and showing interest in neighbours, and taking good care of the dwelling were found to foster trust in neighbours (see also section 4.4.2). No clear difference was found between the extents to which interviewees trust their neighbours, nor between their SES, gender, age, household type or ethnicity.

4.6.3 Conclusion

This study shows, particularly for people with low socio-economic status, people with children and elderly people, that: (1) the neighbourhood is important for the development of social relations; (2) living in a diverse neighbourhood can contribute to diverse local social networks, in terms of education, occupation and ethnicity; and (3) local social networks of neighbours and other acquaintances often provide a range of important forms of care and support, which complement those of (local) family members and friends. While the first finding is in line with findings of earlier studies on the topic (in the Dutch context), the second and third findings are not (see the introduction to section 4.6). In contrast with previous studies on social networks, our findings indicate that in hyper-diverse contexts, particularly networks of weak ties (see Granovetter, 1973), neighbours and other local acquaintances can be ethnically, and to a lesser extent, socio-economically diverse.

Three elements were found to foster the development of social cohesion in particular. First, as van Eijk (2010a) and Peterson (2016) stressed, local institutions such as schools, churches and

community centres appear very important for facilitating weak and strong ties between diverse groups of residents. We have come across several instances in which local acquaintances with diverse ethnic backgrounds have become friends. Second, in line with studies by Jupp (1999), mixed-tenure blocks (mostly rent) were found to foster more ethnically diverse local networks than more homogenous tenure blocks in this respect (mostly owner-occupied). In contrast with other studies, such as by Tersteeg and Pinkster (2015), we have not come across many negative experiences of living in ethnically mixed housing blocks. Yet, it remains unclear to what extent this finding is shaped by the scale of mix, and by individual features such as SES, tenure type or lifestyle. Third, commonalities in individual features and observed practices between residents were found to foster social cohesion. The particular commonalities that do so, depend on (a combination of) people's subjective norms, values and lifestyles. Thus, commonalities and differences that respectively foster and hinder cohesion differ per individual. Two important dissimilarities that were found to particularly hinder the development of ties between neighbours and other local residents are not speaking the same language Dutch and local youth groups engaging in criminal behaviours.

4.7 SOCIAL MOBILITY

In this study we refer to social mobility as '*the change over time in an individual's socio-economic characteristics*' (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p. 52), which include income, education and occupational attainment. We refer to upwards social mobility as when these individual socio-economic characteristics improve and to downwards social mobility when they worsen over time.

Urban policy that seeks to foster social mobility often assumes that living in a socio-economically and ethnically mixed neighbourhood enhances the socio-economic opportunities of residents, particularly those from lower social classes. Middle and upper social classes are thought to act as role models for the lower ones (e.g. Kleinhans, 2004). Additionally, mixed neighbourhoods are thought to foster mixed social networks through which lower social classes can improve their socio-economic position (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013b). These assumptions stem from the notion of, for example, Putnam (2001) that people with low socio-economic positions need bridging social capital, socio-economically and ethnically diverse social networks, which can help them to achieve upwards social mobility by providing practical knowledge, information and social contacts, for instance. The opposite to bridging social capital Putnam calls bonding social capital: homogenous social networks in terms of socio-economic features and ethnicity. In this study, we also see social capital as a means or resource to achieve social mobility (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Despite the fact that social mix has become a widely practiced policy strategy used to foster social mobility in Western cities, academic studies do not agree on whether role modelling is actually taking place and if bridging social capital is being formed between

social classes in socially mixed areas (e.g. Joseph et al., 2007). Many studies have found that next to neighbourhood features, personal characteristics are important for social mobility. Having a high education and income level and high occupational attainment offers better opportunities for socio-economic progress than having a low education and income level and low occupational attainment (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010). In the Netherlands, people with a non-Western ethnic background are less socially mobile than people with a Western ethnic background (Vrooman et al., 2014). This is related to a poorer socio-economic position and processes of labour market discrimination and not necessarily to living in a specific neighbourhood (Andriess et al., 2012).

Many studies on the relationship between neighbourhood features and social mobility focus on the implications of segregation rather than diversity and use a quantitative approach (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). This section aims to provide insight into the ways in which living in a diverse neighbourhood influences social mobility. Furthermore, we want to know which elements foster, and which elements hinder, social mobility.

4.7.1 Current and previous (un)paid work

Forms of work

The majority of interviewees in Feijenoord are in paid work. Of this group most work part-time: 12-32 hours per week. Interviewees with full-time paid jobs (36 hours or more) are mostly men. Many interviewees conduct voluntary work as well. Volunteers include men and women, those with diverse ethnicities and often people with a low SES. Half of the interviewees who volunteer have a paid job as well. Only a small number of people do engage in paid or unpaid work – thus do not work at all. A few interviewees – all women – have never undertaken paid work. These women have a low SES and different ages and ethnicities. They have never worked because either they have been stay-at-home mothers, and/or they have a chronic disability. Of the interviewees aged between 18-65 years who do not have paid work, only a small number are actively looking for a job. In addition, most of them argue that they are unfit for paid work. Our study does not find a connection between the form of work (paid or unpaid) and ethnicity. We did find that people with high and above average education levels are more likely to have paid jobs than people with low education levels.

Sectors and occupational attainment

Interviewees work in diverse occupational sectors including healthcare, government (police, municipal), cleaning, education and the hospitality industry. Most have low-skilled jobs such as cleaners, pizza deliverers, newspaper deliverers, truck drivers and (home) carers. Quite a number of people have middle-skilled jobs such as civil servant, flight attendants, medical assistants and artists. The over-representation of low and middle-skilled jobs is expected as a large portion of our sample has low and medium-low education levels (see Appendix VII). People with low and middle-skilled jobs have diverse ethnicities. A small number of people have high-skilled work, including a medical doctor, a Greek and Latin teacher, a high school speech therapist, a project

manager at a housing corporation and an architect/designer. Most, but not all, interviewees with high-skilled jobs are Dutch. The higher the education levels of people, the higher their occupational attainment. No relationship was found between occupational attainment and gender, though our findings do show that women work in healthcare more often than men. Many, but not all, interviewees with low-skilled and medium-skilled jobs work close to home. Most interviewees with high-skilled jobs work in other areas of Rotterdam, that is, not in the neighbourhood. Thus, for people with low-skilled jobs the residential area appears to be important for their employment.

Social mobility

Several interviewees have experienced upward mobility throughout their career. Most often these people have made a career within a company, including the municipality and companies that operate in the harbour. For example, after finishing a lower vocational programme to become an administrative officer, Nancy (41, female, Cape Verdean Dutch, social rent) started her career with the municipality of Rotterdam as a neighbourhood supervisor. After six and a half years she applied for a job as an administration officer within another department of the municipality. She followed several courses and programmes provided by the municipality, including a programme to become a special investigation officer (Buitengewoon Opsporingsambtenaar). After several years, she applied for her current job as an officer at the municipal traffic control centre.

For some interviewees with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, males and females, a job as a volunteer or an internship has led to paid work. For example, Szilvia (39, female, Hungarian, private rent) explains that voluntary work as a Hungarian-Dutch translator for people in her own social network has enabled her to do freelance professional translation work for public institutions including the local municipality, the police and real estate agents. Both Linda (68, female, Hindustani, private rent) and Vera (41, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house) were offered a long-term position at a school as a concierge (24 years) and as a Greek and Latin teacher (17 years), respectively, following an internship at the schools. Linda was offered the internship by the municipalities' social services and Vera applied for the job herself.

Nevertheless, the labour market careers of most interviewees seem to be largely determined by their social class. The careers of people of lower social classes are mostly characterised by a sequence of low-skilled jobs, while people with a high SES continue to have high-skilled jobs. These findings are in line with previous research on the correlation between social class and social mobility (e.g. Liddle and Lerais, 2007).

A few interviewees have experienced downward social mobility. These people have intermediate and high education levels. They lost their job due to redundancy during the economic crisis and have moved to Feijenoord because of its low housing prices (see also section 4.3.1). For instance, Hans (49, male, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) explains that he worked as a specialist in information and technology at a large telecom company a few years ago when he lost his job

and, consequently, also his house. He presently lives in an apartment for homeless people in Feijenoord and he is looking for a new job. Rick (45, male, Dutch, anti-squat shared housing) started his own company as an architect/designer but currently does not make any profit due to the economic crisis. He moved from his owner-occupied house to an anti-squatting development in Feijenoord a few weeks ago due to income loss. Diversity in the neighbourhood does not seem to influence social mobility directly.

4.7.2 Using neighbours and others to find a job

In contrast to the findings of academic and municipal studies on social capital in Feijenoord (Blokland, 2003; van Eijk, 2010b; Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015), we have come across many examples in which interviewees found paid or unpaid work through their local social network or through local institutions (community centre, schools, church).

Using local social contacts to find a job

For people with a low SES, the neighbourhood appears to be particularly important for finding work. They find work through neighbours and other local acquaintances, friends and family. Although the work they find through local contacts is mostly low-skilled, it is very important to them because it allows them to sustain a livelihood (many do not have education degrees or have low level ones) as it strengthens their professional network and it allows them to acquire new knowledge and skills. The following examples illustrate how people find jobs through local contacts:

Hans (49, male, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) has been an unemployed ICT worker for two years. A couple of local contacts informed him about paid and unpaid work. His next-door neighbour, a middle-aged Turkish Dutch man who lives by himself, regularly provides him with information on temporary (undeclared) jobs in construction work. His neighbour across the street, an Antillean man who lives with his wife and children and who has become a friend, is a professional cook and he has invited Hans to cook together for a local community centre once a week. Hans is looking to find a paid job in education. A long-term friend who now is a social worker in Feijenoord has helped him to acquire teaching experiences in volunteer positions. He currently gives basic fitness, football, computer and homework classes at a local women's centre, a football club, and at two community centres.

Fuat (18, male, Kurdish Dutch, social rent) lives with his parents and two siblings. He is in his first year of an intermediate vocational programme to become a security guard. He applied for a job as a pizza deliverer in the summer. When his job ended, a local friend arranged a similar job for him at another pizza company. Earning money is very important for Fuat because his family is very poor:

“To be honest, and this hits me very hard. I am 18 now, a man and my dad is currently in Turkey (with family), and I cannot give my mother any pocket money... Look, today I get my money (welfare benefits), in three days it is gone. Why? I have to do shopping, I have to pay off

debts, I have to pay the rent, you have to pay! Otherwise, the creditors will double and double (the debts). After three days the money is gone, and I have to wait 27 days. Sometimes I lend money from family... It makes me crazy.”

Sonia (41, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) obtained a degree as a medical assistant two years ago and has been looking for a suitable position ever since. To improve her résumé, she volunteers at a local hospital and a local community centre for 20 hours a week. She was introduced to the position at the community centre by a close local friend who was already involved in the organisation.

People with a high SES almost never find paid or unpaid work through local contacts. Their activity spaces and social networks are more often located outside of the neighbourhood (see sections 4.5.1 and 4.6.1 respectively). This group of people finds work through their professional network, which is almost always not local.

The importance of local institutions for social mobility

Local institutions such as schools, community centres and places of worship appear to be very important for encouraging social mobility, particularly for those with a relatively low SES (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b). The institutions bring together people of different age groups from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, social networks, skills and knowledge levels. Therefore, they facilitate social contacts through which people can find paid and unpaid work. Many local institutions offer (free) courses (e.g. in the Dutch language) and provides space for social groups to meet. Furthermore, the institutions appear to serve as an entry point for organisations to find employees and volunteers.

For example, Lina (31, female, Moroccan Dutch, owner-occupied house) married her Moroccan Dutch husband Mouad after she finished high school in Morocco. She was a stay-at-home mother for several years before she started to follow Dutch language courses, which she was offered free of charge by the primary school that her children attended. After some time, she told other mothers at the school that she was looking for paid work. One of them informed her about



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a job as a cleaner during the summer holidays at a local cleaning company. After her contract ended, another mother who has become a friend of hers, introduced her to a more permanent job as a cleaner in another local company. Also Hagar (55, female, Dutch, social rent), who is now retired, found paid work through a local institution in the time, namely her church:

“I finished primary school. Then I started to work, I married and I had children. When the youngest was two years old, we moved to a bigger house. There, I started as a midwifery assistant, without diplomas, because of course, I did not have any... Later, I started working as a caretaker of elderly people. For both jobs, I was asked by people of the church. When you are member of a church, there is always work... When people get sick, the pastor visits them. It was all paid work, I worked at people’s homes.”

Yavuz (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) is in his third year of an intermediate vocational programme on facility management. Via his local mosque, Yavuz has become an active local volunteer. In collaboration with the leaders of his mosque, he and two of his best friends have arranged for the mosque to offer space to local youth (all male) from diverse ethnicities and religions, to do their homework. This is important because Yavuz explains that many young men do not have such a space at home, and hang-out in the streets. A few months ago, the municipality of Rotterdam asked the mosque to participate in a programme to clean-up local public spaces. Yavuz and his youth group decided to participate. After a local food bank approached the mosque to ask for volunteers, Yavuz decided to become a volunteer himself at this organisation as well.

Other neighbourhood effects on social mobility

Several interviewees with a low SES and from a non-Western European minority ethnic background experience exclusion or discrimination in the labour market and housing. They report feeling discriminated against when applying for paid work due to their area of residence, “*Rotterdam South*” or sometimes even Rotterdam as a whole, and/or their ethnicity. For example, Maanasa (26, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) says:

“Do you know what it is madam, I have been experiencing this since I was young: the moment you say ‘I live in South’, they say: ‘do you live in South?! Do you live in Feijenoord?! That is a criminal area, this and that’. It is really not so bad.”

Interviewer: *“Has it ever worked against you?”*

Maanasa: *“I think so, but you can never be sure. They never tell me ‘madam, because you live in South we do not take your application letter in consideration.’”*

Many interviewees call for the municipality and media to “*stop saying those bad things about us*” (Sonia, 41, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent).

Another negative neighbourhood effect that interviewees discuss concerns negative local role models. The high concentrations of households that receive state benefits are thought to

influence the socio-economic opportunities of youth negatively. According to Lauren (50, female, Dutch, owner-occupied house):

“Because their parents are professionally unemployed – if I may say so – some local children do not see that there is much more that you can do (for a living) than what they see around here. Their world is small and that is a shame.”

Also Peter (69, male, Dutch, social rent) believes that a low “*labour ethos*” among local adults causes low “*aspiration levels of children*.” Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, Moroccan Dutch, owner-occupied house) argue:

Lina: *“when I watch all those youngsters I think of my own daughters: how will their futures look like? We have high unemployment levels, low (education) levels. They (children) do not finish their education. Children in schools, few follow higher educational programmes.”*

Mouad: *“I am not an expert, but I think that the neighbourhood determines the future of youth for 80 to 85%. If you grow up in Wassenaar (high concentration of people with a high SES) and you go to school there, you have better perspectives. Of course, children here do their best, but they have to make every effort.”*

Lina: *“It also relates to the education levels of parents... Parents who have low education levels can often not check on their children. ‘I am making homework’, when they are sitting behind their computer. They have no control over their children.”*

Several young interviewees – all male – with a low SES confirm these narratives and argue that criminal local youth groups result from youth growing up in poverty, “*hanging*” in the streets together and picking up criminal behaviour from one another.

4.7.3 Conclusion

Our study indicates that, particularly for people with a low SES, the neighbourhood is considerably more important for finding paid or unpaid work opportunities than existing studies and policies often presume. People find work through local social contacts including neighbours, other local acquaintances, friends and family. These networks of neighbours and acquaintances are often quite diverse in terms of ethnicity, work experience, networks, skills and knowledge (see section 4.6). Local institutions such as schools, community centres, churches and mosques appear to be crucial for facilitating fruitful exchanges concerning paid and unpaid work for these – often disadvantaged – diverse people.

Nevertheless, in recent years the municipality of Rotterdam has significantly decreased the budgets of local institutions including community centres and libraries. Many of these institutions have already closed. One of the arguments used by the municipality to cut back on these centres is that they do not make a significant contribution to upward social mobility (or cohesion). This idea is rooted in the eminent work of Putnam (2001), which claims that

bonding social capital of people with a low SES cannot facilitate social mobility. The findings of this study challenge this academic and policy approach.

Local social networks do not enable upward social mobility in the sense that they lead to an improvement in the SES level throughout the labour careers of people with a low SES. However, local social networks appear to act as an important safety net to prevent downward social mobility. They enable residents to sustain an income (often low), diversify and strengthen their professional networks and gain new work experiences, knowledge and skills. The steps that these residents make in the labour market through volunteering may seem small from a governmental perspective. Yet, given their poor starting positions, we think they are positive steps. The social costs of the alternative – losing, or having no paid or unpaid work – are much higher.

4.8 PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

This section seeks to provide insight into the ways in which diversity-related policies and local initiatives are perceived by the inhabitants of Feijenoord.

In order to improve the socio-economic position of the neighbourhoods and people in Feijenoord and other areas of Rotterdam South, the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government have implemented a large-scale policy programme for the area called the National Programme Rotterdam South (NPRS). The focus of the programme is on improving the educational performance of young residents, raising employment levels, and diversifying the housing stock to counteract selective migration (see Tersteeg et al., 2014a). The programme will invest € 1.3 billion in the area between 2015 and 2018. The NPRS uses multiple forms of citizen participation, but what do residents of Feijenoord know about it and what do they think of this programme? The municipality of Rotterdam has several other urban policies in action in Feijenoord including policies on education, housing, health care, welfare benefits and employment, economic activities and social cohesion.

As well as governmental policy programmes, Feijenoord is home to many bottom-up governance arrangements. Many of these initiatives build on local diversity to encourage social cohesion, social mobility and entrepreneurship in Feijenoord (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

4.8.1 Perception of policies and initiatives: what do residents know?

Most interviewees were not aware of any other urban policy programmes in their neighbourhood, but about half of the residents – with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds – were familiar with local governance arrangements, such as festivals, community centres and activities, women's centres and libraries.

Residents, particularly those who are involved in these local governance arrangements, appreciate the local initiatives greatly. There are four ways in which the initiatives are beneficial

for themselves and for other local residents. First, the arrangements are said to provide opportunities for the social mobility of low-income resident groups as they offer homework classes and spaces for youth, Dutch language courses, and other courses which allow residents to improve their skills and knowledge (see section 4.7.2). Second, local governance arrangements offer social-juridical support at low cost for disadvantaged people. For example, although Willemijn (41, female, Dutch, social rent) does not visit community centres herself, she argues:

“I think that many people benefit from the fact that they can visit those centres to ask their questions, ‘how does this work’, ‘how do I apply for allowances’, because the centres also help you with those things.”

Indeed, Ebru (52, female, Turkish Dutch, social rent) does not speak Dutch well. She explains that for:

“Paperwork we do not understand, we visit the ROA (Residential Organisation Afrikaanderwijk), we ask them for support. They help people to fill in forms, translate, you can also talk to a counsellor.”

Ebru has also introduced local acquaintances and friends who face similar challenges to this service. Third, the arrangements offer spaces where people with diverse backgrounds can meet to strengthen and diversify their social (and professional) networks (see also section 4.6). People argue that they are particularly important for singles, elderly people, youth, and poor people. Hannah (62, female, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) says:

“People can meet other people here. For example, there was a Moroccan woman. I was sitting here (at a table in the community centre) and I did not know her, well I knew her face. But she came to me, sat there and told her story. Just a listening ear, advice I could not give her because I did not know her. But just to hear her story, and give some small advice now and then. Because I work (as a nurse) in the sector of addiction treatment, I could give her some advice. You could see that she needed it because she could not talk to other people about it.”

Lastly, community centres are said to decrease local criminality rates and increase safety because they keep local youths off the streets and give them a face. Aida (36, female, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) says:

“Street youths. We do not have them here anymore. Also my own son, they all come here (at the Experimental Garden). Consequently, there are fewer nuisances in the streets, less crime. The centre educates them. They now talk to other local youths who do things that cannot be tolerated. They approach them.”

A small number of interviewees also discussed negative experiences with local governance arrangements. Lauren and her husband Edward (50 and 43, Dutch, owner-occupied house)

and Falgun (54, female, Dominican Dutch, social rent) explain that religious community centres can be exclusive. The three would like to participate in a local Islamic community centre in Hillesluis, but they are not allowed to because they are not Muslims. In addition, a few interviewees spoke about conflicts between different participant groups concerning sharing resources and spaces (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

4.8.2 Policy priorities proposed by interviewees: what do residents want?

When asked how they evaluate the governance of their neighbourhood by the local municipality, many interviewees appear to be quite positive. Interviewees argue that the municipality has become more open to the voices of local residents and note that the municipality has invested much in improving the quality of housing, public spaces and facilities for children in recent years. Nevertheless, interviewees note that there is much room for improvement. We asked interviewees which matters needed priority in the governance of their neighbourhood. While their responses did not demand policies that directly address urban diversity, the following themes arose:

Reduce poverty and create jobs

Interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds argue that the municipality needs to place higher priority on poverty reduction as “*many local people have not much money, for instance because they receive benefits, or they have debts*” (Hilda; 64, female, Dutch, social rent). According to Hans (49, male, Surinamese Dutch, social rent) this is because:

“Many residents face unemployment and this needs attention. (...) Poverty prevention will allow people to participate more in daily life, participate in social activities, meet other people. (...) I think poverty causes social isolation.”



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

Interviewees with a relatively low SES find that the city currently spends too much money on resident groups who are already well off. For example, Eric (69, male, Dutch, social rent) argues that in Katendrecht the municipality has stimulated the emergence of unaffordable cafés, cultural events and parking fees and they are considering the abolishment of local public transport:

“Of course there are owner-occupiers who do have a good income, with both man and woman working they bought a house, also in this street. But there are also elderly people who struggle to make ends meet.”

Many interviewees argue that it is important that the municipality creates more jobs. Rajesh (21, male, Antillean, social rent) says:

“The municipality only spends money on ‘bullshit’. For example, Central (station), have you seen it? Just to spill money. They implement two globes (artwork), total costs: several thousands, for what? ... Don’t make those stupid things when people are poor... They create nice things to attract visitors... How does that help us? You guys only invest in people who make money, to gain taxes. But people who do not make money, they do not look after. Yet, if you facilitate that more people can work, you can collect even more taxes, right? This way you do not only look after certain (well off) groups.”

Support disadvantaged youths

Interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds argue that disadvantaged local youths require particular policy attention. It is argued that youths are often unemployed, lack parental support and space at home to study, and hang out in the streets. Interviewees report feelings of unsafety and worry about criminality, which they relate to disadvantaged local youths.

According to Mouad (45, male, Moroccan Dutch, owner-occupied house), who is a father of three, the neighbourhood needs:

“A place where youths can study and do their homework. Because parents, most of them, cannot speak the Dutch language, they need their children to support them. I have spoken with children of 13 and 14 years old who say: ‘my father cannot speak Dutch, cannot do maths’. So, I think we need facilities for this.”

Yavuz (21, male, Turkish Dutch, social rent) argues that youths need work:

“Youths are unemployed even though they have degrees. Some have even finished university, but do not progress (read: cannot find a job). Something needs to be done.”

Interviewer: “Who should do this?”

Yavuz: “Residents cannot do anything about it. The municipality has contacts with large businesses here. If they tell them: ‘I have 50 young people for you’, they can help youths find a job.”

Fuat (18, male, Kurdish Dutch, social rent) and Yavuz grew up in their current neighbourhood and explain that next to work and educational support youths need other forms of socio-juridical guidance as well, such as information on the juridical consequences of debts, communication styles and norms, and how to apply for state benefits.

Support local initiatives

Many interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds are worried about the closure of local social services and initiatives such as community centres and libraries, as they are said to encourage the social mobility of people with a low SES, provide socio-juridical support, and encourage social cohesion between diverse people (see section 4.7.2). By supporting local institutions, interviewees argue that the municipality can contribute to the suggested policy goals of poverty reduction and support for disadvantaged youths as well. For example, Yavuz argues:

“We used to have a library but it was closed. I think this is unacceptable really. People who need a computer, who have no computer at home, make use of the library. People are quite poor over here. Now they cannot make use of it (the library) anymore, and get into trouble, also with school. Young people cannot do their homework... school troubles. Then they do not know what to do anymore, drop out of school, costs him lots of time. It is a shame.”

4.8.3 Conclusion

Residents have little knowledge of existing urban policy programmes for their neighbourhood. Residents appear more familiar with bottom-up local governance arrangements such as community centres, schools and libraries, which interviewees, also those who do not participate in the initiatives, appreciate highly. Supporting local initiatives, e.g. financially, and recognising their importance for the neighbourhoods should be key priorities for the municipality of Rotterdam, interviewees argue, as the initiatives are thought to contribute to social mobility, social cohesion, liveability and safety. These findings are in line with our previous study on the role of local initiatives in diverse neighbourhoods (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

Another way in which the municipality can support Feijenoord is by tackling poverty and helping more people into work, paid or unpaid. Both research observations and interviewees with residents indicate that there are many poor households in Feijenoord which face difficulties participating in (local) everyday life, socially and socio-economically. According to residents, disadvantaged youths require particular attention as they are related to criminality and a lack of safety.

4.9 CONCLUSION

Living in a diverse area such as Feijenoord in Rotterdam also means living in a deprived and dynamic urban area. It is considered deprived due to a relatively high unemployment rate, a

relatively large number of households on welfare benefits, high number of households on average low incomes, and a relatively cheap housing stock. The area can be characterised as dynamic because of the relatively cheap housing stock that provides possibilities for housing low-income households who may stay for a long time, but who may also leave again (they may find a better home elsewhere or because their income rises) giving a new household the possibility to move in. Many parts of Feijenoord can be seen as entry areas for international immigrants who either seek a relatively cheap dwelling or want to live close to family members and friends.

The combination of diversity, dynamism and deprivation provides little insight into which factors are important. However, there are some indications that people do indeed profit from some aspects of diversity in Feijenoord. The following are, in our opinion, the most relevant ones:

- Although most people do not see the diversity of the area as the most prominent reason to move there, some indicate the liveliness of the area as an important positive characteristic of the area, referring not so much to the population diversity but to the diversity of facilities in the area. Indeed, Feijenoord, at least parts of it, can be seen as a lively urban area with a large variety of shops.
- A significant number of residents like the diversity of the population. They value new experiences (e.g. new food and cooking styles), they enjoy meeting a diverse range of people and they find the diversity of facilities attractive. What's more, some people belonging to a minority ethnic group feel more comfortable living in an area where there is no majority of people from one group.
- People with a relatively large local network of friends often have a quite mixed network ethnically speaking. While it is not clear if this diverse network composition is the result of living in the diverse area, it is clear that mixed contacts in diverse areas exist. Mixed contacts in terms of socio-economic status are however, much less frequent.
- Networks of acquaintances (excluding family and friends) that residents regularly meet in the streets and other public places are also quite mixed with respect to ethnicity.
- Relations with direct neighbours can be very mixed. Here it does not seem to matter at all how people are characterised on standard variables such as ethnicity, SES or age. People like each other when they are alike and when they share similar values, norms and attitudes. Sometimes contacts are quite superficial, simply saying hello, but sometimes activities are undertaken together within the framework of locally subsidised programmes to improve the neighbourhood. When neighbours have contact, they also help each other with all kinds of things, sometimes even with finding a job.

5 ENTREPRENEURS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

High levels of economic growth and the well-being of citizens, which are the main objectives of urban policies, are closely connected to the level of entrepreneurship and the ability to create new enterprises (Fainstein, 2005; Bodaar and Rath, 2005). In the global era, cities compete for enterprises with high economic performance and talented entrepreneurs as well as creating the conditions necessary for new start-ups. The literature emphasises that cities open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of entrepreneurs than those that are relatively closed (Fainstein, 2005; Florida, 2002; Eraydin et al., 2010). Empirical research on how local economic developments are connected to urban diversity is, however, quite limited and usually provides evidence at macro-level only. In this chapter we focus on the micro-level in an attempt to answer the question: how do entrepreneurs deal with a hyper-diverse context such as Feijenoord?

This chapter explores the relationships between a diverse urban context and the settlement and economic performance of entrepreneurs in these contexts. More specifically, we want to know: to what extent does being located in a hyper-diverse neighbourhood influence the economic performance of such businesses? What other factors determine the settlement and economic performance of these businesses? To what extent can hyper-diverse neighbourhoods provide conditions or challenges for entrepreneurship and the economic performance of businesses?

This chapter is based on a qualitative case study of the economic performance of enterprises. The methodology of this study will be discussed in the next section. Section 5.3 describes the entrepreneurs and businesses investigated. This will serve as the basis from which to identify similarities and differences in the variety of experiences of the entrepreneurs we interviewed regarding demographic features (e.g. age, ethnicity and gender) and the characteristics of their businesses (e.g. size and branch). In section 5.4, we explore entrepreneurs' principal motivations to start a business and we assess to what extent neighbourhood diversity has been a pull factor to begin their business in Feijenoord. Subsequently, we examine the economic performance of entrepreneurs, including their clientele and relationship with other local entrepreneurs, and how this is influenced by neighbourhood diversity. In section 5.6, we examine to what extent entrepreneurs in Feijenoord are aware of, and profit from, existing support schemes and government policies for entrepreneurs in Rotterdam. We conclude with a summary of the key findings and policy recommendations.

5.2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter is based on interviews conducted with 42 entrepreneurs in the urban area of Feijenoord between September and December 2015. Appendix VIII provides an overview of the entrepreneurs interviewed and their key characteristics. The composition of businesses in this area is exceptionally diverse with respect to business size, sector, products and services, and clientele and the individual features of employees (age, education, ethnicity, gender, previous work experience). We interviewed entrepreneurs in the residential parts of the district of Feijenoord because we anticipated that they would provide the most insight into the impact of hyper-diverse urban areas on the economic performance of entrepreneurs in these areas. As this is a qualitative study, we aimed to include people from as many entrepreneurial groups as possible in order to capture their diverse experiences, rather than to create a sample that is representative of the entrepreneurial population. We also conducted two interviews with civil servants from the Municipality of Rotterdam who seek to promote entrepreneurship in our research area. The interviews served to collect information about entrepreneurship (policy) in Feijenoord and to discuss our outcomes with policy actors.

We approached interviewees by means of ‘purposeful sampling’ (Bryman, 2012) to ensure that we spoke with a wide variety of entrepreneurs in terms of business size, branch and products, clientele and individual features including ethnicity and gender. Within this framework, three methods were used. First, we approached the majority of entrepreneurs in their workplaces. Second, we contacted them by e-mail or telephone as sometimes speaking with a director or manager in the workplace, particularly with large-sized health care and creative industry businesses, proved impossible. Finally, we used the ‘snowballing method’ to ask some interviewees to suggest another possible interviewee, for instance, we asked whether entrepreneurs knew of any home-based entrepreneurs in Feijenoord. We also asked a few interviewees to introduce us to an entrepreneur who they mentioned in their interview, such as a neighbour or professional contact. All interviews were taped and transcribed and then analysed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

5.2.1 The entrepreneurs and their businesses

Who did we interview? In this section we define the main characteristics and develop a typology of the entrepreneurs we interviewed and their enterprises in the research area. First, we discuss the important demographic features of the entrepreneurs. Second, we discuss key characteristics and the evolutionary paths of their businesses including a description of the employees. Third, we describe the housing conditions of the entrepreneurs. We conclude with a three-fold typology based on the intersection of key features of the entrepreneurs and their businesses as set out in this section. The typology will serve as a basis to examine differences and similarities among the settlement and start-up motives, economic performance, and evaluations of policies of the entrepreneurs in the remainder of the chapter.

5.2.2 Characteristics of the entrepreneurs

We interviewed 42 entrepreneurs who between themselves have 45 businesses in nine neighbourhoods in Feijenoord. The entrepreneurs have different demographic backgrounds and work in different sectors. We have interviewed 36 directors, four managers, a senior officer, 13 females and 29 males. The entrepreneurs are aged between 26 and 68 years old, of which more than a half are between 46 and 60 years. The entrepreneurs come from ten different ethnicities (see figure 5.1). Half of them are Dutch.

Of the interviewees, a third live in Rotterdam South, and are therefore relatively close to their business and about two-fifths live elsewhere in Rotterdam. A quarter of the entrepreneurs live further away, but still in the greater Rotterdam region. Two reside near their business during the week and elsewhere in the Netherlands on weekends. One entrepreneur's office is in his home, and one has an apartment above his shop. Most entrepreneurs have completed a higher vocational educational degree. The entrepreneurs have a higher average education level than the average for residents in Feijenoord, of which only 24% has a higher vocational or academic degree (see figure 5.2; RBI, 2016). The entrepreneurs who live near their businesses mostly have a low (primary or secondary) or medium (lower vocational) educational degree and a minority ethnic background. In contrast, entrepreneurs who do not live close to their business mostly have a higher vocational or academic educational degrees and a Dutch ethnic background.

With regards to the phase of entrepreneurship, three types of entrepreneurs can be distinguished. First, for more than half of the entrepreneurs their current business is the first in their career. Most of them had salaried work before starting a business, and four were new entrants to the labour market. Second, a quarter of the entrepreneurs have been self-employed for most of their career and have started multiple businesses. Both these 'first-time' and 'experienced' entrepreneurs have started jobs in a wide variety of sectors, at different ages and at different stages in their career. They live in the research area or further away and have diverse ethnic and educational backgrounds, although importantly, none have an academic degree. Finally, the last quarter of interviewees consist of top-level managers and directors who run a business (social or commercial) but who are formally employed by contract, including managers of a law firm and a secondary vocational school, and directors of a health care and a multinational company. These interviewees are of Dutch ethnicity and have a higher vocational

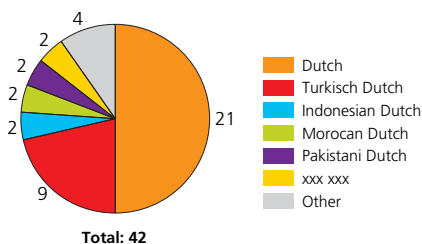


Figure 5.1 The ethnicity of the entrepreneurs

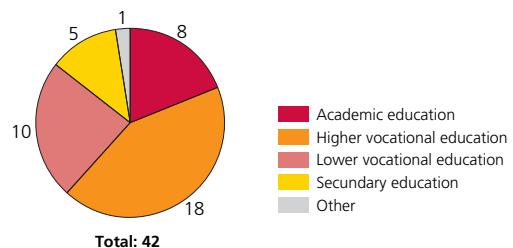


Figure 5.2 The education level of the entrepreneur

or academic degree. The directors interviewed all have an academic or post-academic degree. Most contracted entrepreneurs do not live in or near Feijenoord. No clear differences were found in the careers of female and male entrepreneurs.

5.2.3 Characteristics of the businesses, their evolutionary paths and core fields of activity

The duration of stay in their current neighbourhood of the businesses examined varies from five months to over a century. Most businesses have survived the start-up years and have been located in the area for four to eight years. This is important: in the Netherlands about half of new firms do not survive their first five years (ADE, 1994; Chamber of Commerce, 2014).

Thirty-two businesses are solely commercial in nature and nine have social purposes. Four of these 'social businesses' are associations, which are by law obliged to devote their profits to philanthropic or social purposes. The other five are commercial businesses with social purposes. They deliver social services such as health care, education, and intercultural communication programmes for public entities.

The customers of, and products and services offered by, the businesses are diverse and depend on the sector of business in which the businesses operates (see figure 5.3). Following the 2008 United Nations International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC, Rev.4), the biggest category is active in the wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (category G). For most of the businesses interviewed in this category as well as those in public administration and services, education, health and social work sectors (categories N, P, and Q respectively), the local population of Feijenoord or Rotterdam South is the most important market. To a lesser extent, this also applies to: manufacturing; and accommodation and food serving (categories C and I). In contrast, the businesses interviewed in the following sectors: information and communication; real estate; professional, scientific and technical activities; arts, entertainment and recreation (categories J, L, M and R respectively), for the most part, do not depend on the local area for their clientele. Importantly, the latter four categories mostly include businesses in the creative industries, defined as '*...those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property*' (DCMS, 2001, p. 4)²⁸. They include advertising, consultancy, architecture and design, and journalism companies.

On start-up, the business models of at least 15 businesses examined can be classified as 'innovative', defined as having developed products (product innovation), used production processes (process innovation) and/or novel organisational and marketing strategies (organisational and marketing innovation) that were hitherto uncommon to the (local) economic market (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). The remainder of the businesses created products and used production processes and organisational and market strategies that already existed in the area, such as a hairdresser, a custom tailor, a secondary school, a diner or an employment agency. All innovative entrepreneurs have small to medium-sized businesses. About

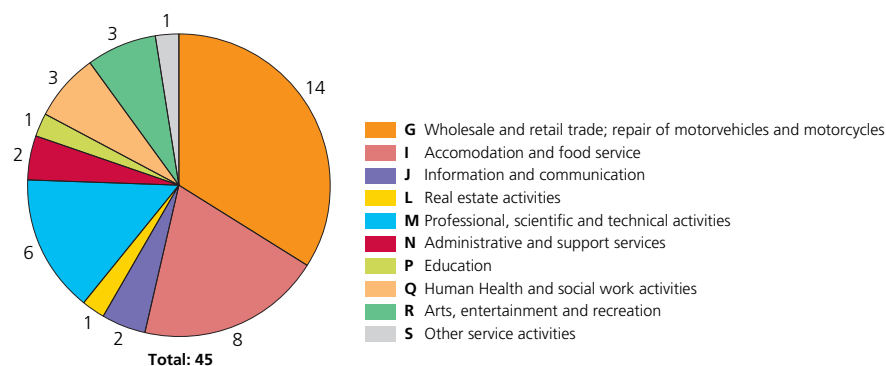


Figure 5.3 Business sectors (UN ISIC classification)

half of them are from a minority ethnic background, work in industries other than creative ones and have diverse education levels. The other half are Dutch, who work in the creative industries and have relatively high education levels. Our sample indicates that innovative entrepreneurship does not necessarily only happen in creative industries alone, but in other sectors as well, and by entrepreneurs with diverse ethnic and education backgrounds.

The number of employees in the businesses examined varies from one (we interviewed seven freelancers) to over a thousand. Yet, most businesses are small or medium-sized with less than ten (23) or between ten and 50 (12) employees respectively. Large businesses (multinational) operate in various sectors (though mostly not in the creative industries), and have a non-local clientele. The entrepreneurs interviewed from these businesses are all Dutch, have relatively high education levels, and mostly do not live near their business (see also 2.1).

We asked entrepreneurs to describe the employees in their businesses. It appears that employees from businesses in the creative industries generally have a higher educational level than employees in other industries. Employees with a low level of education (primary, secondary or lower vocational education) generally live closer to work than employees with a high education level (higher vocational and academic education).

5.2.4 The location and site/s of the enterprises

The vast majority of businesses (36 out of 45) rent their properties: small and large businesses in diverse sectors. Most small to medium-sized businesses rent from a housing corporation or a private landlord. A number of businesses rent a property from the municipality. These include a school and small to medium-sized businesses in the creative industries in factory buildings, which have been refurbished by the municipality in order to attract new entrepreneurs to the area (Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Only six out of 45 businesses own their business space. These include multinational businesses, two highly-educated freelancers (of which one is home-based) and two associations. As Sahib (46-60, male, Surinamese Dutch, owner of two businesses in party supplies) explains “*it is not smart to buy a business space because the prices of retail property are*

currently declining, so you lose.” This could explain the low number of owner-occupied business premises. Another explanation could be that Feijenoord is home to entrepreneurs with limited financial means, who cannot afford to buy a property and are attracted to the relatively low rents in the area. Groups that run the highest risk of falling into the ‘vulnerable’ entrepreneurs category are early-stage entrepreneurs, people who work in the retail and catering industry, those aged under 45 and those from a minority ethnic background (Folkeringa et al., 2010).

The business premises of the entrepreneurs examined are varied in terms of properties, layout and the physical environment. The business spaces include: restaurants and pubs; small to medium-sized retail stores and other shops; small, medium and large offices; assorted leisure spaces; industrial property (e.g. three multinationals); car garages/workshops; and medical centres. Most of the restaurants and pubs, shops and retail stores are located in, or within walking distance of, busy and densely built-up shopping areas including the Beijerlandse laan and Groenehilledijk locale, Afrikaanderplein and Laan op Zuid. The industrial properties and garages are located in the quieter residential areas of Feijenoord close to other industrial businesses. The medical centres and offices are located in both busy and quiet urban areas.

Fieldwork observations indicate that the physical condition of the business properties is generally in good order. However, a few small businesses have complained about the lack of, and communication about, maintenance by housing corporations. Nonetheless, entrepreneurs are generally satisfied with their business premises and their landlords.

5.2.5 Conclusion

We have interviewed a highly diverse set of entrepreneurs in terms of their personal attributes and business characteristics. Nonetheless, three groups can be roughly distinguished in our sample:



Small shops in Feijenoord offer a range of products catering to the diverse needs of local people.

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1. Entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses who work in other economic sectors than the creative industries (e.g. beauty, catering, car garage, education, health care). Often these entrepreneurs live in Feijenoord and (solely) rely on Feijenoord for their customer base, have a minority ethnic background and low or medium education levels.
2. Entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses who work in the creative industries. In many cases these entrepreneurs do not live in Feijenoord, nor do they (solely) rely on Feijenoord for customers, have a Dutch ethnicity or have a medium or high education level.
3. Top-level entrepreneurs who work in medium to large-sized (multinational) businesses in diverse sectors (e.g. foods, leisure, industrial production). Frequently these entrepreneurs do not live in, nor rely on, Feijenoord for their customers and have a Dutch ethnicity, a high education level and an advanced entrepreneurial career.

Within the three groups, we have interviewed entrepreneurs of different ages and gender, who run businesses with solely commercial motives or for social purposes, and some with business strategies, though often non-innovative. Within the first and second group, entrepreneurs are at different stages of their careers (first-time and experienced entrepreneurs).

It is important to note that not all the entrepreneurs interviewed fit the categories precisely. For example, we interviewed, among others, a minority ethnic entrepreneur who works in the creative industries and an entrepreneur with a small retail business who lives outside the region of Rotterdam. Yet, the majority of entrepreneurs fit most of the group features described.

Distinguishing between the three groups will help us to explore the differences and similarities with regards to settlement and start-up motives (section 5.4), economic performance (section 5.5) and evaluations of policies (section 5.6) of the entrepreneurs interviewed in the remainder of the chapter. Nevertheless, we will focus attention on the differences and similarities within the three groups of entrepreneurs interviewed, where relevant.

5.3 STARTING AN ENTERPRISE IN A DIVERSE URBAN AREA

5.3.1 Introduction

This section examines the motives of entrepreneurs in Feijenoord in relation to starting a business, selecting a line of business, and settling in their current neighbourhood. It examines the forms of support that entrepreneurs received when starting their business. We are particularly interested to understand the extent to which the diversity of the neighbourhood was important for starting, or moving the business, to the present neighbourhood.

‘Starting a business is a complex process which involves a variety of motives and stimuli’ (Birley and Westhead, 1994, p.14). According to the literature, a person’s decision to start a business is shaped by a combination of pull and push factors (Hessels et al., 2008). Pull factors provide entrepreneurs with opportunities to start a business. They allow entrepreneurs to take advantage of business opportunities, and are therefore seen as ‘positive’ start-up motives (e.g. Chan and

Quah, 2012). Receiving an inheritance can be viewed as providing an opportunity to start a business. On the other hand, push factors necessitate entrepreneurs to start a business. They give entrepreneurs little choice other than to start a business and are therefore often described as ‘negative’ motives (e.g. Chan and Quah, 2012). For example, having few or very specific educational qualifications might make it difficult to find salaried work and push people into self-employment.

Pull and push factors related to entrepreneurship can be personal or situational (e.g. Summers, 2013). In this section we define personal push and pull factors as: entrepreneurs’ demographic features (including age, cultural background, education, ethnicity, gender, household type and arrangements, income and occupation); personal aspirations, preferences and interests; occupational experiences and competencies; and social and professional networks. The literature indicates that situational push and pull factors can be loosely socio-institutional, economic and locational in nature. By socio-institutional factors, we mean the availability of formal assistance and support, and existing norms and regulations regarding entrepreneurship. We define economic factors as the availability of labour, raw materials and a market; and locational factors as the (diverse) composition of local businesses and people, and the availability, affordability, accessibility, quality and safety of business spaces. Table 5.1 provides an overview of some of the types of factors that can encourage entrepreneurship.

Table 5.1 Conceptual scheme of factors that can encourage entrepreneurship

	Push factors	Pull factors
Personal	Few educational qualifications	Family members willing to provide initial capital
Situational	Being laid off as a salaried employee	Availability of affordable office space

Scholars have pointed out that starting a business cannot be viewed as merely a rational choice because entrepreneurs can never have full knowledge of all the benefits and advantages that come with it (Risselada et al., 2006). Instead, the decision to start a business follows from the evaluation of ‘known’ push and pull factors. As Verheul et al. (2010, p.6) argue, *‘it is not the objective situation but rather the perception of an individual that makes him/her decide upon an entrepreneurial career. In reaction to a certain ‘disruptive’ event some may start a business, whereas others go in a different direction’*. An entrepreneurial start-up can be motivated by a combination of push and pull factors, which do not necessarily fit neatly into the categories in table 5.1. The conceptual scheme should be merely seen as an analytical device to structure the results and not as a rigid categorisation of factors.

Despite their subjective and multi-layered character, the literature indicates some commonalities regarding the entrepreneurial start-up motives for different groups of entrepreneurs. First, the vast literature on immigrant entrepreneurship indicates that minority ethnic groups are pushed into starting a business more often than the ethnic majority because they are frequently unemployed, have low income and education levels, are less knowledgeable about salaried

employment opportunities, and can in some instances experience language barriers (personal factors) and discrimination by employers and banks (situational factor) (Baycan-Levent et al., 2006; Kloosterman and Rath, 2010). Important pull factors for ethnic entrepreneurs include their frequently extensive social networks of family and friends that provide them with tactical knowledge, labour force and financial capital. When starting a business minority ethnic entrepreneurs are often oriented to their own ethnic community (Baycan-Levent, Masurel and Nijkamp, 2006). As a result of this and of their low socio-economic position, they are often attracted to areas with high concentrations of minority ethnic groups and low housing stock prices.

Second, entrepreneurs in creative industries start businesses in response to *opportunities* mostly. This is largely due to their middle and high socio-economic position and the vast expansion of this sector in recent decades. These entrepreneurs work ‘...in a wide variety of industries – from technology to entertainment, journalism to finance, high-end manufacturing to the arts. ... They share the common ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference, and merit’ (Florida, 2002, p. 7). Creative entrepreneurs are attracted to spatial clusters of creative and cultural businesses as these facilitate exchanges and innovative co-production (Lazzeretti et al., 2012). Nascent creative entrepreneurs often start their business in affordable and flexible office spaces, sometimes in former industrial spaces (Scott, 2008).

Third, an important push factor for female entrepreneurs appears to be the availability of flexible working hours to balance work and family, which is ‘...reflective of the family caring role that is still expected from women’ according to Orhan and Scott (2001, p. 233). Ekinsmyth (2011) underlines the need to negotiate work and family life, which leads women to start businesses in social sectors (health, care, education, nurture) more often than men. Other important entrepreneurial motives according to Orhan and Scott (2001) are: dissatisfaction with a salaried job due to a perceived glass ceiling for women; discomfort with a masculine work culture (push factors); and the will to ‘be more client-focused than men, ethical in operations and making a social contribution in addition to pursuing economic motives’ (pull factors) (Still and Timms, 2000, p. 3).

Fourth, for social and community-based entrepreneurs, pursuing social issues and making meaningful social contributions are important personal pull factors (Zahra et al., 2009). Social and community-based businesses have social objectives. That is, ‘they provide a range of services to meet social, economic and environmental needs’, (Bailey, 2012, p. 3). A community-based business is a specific form of social entrepreneurship that targets and operates in a specific geographical area (Bailey, 2012).

Lastly, for home-based entrepreneurs, small firms and new firms that do not expect to make large profits (at least initially), the availability of affordable, safe and suitable office spaces (situational pull factors) can be important requirements for starting a business. For home-based entrepreneurs the personal need and opportunity to balance work and other activities and to

have more autonomy in this respect is shown to be an important entrepreneurial motive (Vorley and Rodgers, 2014).

Much remains unclear about the extent to which urban diversity can be a motive for entrepreneurship. Hackler and Mayer (2008, p. 273) argue that ‘...*those regions that are alluring to creative talent, open to newcomers, and tolerant of those who are different, will also have more people taking the risk of founding a firm, leading to increased economic growth*’. Few studies have examined this assumption and those that have done so mostly focus on creative and female entrepreneurship (Hackler and Mayer, 2008). The studies argue that diversity acts as a personal pull factor for these entrepreneurs as they prefer a socially diverse location to a homogenous one. The causal mechanisms behind this finding, and other ways in which urban diversity can encourage business start-ups, among other types of entrepreneurs, remain unclear. We aim to provide more insight on that in the next section.

5.3.2 Motivations for establishing a business

The narratives of entrepreneurs indicate that personal or situational opportunities were very important concerning the decision to start a business. Before we discuss these pull factors in detail, we will first consider the push factors discussed by entrepreneurs. For the purpose of analysis we will discuss the motives separately, yet as the section will demonstrate, motives can be related.

Push factors

The most influential personal push factor mentioned, according to approximately a third of the entrepreneurs interviewed, is dissatisfaction with previous employment. Some entrepreneurs who work in various sectors and are from diverse backgrounds are dissatisfied by office work. Sahib (31-45, male, Surinamese Dutch) sells party articles. He explains that he once had a well-paid job as a global account manager in a multinational company:

“I have done a lot of interesting things, but in time it drove me crazy. I would have two hundred emails when I opened my inbox in the morning. I did not like it anymore. In addition, I had a fight with my boss... At a certain moment my wife and I decided to start our own shop.”

Several female entrepreneurs spoke about how office work can inhibit social contacts. Asli (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) had a successful career as a manager at a financial firm, yet she decided to start her own restaurant because, among other reasons, “*I love interacting with people. I was way too social for office work.*”

For other entrepreneurs engaged in a creative or social enterprise with a high educational level, discontent with specific work methods in their previous salaried work was a reason to start their own business. Michael (18-30, male, Dutch) owns a journalism company. He explains that working for a boss did not allow him to write about the subjects he was most interested in.

A few entrepreneurs mention situational push factors, motives that they feel extend beyond themselves, such as unemployment. After his previous shop went bankrupt, Nuwair (46-60, male, Pakistani Dutch), could not find salaried work due to his age. His brother offered him to take over one of his shops in cosmetics, an offer which he gladly accepted.

Pull factors

We identified three categories of personal pull factors, which are in line with the international literature on this topic. The first is a need for autonomy over working hours and content, which was mentioned by entrepreneurs in assorted fields of work and from various backgrounds. Azra (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) is a freelance custom tailor. She started a business near her home to be able to combine work and the care of her three young children. Michael established his own journalist company because it gives him autonomy over his work and working hours:

“As a (salaried) journalist, it is possible to have a reasonable salary, but you have to be available seven days a week and do exactly what your boss tells you to do. I’m not good at that.”

Second, having entrepreneurial family members was found to encourage entrepreneurship, particularly among people with low educational levels and/or from a minority ethnic background. Family members with businesses were found to provide knowledge and financial capital. Anass (18-30, male, Moroccan Dutch) is the owner of a fish shop. He was able to buy a business with family money:

“I come from a large family, five brothers, all with their own job, good incomes, so I was able to lend money from them.”

When asked why she started a pub, Ilse (46-60, female, Dutch) answers that it runs in the family: her parents and her grandmother were publicans too.

A final personal pull factor is the intrinsic motivation to create social value. Not surprisingly, directors of social enterprises and health care businesses mentioned this start-up motive the most. The social values mentioned relate to issues of urban diversity: entrepreneurs want to raise awareness and cater as best they can to the diverse interests and needs of minority residents, something they believe other businesses and social services often fail in doing. When he migrated to the Netherlands in the 1990s, Mustafa (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch) observed that health care services are developed according to Dutch cultural standards. He finds it important that health care caters to the needs of people of all cultures and therefore:

“Elderly people (of minority ethnic groups) often do not understand concepts such as a ‘high-dependency bed’ (a bed for the elderly in an intensive care environment). When regular social services propose this, they often just nod. Afterwards, they do not go (to a high-dependency bed). And social services do not understand... It is because they do not understand the system... We have the largest concentration of Turks here (in Rotterdam), about 40,000. 35,000 Moroccans,

many Surinamese, Hindustani Surinamese, Cape Verdeans... very distinctive groups. We have 10,000 Chinese in Rotterdam. I wanted to start catering to them."

His company specialises in intercultural home care. Likewise, Indra (46-60, female, Indonesian Dutch) started a consultancy firm in intercultural communication because she wanted to raise awareness of ethnic diversity in Rotterdam and the range of social needs that comes with it.

Two types of situational pull factors came to the fore in our interviews with entrepreneurs. First, for some entrepreneurs with different backgrounds and who are active in different sectors, a market opportunity for their service or product was an important factor when starting their business. These entrepreneurs had a well-thought-out business model before they started their business. Although they have mostly been active in the same line of business, they have also started innovative business concepts. For several male entrepreneurs, the opportunity to make extensive financial profits appeared to be an important pull factor. For other entrepreneurs, both male and female, market opportunity to carry out a specific business idea was the strongest pull factor in this respect. Ronald (18-30, male, Dutch) embarked on his work as a freelance mediator between public and social services and local communities when he noticed a lack of communication between the two groups of actors.

Not all entrepreneurs appear to have made such a calculated decision when starting their business. A number of entrepreneurs responded to an unexpected temporary business opportunity. A typical answer to the question 'why did you start a business?' is:

"It was really a coincidence... A former neighbour of mine told me that a brother of a friend wanted to sell the business. I asked her 'why?'. She said: 'He wants to stop and emigrate back to his own country'. Afterwards I talked with him (the shop owner). That is how it happened. I never intended to (have my own business)." (Azra; 31-45, female, Turkish Dutch, freelance custom tailor)

The narrative that it was never the plan to start a business, but that the opportunity presented itself unexpectedly, was only mentioned by female entrepreneurs with a range of educational levels and working in varied sectors. These interviewees could be thought of as accidental entrepreneurs (Aldrich and Kenworthy, 1999).

5.3.3 The importance of location and place on diversity

Most entrepreneurs settled in their current neighbourhood because of personal or situational opportunities rather than out of necessity. Urban diversity appears to be important as an economic situational pull factor mainly. A very small number of entrepreneurs moved to their current rented business space after they were forced to leave their previous location due to restructuring plans of the owner.

Personal pull factors

The initial motive given by entrepreneurs to begin a business in their current neighbourhood was that they lived in the area. This factor, mentioned by about a third of the respondents with diverse gender and ethnic backgrounds, applies mostly to those with relatively small businesses (1-5 employees) in sectors other than the social and creative industries. Some respondents prefer to work close to home to combine work and family care, yet most settle in the neighbourhood because they feel strongly attached to it and have an extensive local social network. When asked if she considered starting a business in another area of Rotterdam, Alise (46-60, female, Dutch) who is a publican responds: “*No, I do not think so. Different kind of people I feel less close to. Here I feel at home.*” Several entrepreneurs argue that knowing the neighbourhood and its residents helps them to recruit customers and to become accustomed with their interests.

A second motive given for settling in the area relates to having a personal preference to work in a dynamic, vibrant and socially diverse environment. In line with the literature on the settlement motives of middle class residents in diverse areas (Tersteeg et al., 2015), this factor was only mentioned by Dutch creative entrepreneurs, although none of them depend on the area for their clients. Ruben (46-60, male, Dutch) is a freelance home-based architect, located in a relatively wealthy part of Feijenoord:

“I prefer to be located in an area that is not too much an enclave. I realise that I would also not settle in a highly disadvantaged neighbourhood. But that is not the case here. It is nice when it’s mixed. I like that best.”

Interviewer: *“What is it that you like about it?”*

Ruben: *“I like it when the world around me is not uniform... A personal preference.”*

Economic pull factors

The social composition of Feijenoord appears to be an important economic pull factor for about a third of the respondents. These entrepreneurs settled in the neighbourhood because their clientele lives here. The clientele can be a specific local group or a wide range of local social groups.

Entrepreneurs from a minority ethnic background with a small or medium-sized business target specific local groups more often. One specific group is residents with a disadvantaged socio-economic position. Feijenoord is home to many disadvantaged residents, which is a target group for several of the businesses interviewed. Mustafa’s (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch) home care company mainly focuses on providing intercultural health care for disadvantaged minority ethnic groups, who live mostly in diverse and deprived areas such as Feijenoord. This is one of the reasons why he settled there. Second, some businesses focus on specific ethnic groups. Both Asli (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) and Taavi (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), café/restaurant owner and supermarket owner respectively, opened their businesses in this neighbourhood because their initial target group was Turkish Dutch and almost a third of the residents here have a Turkish Dutch ethnicity:

Asli: *“It was my aim to focus on diverse ethnic groups, on everyone, but I needed to first take some bold steps. I needed to settle in an area with a lot of Turkish residents. Later, the other (ethnic) groups would follow. So I searched for a neighbourhood with many Turks, but also other foreigners. This way I had an income source from the Turkish clients... It was safer.”*

In contrast, Hicham, (31-45, male, Moroccan Dutch), telecom store owner, and Salim (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), car garage owner, decided to settle in ethnically diverse Feijenoord because they wanted to avoid a specific ethnic group: namely, the Dutch. When asked if the diversity of the area influenced his decision to take over the store, Hicham responded:

“It is more comfortable for me to work with people with different nationalities. I used to have a shop in a neighbourhood with many ethnic Dutch, but they did not trust me much. Strange, but that is the way it is.”

Interviewer: *“How come?”*

Hicham: *“I think because of my minority ethnic background.”*

Third, some businesses focus on specific cultures. Sahib's (40-49, male, Surinamese Dutch) main target group for his party store is, mostly Surinamese, Antillean and Cape Verdean people who organise many and large parties.

Finally, Nuwair's (46-60, male, Pakistani Dutch) cosmetics shop focuses on people with a specific phenotypic feature, namely frizzy hair. He deals in beauty products aimed at this specific group. His brother began the store selling beauty products. Seven years later, Nuwair took it over citing that the relatively high percentage of people with frizzy hair was an important reason for settling in the current neighbourhood.

Creative and social enterprises settled in Feijenoord more often due to their explicit focus on diverse social groups. The social and creative enterprise of Indra (46-60, Indonesian Dutch) provides an example of such a business. It offers intercultural advice and services for public and private social service providers that are at work in culturally diverse areas including Feijenoord. Another example is Ben's (46-60, male, Dutch) social and creative enterprise that aims to share cultural stories and the experiences of diverse ethnic groups in Rotterdam by means of food and art projects. Aside from the affordability of the business premises, it is located in the current neighbourhood because *“the neighbourhood has a long history of diverse cultures living there.”*

Locational pull factors

A primary settlement motive, mainly for small to medium-sized businesses in various sectors, is the availability of affordable business space in Feijenoord. Entrepreneurs in the cultural and creative sector are often attracted to former industrial spaces in Feijenoord, such as empty factory buildings. An indoor skate park and shop directed by Victor (46-60, male, Dutch) is located in a former factory in Feijenoord. The business was able to purchase the building for very little money because the factory had been empty for some time. Entrepreneurs with retail

businesses are mostly attracted to affordable business spaces in the more residential parts of Feijenoord.

For entrepreneurs who do not depend on the neighbourhood for their customers, the availability of affordable parking space is also important. Accessible or central locations are secondary settlement motives for cultural and creative entrepreneurs who do not (solely) depend on the neighbourhood for their customers. Accessibility is important because it attracts more customers.

A third motive mentioned by entrepreneurs with diverse backgrounds and in diverse sectors concerns the adaptability of premises for business purposes. Aside from affordability, an important reason for Pepin (46-60, male, Dutch), who owns a landscape architecture firm, to settle in his current office, then an empty factory, in Feijenoord was: “...*the feeling that you have a space that you can make your own.*” A fourth settlement motive relates to the aesthetic quality of the buildings and public spaces in the neighbourhood, a trait mentioned only by creative entrepreneurs from a relatively well-off part of Feijenoord with many pre-war buildings²⁹. This is in line with Dutch literature on entrepreneurship indicating that creative entrepreneurs are mostly attracted to former industrial and pre-war buildings (Mak, 2012). Aart (38, male, Dutch) owns an advertising company. He was attracted to his current neighbourhood because:

“The buildings, particularly the ones next door, the two, they are simply very beautiful buildings. A pretty façade... It is important for my type of business because I receive clients... The appearance of the building.”

A close geographical proximity to other specific businesses is a final locational pull factor for a number of enterprises, which can also be a strategy to attract more customers. Roy (46-60, male, Norwegian Spanish Dutch) and Annette (46-60, female, Dutch) are owners of a shop that specialises in Spanish food. They explain that the close proximity of the shop to a well-attended twice-a-week market was a decisive reason for settling there, as it was expected to attract customers. Many of the creative entrepreneurs that we interviewed are located in (affordable) incubator centres in buildings with shared office spaces, which provide opportunity to collaborate with other creative businesses. Therefore, their choice of location is in response to public policy interventions, and is not related to the diversity of the area.

5.3.4 The availability of advice, start-up support and finance

When starting a business, entrepreneurs often receive support from their personal and professional social networks (pull factors). We asked respondents whether they received seed money, advice or other forms of support when they began, and if so from whom.

Seed money

Most entrepreneurs received seed money to start their business. The financial source differs between groups of entrepreneurs. More often than with other entrepreneurs, minority ethnic

entrepreneurs received seed money from family and friends with the same ethnic background. Anass (18-30, male, Moroccan Dutch) was able to buy his fish shop with family money:

“I come from a large family, five brothers, all with their own job, good incomes, so I was able to lend money from them.”

Muqet (46-60, male, Pakistani Dutch) and his family were able to start their womens' clothes store with loans from Pakistani family and friends. Minority ethnic entrepreneurs choose to lend money within personal social networks to avoid paying interest.

In the main, cultural and creative entrepreneurs, mostly Dutch, received seed money from private finance suppliers, including banks and large commercial companies. Ella (46-60, female, Dutch), who owns an employment agency, explains:

“We certainly needed support. We did not have the money ourselves. We had to, we were financially dependent. We approached a bank for it (seed money). The previous owner also partly acted as a moneylender.”

Several minority ethnic entrepreneurs have also received seed money from a bank, although most were not able to obtain seed money through formal channels. Hicham (31-45, male, Moroccan Dutch) was denied a loan from a bank when starting his telecom store, which from his perspective was due to his minority ethnic background. According to Rušinović (2006, p. 86) minority ethnic entrepreneurs in the Netherlands experience more difficulties accessing capital from formal institutions than Dutch entrepreneurs, because they often have ‘*no property that can be used as collateral*’ (Flap et al., 2000, p. 153) among other reasons. Furthermore, immigrant entrepreneurs often apply for a relatively small loan, which is less attractive to banks (SEC, 1998). In many cases, immigrant entrepreneurs want to start a business in sectors without good prospects (ibid., p. 49), such as the retail trade.

Social entrepreneurs have regularly benefitted from grants from large commercial businesses such as banks, schools and (semi-)public institutions, and from the municipality and housing corporations that sympathise with the initiative. Ben (46-60, male, Dutch) explains that his social enterprise with a focus on intercultural story sharing by means of food and art projects has received ‘grants’ from large private companies including a bank, housing corporation and the municipal to start and carry out their activities.

Other forms of support

In addition to financial support, entrepreneurs received practical and legal information and support along with emotional support when starting up a business. First, personal social networks (family and friends) provided entrepreneurs from diverse backgrounds with small to medium-sized businesses in diverse sectors with emotional and practical support and business advice. In line with the Dutch literature, personal and family networks were specifically

important for minority ethnic entrepreneurs (Kloosterman et al., 1998). Azra (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) is a freelance custom tailor. She explains that her husband has been supporting her since she began her business by taking care of financial administration and of their children at home. Both Fadime (46-60, female, Turkish Dutch), café/restaurant owner, and Esma (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch), hair shop owner, received professional and emotional support from their brothers when starting their business, particularly regarding the location of the business.

Second, several entrepreneurs from diverse backgrounds received support through professional connections. A number of entrepreneurs indicated that they sought financial advice from a financial professional (within and outside of the neighbourhood) when starting a business. Fadime's experience is different to other entrepreneurs in that she received significant support from local customers when her landlord, a housing company, forced her to leave her business premises due to restructuring plans several years ago. Almost 200 local lunchtime customers, mostly Dutch from nearby offices, gathered signatures to express their discontent. In response, the housing corporation offered her a new business space right across the road from her previous restaurant.

Third, several minority ethnic and/or female entrepreneurs who took over businesses indicate having received non-material and material support from the previous owner. Several entrepreneurs took over business inventory and customers of the previous owner free of charge. Alise (46-60, female, Dutch) took over the entire inventory of a pub free of charge as well as many regular customers.

Finally, creative and cultural entrepreneurs and social enterprises clearly have closer connections with local public institutions and large commercial businesses than other groups of entrepreneurs during their start-up period and later on. These entrepreneurs benefit greatly from these connections as they offer subsidies, knowledge, advice and training. For example, several creative entrepreneurs we interviewed are located in creative clusters that were initiated and supported by the Municipality of Rotterdam, a university of applied sciences, and several large commercial businesses such as a bank, both financially and with business training and advice.

5.3.5 Conclusion

Most of our findings echo the international literature concerning the different settlement motives of, and different types of support for, entrepreneurs as highlighted in section 5.4.1. Most entrepreneurs indicate that they started a business due to 'opportunity' rather than 'necessity', which is in line with the literature. This includes entrepreneurs from a minority ethnic background, which is not in line with the international literature as these entrepreneurs are thought to have less access to contracted employment due to discrimination and being in relatively lower socio-economic positions. Only a few entrepreneurs mentioned a situational push factor, such as unemployment, as a motive to start a business. Personal push factors such

as dissatisfaction with previous employment were more prevalent. Obviously, motivation to start a new business can derive from a combination of factors, autonomy over working hours for instance, can be seen as both a pull factor (entrepreneurship) and a push factor (employment, as in a lack of flexibility) at the same time.

An important reason why many small to medium-sized businesses settle in Feijenoord is the availability of affordable office space. This differs from the literature and was not only important for businesses starting out, but also for existing businesses. This can be explained by the relatively poor socio-economic position of many of the older small to medium-sized businesses in Feijenoord, which will be examined in more detail in the next section. Nevertheless, and in line with the literature, we did find that many young businesses in the creative industries are attracted to low-rent 'creative hubs'. Older creative businesses were generally located in other types of properties. As mentioned in the international literature, for home-based entrepreneurs and a few female entrepreneurs in our study, access to flexible office hours in order to balance work and family life was important. Another similarity in this respect was our finding that minority ethnic entrepreneurs received financial or other support from family members more often than Dutch entrepreneurs when starting out.

This section's main theoretical contribution is that diversity does play a substantial role for a significant number of entrepreneurs on their decision to settle in diverse, dynamic and deprived Feijenoord. For some entrepreneurs, mostly in the creative industries, doing business in a diverse neighbourhood simply appears to be a personal preference. These entrepreneurs enjoy working in a diverse urban neighbourhood. For other entrepreneurs however, settling in a diverse neighbourhood was seen as an economic strategy. Feijenoord is home to a wide range of, and sometimes very specific, social groups (in terms of lifestyle, race, ethnicity, cultural background or income), which do not exist in similar concentrations in other neighbourhoods. Several entrepreneurs settled in Feijenoord because they target these groups. Minority ethnic entrepreneurs settle in Feijenoord more often because they focus on specific social groups, while creative entrepreneurs and social enterprises do so because they focus explicitly on a wide range of social groups.

5.4 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

5.4.1 Introduction

The increasingly complex social composition of cities is changing their economies. The studies that have examined the impact of 'diversification of urban diversity' or 'hyper-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013) on the economic performance of cities have mostly focussed on quantitative, macro-level outcomes, such as diversity effects on regional job opportunities, business profits, and number of start-ups (Nathan, 2007; 2015). These studies generally use objective, financial indicators for economic performance and do not provide insight on the business goals and strategies and perceptions of economic performance of

entrepreneurs in hyper-diverse contexts. Moreover, many of these studies focus on the whole city or even the whole urban region.

This section complements existing studies on the economic performance of entrepreneurs in hyper-diverse areas with qualitative data and aims to find out how entrepreneurs evaluate the economic performance of their enterprises.

Quantitative studies have mainly found positive effects of urban diversity on the economic performance of cities and regions. Diverse cities and neighbourhoods are said to favour the economic competitiveness of cities (Fainstein, 2005) and attract entrepreneurs to the creative industries (Florida, 2004). They are further found to increase productivity, networking opportunities, and the socio-economic well-being of neighbourhoods (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). This section further examines to what extent entrepreneurs in the hyper-diverse area of Feijenoord experience urban diversity positively in relation to the economic performance of their businesses. Do entrepreneurs benefit from a diverse local market or do they focus on specific groups? How do entrepreneurs in Feijenoord deal with the diverse interests and requests of customers in terms of communication, products and services? To what extent is the local diversity reflected in the composition of employees at these firms?

Recent studies on entrepreneurship have underlined the importance of the aspirations and social embeddedness of entrepreneurs for understanding the objective and subjective economic performance of their businesses, defined as business profits and turnovers as well as the entrepreneurs' experience of these (Hessels et al., 2008; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Schutjens and Volker, 2010). First, not all entrepreneurs aspire to large profits and turnover rates. The literature indicates that social enterprises, female entrepreneurs and home-based businesses often have non-financial aspirations for their business, such as creating social value, having social interaction with clients, balancing work and homecare, and flexible working hours (Stephan et al., 2015). For minority ethnic entrepreneurs, working autonomously has shown to be an important business value, even when profit and turnover remain low (Baycan-Levent et al., 2006; Edelman et al., 2010). Therefore, this section will consider the business aspirations of the interviewed entrepreneurs when assessing the perceived economic performance of their businesses.

Second, the resources embedded in the social networks of entrepreneurs can benefit the objective and subjective economic performance of businesses. Regarding objective economic performance, the literature indicates that social networks enable entrepreneurs to market their products and services, improve their reputation, develop specific knowledge and identify new business opportunities, obtain resources at a good price, attract talented workers, and secure legitimacy from eminent external stakeholders (Bosma et al., 2004; Schutjens and Völker, 2010; Stam et al., 2014; Tung, 2012). Stam et al. (2014) have found that the size and composition of social networks that benefit entrepreneurs most differs according to the size and period of existence of entrepreneurs. For instance, they found that having a diverse professional network and weak ties

is more important for new firms and high technology sectors, while having a large network and strong ties is more important for the economic performance of older firms and low technology sectors. The social networks of entrepreneurs can enhance subjective economic performance by providing emotional support. In addition, Schutjens and Völker (2010) highlight that having higher profits and turnovers than other businesses in the network of an entrepreneur can generate a positive experience of businesses' economic performances as well. In order to examine the economic performance of businesses it is important to focus attention on the social networks of the entrepreneurs. How do the social networks of entrepreneurs in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods influence their economic performance?

5.4.2 Economic performance

We asked the entrepreneurs how much profit their business is making, or what losses are they incurring. Additionally, we asked them about their profits or losses over the previous five years. None of the interviewed entrepreneurs was able, or willing, to provide solid figures. However, we were given insight into whether the businesses were profitable, making losses or breaking even, and how this has developed over the past five years. We asked the entrepreneurs how they experience economic performance in their businesses: are they satisfied with the economic performance of their business? Why, or why not?

Current economic performance

The objective economic performance of the businesses examined varies greatly. We interviewed social enterprises working in the creative industries, education and health care sectors, which are generally performing well in terms of profit or turnover. Although not enormous, most are presently making profits. This is not surprising as many depend on public or semi-public institutions for their income and devote their profits to philanthropic or social purposes (associations are obliged to do so by law). When the director of a multifunctional health care centre (including general practitioners and a pharmacy) was asked how the centre is doing financially, she explained:

“As an association we are a non-profit organisation... With strict bookkeeping we make sure that we make no losses. Simply put, do not spend more than you earn. We receive a fixed amount per patient so we know exactly how much we can spend.” (Monique, 46-60, female, Dutch)

The large commercial businesses that we interviewed, among which three are multinationals, appear to be making large profits, particularly in comparison with small firms. Most entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses in the creative industries are doing well in terms of profits too. Wibaut (18-30, Dutch) explains that his business supplying office space for freelancers in Feijenoord and throughout Rotterdam:

“...is currently growing extremely fast. Normally, financial planning and the planning of employees (is easier to do), but we are taking such big steps, sometimes one step back and two forward. It has become very difficult to plan ahead. That is of course a very positive 'problem'.”

However, we also interviewed a few creative entrepreneurs who are experiencing major difficulties with profit-making and have businesses that are barely breaking even.

The economic performance of the small to medium-sized businesses we interviewed in the retail, catering, beauty, and car garage industries, often run by minority ethnic entrepreneurs and with a local clientele, varies largely. A few are currently doing very well, for example, Sahib (46-60, Surinamese Dutch) who owns two businesses in party supplies, and will soon open a third store. He says: *“it (the business) is bursting at the seams... I am making quite some profit.”* However, the majority of these entrepreneurs indicate that they are making little profit. No differences were found regarding the objective economic performance of male and female entrepreneurs in this respect.

Economic performance over the last five years

The recent economic crisis has had the strongest effect on the poorest households, with the consequences mostly felt in deprived neighbourhoods (Zwiers et al., 2016). Poor areas that are located in a region with a weak economic structure are hit hardest (Van Kempen et al., 2016). Therefore, it is no surprise that many entrepreneurs in Feijenoord have experienced economic setbacks in the previous five years related to the financial crisis. Entrepreneurs of small to medium-sized commercial businesses – operating in different sectors – were affected more by the economic crisis than the large ones that we interviewed. Many of these entrepreneurs argue that they have been hit particularly hard by the financial crisis because many of their clients have relatively low household incomes, and were struggling to make ends meet during the crisis. Entrepreneurs observed this through the uneven spending patterns of customers each month. Alise (publican, 46-60, Dutch) argues:

“People have less to spend. Most customers buy in the period when they receive their salary or benefits, and after this it decreases sharply. At the end of the month, it is much quieter.”

Most social businesses – those in the cultural, education and health care sectors – have not experienced considerable setbacks over the past five years. Yet, they do mention having been



Feijenoord, Rotterdam. © Zoë D. Cochia

affected by austerity measures and the financial crisis as their clients – municipalities and social services – underwent budget cuts. Matthijs is a general practitioner and owner of a general practitioner clinic (61-75, Dutch):

“My services have become more customer-oriented because the branch I work in has become more competitive. It is important to stand out... It has become a game of demand and supply... (Furthermore) since we have the new health care system, it has become more important to pay attention to the contracts that I sign with insurance companies, to make sure that I can offer the services that I want to offer.”

Strategies to deal with economic setbacks

The small to medium-sized social and commercial businesses that we interviewed have deployed innovative strategies to secure or increase their revenue. Overall, three strategies can be distinguished that are deployed by companies with a local and non-local clientele, of which the first relates to diversity. It entails the broadening of products and services in order to acquire a more diverse group of customers. Janou (18-30, male, Cape Verdean Dutch) owns a small designer clothes shop in Feijenoord and decided to host art exhibitions in his store to generate extra income. When Ella's (46-60, female, Dutch) employment agency experienced fewer vacancies to fill in their branch, they responded as follows:

“We were trying to survive. When there were no vacancies, we tried to broaden our view, take anything we could get. We started to look at vacancies in the technological sector, change our strategies, and started offering businesses advice. We needed to broaden our view, because when there are no vacancies, you still need turnover to fulfil your obligations. We needed to pay our staff, pay rent, those things.”

Entrepreneurs argue that businesses with a diverse set of customers (cultural, ethnicity or income) are more resistant to economic fluctuations as they do not depend on one single group. Hence, customer diversity is thought to reduce financial risks.

Some businesses responded to financial setbacks in other ways, e.g. to close stores and/or dismiss staff. Mustafa (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch) explains that in response to financial setbacks, his home care company was forced to dismiss about 70 employees out of 250 in 2013.

Third, a number of businesses whose clientele is mostly local and socio-economically disadvantaged have sought to attract customers by lowering their prices and offering special discounts. Ilse (46-60, female, Spanish Dutch) is a publican and mentions:

“People have less money and therefore less to spend. They will cut down on things. It is perfectly logical. But one has to keep your wits, think about solutions. Lower the prices, happy hour, in order to continue to attract customers... Lower prices mean less profit, but if you do nothing, you will have no customers. So it is better to have less profit and many customers.”

5.4.3 Markets, customers and suppliers

This section will provide insight into the types of supplier and customer locations, clientele and the strategies that businesses have deployed to deal with a diversity of customers.

The type and location of suppliers

Some businesses work with suppliers, for example, businesses in the retail, catering, beauty and car industries that are supplied by wholesalers, employment agencies who fill vacancies for other businesses, social sector businesses with budgets granted by public and semi-public institutions to carry out social projects, and offices that buy their food and supplies in local stores. The type and location of suppliers and clients differs considerably. Overall, it does not appear to relate to the urban diversity of Feijenoord.

Businesses with local suppliers or clients are often active in the creative industries, such as, events agencies, advertisement companies, and employment agencies. Businesses with suppliers located in the greater urban region of Rotterdam are mostly small to medium-sized businesses operating in diverse industries with entrepreneurs from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The largest businesses include multinationals who have nationwide or international suppliers mostly. However, we have also found a number of small to medium-sized businesses in the catering and retail industries (a restaurant, supermarket and food shop) that purchase their materials from suppliers in other countries, Turkey and Spain being two examples.

The type and location of customers

The entrepreneurs interviewed serve different types of customers. About half of the businesses serve multiple types of actors. With the exception of one business, all businesses examined serve individual customers or clients. About a quarter of them work for municipalities and institutions providing social services and another quarter have commercial businesses as a market. The businesses that serve (semi-)public actors are mostly social enterprises and businesses that aim to create social value. The businesses that serve other commercial businesses are mostly businesses in the creative industries or very large businesses including multinationals.

About a third of the businesses interviewed solely target residents in Feijenoord. Two thirds of these businesses are small to medium-sized and operate in the retail, catering, beauty, and car garage industries. They also include a secondary school and two health care businesses. Very few social enterprises and creative businesses have a local focus only. Two thirds of the entrepreneurs with a business with a solely local market have a minority ethnic background.

Another third of the businesses target the wider urban region of Rotterdam. More than half of them operate in the creative industries and half of the businesses are social enterprises. Half of the entrepreneurs interviewed from these businesses (in different sectors) have a minority ethnic background.

The remainder of businesses target a nationwide or international market. These mostly include small to medium-sized firms in the creative industries and multinational businesses, including an interior designer, a multinational food producer and a large multifunctional event location. Notably, none of the interviewed entrepreneurs of businesses with a national or international audience have a minority ethnic background.

Customers: specific or diverse?

Does the diversity of Feijenoord translate into a diversity of customers? This appears to be the case for about one half of the businesses examined. These businesses target a wide range of (mostly) local social groups in terms of ethnicity, lifestyle, income, age and/or gender. Yet, it is important to note that for most of them it is not an explicit strategy to target diverse groups. These businesses work mostly in the retail, catering, beauty or car industries, but we have also interviewed a few who operate in the creative industries. A majority of the entrepreneurs interviewed with a diversity of local customers have a minority ethnic background. Furthermore, about half of them live in or near Feijenoord. Since Feijenoord is home to relatively high rates of disadvantaged people, about a third of these businesses focus on low-income residents, although most entrepreneurs have not made a deliberate choice to focus on low-income groups. In fact, several entrepreneurs have indicated a wish to attract customers with more purchasing power as well.

The businesses that purposely focus on a diversity of people, e.g. regarding ethnicity, culture, and/or income, include social enterprises such as the intercultural communication consultancy firm of Indra (46-60, female, Indonesian Dutch), the intercultural home care company of Mustafa (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), and the cultural association of Ben (46-60, male, Dutch) aimed at intercultural story sharing by means of food and art projects. They also include a few small commercial businesses in the catering industry. Roy (46-60, male, Norwegian Spanish Dutch) and Annette (46-60, female, Dutch) have a shop that specialises in Spanish foods. They deliberately focus their products both on local (often low-income residents) and regional (often with higher incomes) customers as a means to reduce financial risks:

“If we would move to another neighbourhood, we would lose one of our current customer groups, namely local people with modest means. That would be a shame. We have customers who buy a bit of meat for a stew, or a small bottle of wine, which we offer for a friendly price. If we lose these customers, and only serve a higher segment, you run the risk that people turn their back on us and we lose sales.”

It is also the business strategy of Asli (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) to intentionally attract a diversity of customers to secure revenue, which is why she settled in Feijenoord. She owns a café-restaurant and explains that she seeks to attract youth, families with children and elderly people of Turkish, as well as other ethnic backgrounds, by adjusting her products and services to diverse ages, household types and cultures. She does this because:

“As an entrepreneur it is important to have a Plan B, or even a Plan C. If I only focus on the Turkish community here, you run the risk that they lose interest and turn their backs on you... In the summer time, or with Ramadan my Turkish clients go on holidays. Do you see? You need to pay attention; otherwise my business will be empty. That is why I want to attract diverse people and groups, to prevent ups and downs.”

Most, but certainly not all, entrepreneurs that purposefully focus on diverse customer groups have relatively high education levels.

For the second half of the businesses examined local diversity does not translate into a diversity of customers. These businesses generally target non-local residents or businesses in the greater Rotterdam region or beyond, are often small to medium-sized and operate in the cultural, leisure and creative industries. Furthermore, they mostly target specific rather than diverse social groups in terms of ethnicity, lifestyle, income, age and/or gender, for example: young, middle class ‘roller bladers’; freelancers in the creative industries; or people with extensive party cultures or frizzy hair. Most entrepreneurs interviewed from these businesses have a Dutch ethnicity and a high education level and do not live in Feijenoord or the wider district of Rotterdam South. What’s more, most indicate to have made a deliberate choice to focus on a specific group of customers.

An important finding is that the businesses with a clear picture of their customers – whether diverse or specific – seem to have more objective economic performance and higher profits and/or turnovers than businesses that do not have a clear customer strategy. In our sample, the latter are often small businesses operating in the retail, catering, beauty or car industries, that are run by an entrepreneur with a minority ethnic background and a low education level, although a few are also run by Dutch entrepreneurs.

Dealing with customer diversity

For entrepreneurs with a local customer base, the hyper-diversity of Feijenoord appears to be an everyday reality (Wessendorf, 2014b; Wise and Velayutham, 2009). When asked about the impact of local diversity on their businesses, many responded that they find this normal. Katy (manager of multinational store trading in electronic devices, 31-45, Dutch) argues:

“To me it is normal, I have always worked in (Rotterdam) South, it is a very passionate area with so much diversity, so many different characters, so many different backgrounds. It is just something you deal with.”

We will now discuss four ways in which these businesses deal with diversity in order to explore the impact of diversity on their economic performance. First, entrepreneurs highlight the importance of catering products and services to the diverse interests of customers to attract and retain customers. Businesses with diverse customers are thought to be more resistant to economic fluctuations as they do not depend on one group alone (see 4.2). However, Taavi

(31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), who owns a supermarket, explains that the high pace of change among the population of Feijenoord presents a major challenge to keep up:

“Satisfying customers remains a major challenge. We continuously have new customers, whom you need to cater to. For example, we presently have a lot of Italian customers for whom I look for products.”

Second, the narratives of entrepreneurs reveal the importance of diversity-sensitive communication skills for attracting and retaining a diverse group of customers. A number of entrepreneurs explain that they communicate differently with different age, cultural and ethnic groups:

“With customers who have a foreign background I inform them about the price, ‘ok, how much does it cost to insert a zipper?’. I say: ‘ten euros’. ‘No, no, let’s say three euros’. We start to negotiate. But if a Dutch person comes in, ten euros. They pay immediately, because for them a deal is a deal. So with foreign people I start with 12 euro, and we agree at ten. Because if I start with 10 we end up at eight. Also Antillean people are like Dutch people, no bargaining about the price. But with Turkish, Moroccan or African people, it is more difficult. I really need to negotiate.” (Joseph; 46-60, male, Burundi Dutch, freelance custom tailor)

Third, and relating to the previous point, entrepreneurs understand that attracting and retaining a diversity of customers requires in-depth knowledge of socio-cultural differences. Esma (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch) owns a hair shop and knows what it takes to succeed to attract an ethnically and culturally diverse group of customers:

“I listen to them, know their culture. I am very interested in cultures, how Indian people are, Pakistani people, what Diwali is (Hindu festival of light), the Festival of Sacrifice (Islamic festival), what Easter (Christian festival) means. I know about all of it. I know when it is Christmas, when it is Easter... I am a Muslim myself but I send people cards and texts: ‘happy festive event’.”

Finally, entrepreneurs highlight the importance of a diverse workforce regarding age, culture, ethnicity and language to communicate with and provide for the interests and needs of their diverse customers. Monique, a director of a health care centre (46-60, female, Dutch) argues:

“We always strive for a certain degree of diversity within our organisation. With the general practitioners that can be difficult though. We have had Turkish and Polish general practitioners. Particularly amongst our assistants we succeed to generate that diversity.”

However, we have also interviewed a few entrepreneurs who argue the opposite, namely that an ethnically homogenous workforce increases the economic performance of their business,

even when their customers are diverse. These interviewees are all Dutch, highly educated males, including a general practitioner and two creative entrepreneurs with small businesses.

“I have always chosen to have white, Dutch people on my team, although 80% of our clients are of foreign descent. This is because... it is easy to communicate (amongst employees), you share the same norms and values. It saves effort... It has been a deliberate choice. I find it important that the work language is Dutch.” (Matthijs; 61-75, male, Dutch, general practitioner)

5.4.4 Relations amongst entrepreneurs: Evidence of competition or co-operation?

Regardless of their branches or size, businesses are generally in contact with one or more local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, about half of the entrepreneurs interviewed indicate that they have a close relationship with one or more local entrepreneurs. Most local contacts are between entrepreneurs with different education and ethnic backgrounds and businesses in different sectors. We have also interviewed several entrepreneurs who have a close relationship with competing firms.

Three types of contact can be distinguished in this respect: informal relationships between entrepreneurial neighbours; formal relationships through entrepreneurial associations, networks or cooperations; and non-existent, or very superficial, relationships with local entrepreneurs. First, particularly entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses often have informal relationships with entrepreneurial neighbours. These contacts serve multiple purposes, such as knowledge exchange, social, material and emotional support, collaboration to improve the image and safety of the area, and purchasing services and goods. Fadit (46-60, female, Turkish Dutch), a café/restaurant owner, describes how she and the owner of the tobacco store across the road keep an eye out when one of them is away. She takes care of their plants, brings their newspaper inside in case of rain, uses his counterfeit detector, and sends her customers to him to withdraw money for a fee.

Most neighbourly contact takes place between businesses in different sectors. However, a few entrepreneurs also appear to maintain contact with, or even support, their competitors. Notably, a majority of the entrepreneurs interviewed who work in the creative industries maintain contact with other local creative businesses only. Michael (18-30, male, Dutch), journalism company owner, and Dylan (31-45, male, Surinamese Dutch), owner of a youth empowerment association, work in a creative hub within which most of their contact with other local entrepreneurs takes place. Ronald (18-30, male, Dutch) works as a freelance mediator and artist in a different creative hub and maintains non-regulated professional relationships with businesses outside of the hub, but they do all work in the creative industries as well.

Second, a third of the businesses interviewed in diverse sectors and of diverse sizes maintains relationships with local entrepreneurs through formal entrepreneurial associations, networks or cooperatives as well. These can be solely local in nature, for instance an association for merchants in a certain shopping area, sector specific, such as a network of health care businesses

in Feijenoord, or thematic, a network of businesses that aim to prevent poverty, for instance. Most of these formal business platforms include different types of entrepreneurs in terms of sectors, products and services. Notably, two thirds are Dutch compared to less than half of the total sample of entrepreneurs. Furthermore, except for two entrepreneurs, all have a higher vocational or academic degree.

Lastly, about a third of the interviewed entrepreneurs have no, or a very superficial, relationship with local entrepreneurs. This group includes small to medium-sized businesses, and is over-represented by entrepreneurs in the creative industries and social enterprises. The reasons entrepreneurs mention the absence of local ties include: a shortage of time and resources; it does not yield enough; and a short duration of stay.

5.4.5 Conclusion

This section sought to examine the economic performance of entrepreneurs in the hyper-diverse context of Feijenoord. To what extent are the businesses economically affected by diversity and how? Many of the interviewed entrepreneurs do not appear to have a high profit or turnover and have experienced economic setbacks in recent years related to the financial crisis and austerity measures. Businesses that largely rely on the neighbourhood for customers, about a third of our respondents, have experienced, and are still experiencing, financial difficulties in particular. These businesses are typically small to medium-sized, commercial in nature and operate in the retail, catering, beauty, and car garage industries. Entrepreneurs with a minority ethnic background are over-represented in this group in comparison with businesses that have a regional, national or international customer scope. A major obstacle for these entrepreneurs is the relatively low income, and hence purchasing power, of many of their customers.

The businesses that focus on a diverse rather than a specific clientele mostly rely on the neighbourhood for their clientele: these entrepreneurs capitalise and specialise in local diversity. Businesses with a clearly defined clientele seem to have a higher objective economic performance than those businesses without. Many businesses with a substantial local clientele lack a clear definition of customers, which might explain their relatively poor economic performance. When defined clearly, doing business for a diverse set of customers has an important economic advantage: it makes businesses more resilient to economic fluctuations. When relying on multiple customer groups, changes in the purchasing behaviour of one customer group forms less of an economic risk. This might be particularly important for doing business in an area like Feijenoord, where the population is not only diverse, but relatively dynamic as well.

Doing business for a dynamic and diverse group of customers requires extensive knowledge of their backgrounds, interests and needs, customised communication strategies and often a highly diverse and dynamic collection of products and services. Although more entrepreneurs are in favour of a diverse rather than homogenous workforce to cater to a diversity of customers, some deliberately choose to exclude ethnic others.

Local entrepreneurial networks appear generally diverse in terms of business sector, and the educational and ethnic background of entrepreneurs. Yet, the local entrepreneurial networks of most interviewed entrepreneurs in the creative industries appear remarkably homogenous in terms of the sector: creative entrepreneurs mostly have contact with other creative entrepreneurs. Along with the absence of a substantial local clientele, this raises questions about the effectiveness of recent municipal policies seeking to attract creative entrepreneurs to disadvantaged areas such as Feijenoord: what exactly is the added value of creative entrepreneurs for Feijenoord?

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

5.5.1 Policies to support entrepreneurs

Encouraging entrepreneurship is a key priority for the Municipality of Rotterdam (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014). By doing so, the municipal government hopes to diversify its economy, advance its transition towards a service-based economy and attract more higher-income groups to the city (EDBR, 2008).

In collaboration with social partners, including housing corporations, banks, knowledge institutions, the local chamber of commerce, and other influential private companies in Rotterdam, the municipality has initiated various measures to achieve this ambition. First, they have co-provided and attracted subsidies and funds for entrepreneurs in three sectors that have had priority since 2005: the creative, harbour and medical and health care industries. In addition, under the National Law on Special Assistance for Freelancers, which is carried out by Dutch municipalities, entrepreneurs experiencing financial difficulties can apply for conditional support including business coaching and financial support.

Second, the municipality has co-implemented area-specific revitalisation projects and programmes aimed at encouraging entrepreneurship. Several areas in Feijenoord have been targeted by such programmes. One is the Rotterdam Shopping Street Policy, which is carried out by civil servants referred to as ‘business brokers’ and aims to generate diversity in the composition of shops in shopping streets. A second one is the ‘Entrepreneurs Scheme for Opportunity Areas’ (Ondernemerregeling Kansenzones), which ran from 2005 to 2012 and aimed to improve the investment climate by providing incentives for investment in real estate. Both programmes have been criticised for favouring businesses targeting middle and upper classes above businesses targeting lower classes, and for driving up property prices (Vervloesem, 2016). The National Programme Rotterdam South, among others, seeks to attract entrepreneurs who create employment for the relatively young and low-educated population of Rotterdam South. Other important area-based interventions to enhance entrepreneurship in Feijenoord include: the transformation of empty industrial buildings into ‘creative hubs’, low-cost working spaces for (starting) businesses in the creative industries; redevelopment of specific shopping areas (with EU funds); and accessibility improvements to the area in terms of transport.

Finally, the municipality has co-initiated, supported and participated in entrepreneurial citywide and online entrepreneurial networks and knowledge platforms. A monthly ‘Entrepreneurial Breakfast’ headed by the mayor of Rotterdam and targeted to all entrepreneurs in the city to meet and exchange ideas is an example of this. Another municipal example was the ‘Entrepreneurial Counter’ (Ondernemersbalie) where starting-out and established entrepreneurs could receive information and advice regarding their business, though it has recently ceased operation. In Rotterdam South, an influential network called ‘I am Located in South’ (Ik Zit op Zuid) involves 41 local companies including a bank, various schools, and an international insurance company that sponsor and initiate socio-economic programmes in the area to increase its economic performance.

In the remainder of this section we will focus on to what extent the current policy schemes mean for different entrepreneurs in Feijenoord, and draw lessons for the governance of entrepreneurship in hyper-diverse areas such as Feijenoord.

5.5.2 Wider awareness of organisations, programmes, and initiatives to support entrepreneurs

Support from entrepreneurial unions, associations and networks

Two thirds of the entrepreneurs interviewed participate in one or more entrepreneurial programmes or initiatives including a union, business club, special interest group, or other network. Half of them are members of entrepreneurial networks that are not based in Feijenoord. These include profession-specific or sector-specific national and international unions such as the Dutch Catering Industry Union and the National General Practitioners Association. They also include a number of citywide entrepreneurial business clubs or networks, such as the ‘Entrepreneurial Breakfast’, a number of private business clubs, and specific Rotterdam platforms for young entrepreneurs, sports entrepreneurs, and an entrepreneurial coalition that aims to counteract poverty. A number of these citywide networks are co-organised by the Municipality of Rotterdam.

The Feijenoord-based initiatives that entrepreneurs participate in include entrepreneurial associations and cooperations, special interest working groups (e.g. on safety, health care or food), and short-term events such as the organisation of a local festival. The municipality has been involved in the initiation or organisation of several of these networks. A few entrepreneurs that we interviewed were initiators of such initiatives. In collaboration with a local entrepreneurs association and cultural foundation, Wibaut (18-30, male, Dutch) is a director of an event agency. He has initiated various events in his neighbourhood including a cultural expedition and several food events. Notably, entrepreneurs from small to large enterprises that we interviewed appear to operate in separate local networks. Most of the large businesses interviewed appear to be members of ‘I am Based in South’, but do not participate in entrepreneurial networks with entrepreneurs from small to medium-sized businesses.

In line with Netherlands-based studies including Kloosterman et al. (1998) and Rath and Roosblad (2004), interviewees with a Dutch ethnicity are significantly more likely to be members of citywide or (inter)national professional networks than entrepreneurs with other ethnicities, of whom half participate in Feijenoord-based initiatives. Mustafa (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), owner of a home care company, explains that he prefers to build his professional network through local and non-conventional networks rather than “boring” labour and sector-specific unions, because:

“Sorry to say, but it is just all ‘white, old and grey’ (an old boys network) you know... We are dynamic. I wear a jeans and no tie. I cycle (to work). I mean, our staff, our concern is their ambitions, and how these fit our clients’ demands. The sector-specific unions are alright, but cumbersome. It is difficult to get in contact with enthusiastic people. We also collaborate with a university of applied sciences because they also have an innovative mind set.”

Why do the entrepreneurs interviewed choose to join or initiate formal entrepreneurial networks? The most common reasons mentioned among the interviewed entrepreneurs are that it enables them to exchange knowledge, extend and diversify their professional network, and join forces regarding shared interests such as safety and accessibility. For Ruben (46-60, male, Dutch), a freelance home-based architect, participating in a local entrepreneurs network for his neighbourhood:

“...yields knowledge as we share, for instance, how to deal with specific regulations. Or, if someone has particular knowledge of taxes, he will inform us in case of new regulations.”

A third of the interviewees, mostly with small businesses, do not participate in entrepreneurial networks or initiatives. Most of these entrepreneurs choose not to because they lack time or do not expect to benefit from them. In our sample, entrepreneurs from a minority ethnic background are over-represented in this group of non-participants, although we did not find signs of ethnic discrimination or feelings of exclusion among these entrepreneurs.

Other government-based support

Few entrepreneurs are aware of, let alone have profited from, subsidies and other support measures from the government. A number of entrepreneurs have expressed their discontent with the provision of information about existing support measures by the government. According to Victor (46-60, male Dutch), an indoor skate park and shop director:

“It would be very helpful if it (subsidy schemes) would become more accessible, that we could see what they could mean for us. I know that some other (skate) parks have received EU subsidies to refurbish and redevelop. It would be great if we could get that as well... I don’t have knowledge on this. I must say that I haven’t put too much effort in it. But it is not very easy to understand.”

The few entrepreneurs we interviewed who have benefited from specific legal and financial support from the municipality or housing corporations generally have good connections with relevant persons within the municipality or housing corporations, which the entrepreneurship literature refers to as ‘linking capital’ (Eraydin, Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2010). They are mostly Dutch, highly educated and male, have small to medium-sized businesses and work in the creative industries.

5.5.3 Policy priorities for entrepreneurship

We asked entrepreneurs about their negative and positive experiences with the governance of entrepreneurship in Rotterdam and what they think should be the priority in entrepreneurship policy in Rotterdam. We will highlight what entrepreneurs think is going well in this respect first and continue with suggestions for improvement. Most entrepreneurs have mentioned both positive and negative experiences with the governance of entrepreneurship in Rotterdam. Yet, the entrepreneurs interviewed with large businesses were clearly more satisfied than those with small to medium-sized ones.

Positive experiences with the governance of entrepreneurship

First, interviewees generally appreciate how the municipality seeks to bring entrepreneurs into contact with one another by organising networking meetings and encouraging entrepreneurial associations and initiatives. Ella (46-60, female, Dutch) owns an employment agency and says:

“I think the Entrepreneurial Breakfast is a very good thing... Because we get together with all sorts of entrepreneurs, there are always interesting themes.”

Second, interviewees with different backgrounds and businesses appreciate how the municipality has improved the accessibility of the area and spatial quality of local shopping streets and other public spaces in recent years. Esma (31-45, female, Turkish Dutch, hair salon owner):

“The municipality supports us with subsidies. For example, we were recently offered a subsidy scheme, I can’t remember the name... The municipality would reimburse half of our expenses if we would make an investment in our business, improve the façade or purchase something for inside... I am quite satisfied that the municipality is doing this.”

Third, and related to the point above, interviewees appreciate and encourage the municipality’s attempts to attract middle and higher income groups to the area through improving the quality of public spaces and building more expensive housing in the area. Timothy (46-60, male, Dutch), a co-director of a multinational industrial business, expresses this as follows:

“The municipality has tried to improve these neighbourhoods by replacing old and empty buildings with slightly more expensive housing. This is how they attract a different citizen group. I think this is something positive.”

Finally, particularly the entrepreneurs of large businesses that we interviewed are very positive about their partnership with the Municipality of Rotterdam. Joanne (31-45, female, Dutch), co-director of a multifunctional events accommodation:

“I am extremely satisfied about our relationship with the Municipality of Rotterdam. I think most businesses are satisfied with this... We have lots of connections. We depend on the municipality for our permits and safety. Yes, we definitely work together very well.”

Entrepreneurial suggestions for the improvement of entrepreneurship policy in Rotterdam

1. Listen to and support small and medium-sized businesses

Many small to medium-sized businesses we examined feel unappreciated by the municipality and other influential actors in Rotterdam. Recurrently, interviewees have argued that the municipality does not listen to them and that their opinion does not matter. Anass (18-30, male, Moroccan Dutch) illustrated this as follows: His fish shop is located in a shopping street with a tramway running through the middle. He describes how the municipality installed a large fence along the tramway to prevent pedestrians crossing the road, even though the majority of local businesses opposed the plan (see figure 5.4). The fence has led to a decline in customers and incomprehension and mistrust for the municipality among local entrepreneurs:

Anass: “Since the fence was installed we have had fewer turnovers. There is a butcher and other shops across the road. People on that side used to cross the road and visit me next. Now they have to go around the fence, and they think ‘never mind’... We gathered signatures with all the neighbours and they installed the fence anyway. We were all against it, but they just do as they please.”

A number of entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses even believe that the municipality has been working against them. These include commercial businesses in the retail, catering and car garage industries such as Salim (31-45, male, Turkish Dutch), a car garage owner:

“The irritating thing is that many entrepreneurs who are doing well, they all have friends within the municipality or other institutions. All the big players define the rules in such a way that they earn tremendous amounts of money, mostly at the cost of the small entrepreneurs.”

Several small-sized businesses, mostly in the social services or health care sector, talk about how the municipality has been obstructing their modes of procurement. Ella (46-60, female, Dutch, owner of an employment agency):

“The municipality collaborates with large-sized businesses for their vacancies. Why not give the regional businesses a chance? ... It’s because they work with procurements.”



Figure 5.4 A fence separates the two sides of a shopping street in Feijenoord. Source: David Wills

According to Ronald (18-30, male, Dutch), a freelance mediator and artist, the current municipal modes of procurement in which welfare providers compete for contracts and large-sized welfare providers solely ‘win’, affects the quality of social services:

“The procurement of welfare in Feijenoord is contracted to established large-sized parties... During the competition for contracts, parties need to profile themselves strongly to put themselves in the picture... Also when spending the money, it almost seems as if profiling has become more important than achieving goals. Having an article in a newspaper (about the established health care providers) for instance becomes more important (than providing high quality services). This is because they need to keep their heads above water with regards to the procurements.”

2. Better accommodate entrepreneurial diversity

Several small to medium-sized businesses in a variety of sectors have indicated that the perceived one-size-fits-all approach favoured by the municipality with regard to the maintenance of regulations and procurements does not acknowledge, let alone accommodate for, the diverse needs of small to medium-sized entrepreneurs in Feijenoord. The entrepreneurs argue for an individualised, problem-based approach, particularly regarding disadvantaged entrepreneurs. In order to support starting out and disadvantaged entrepreneurs better, Nezih (46-60, male, Turkish Dutch), co-owner of a business in car parts, suggests:

“Now the controllers visit us and tell us what is wrong. If you do not fix it, they give you a fine. It would be better to inform us about what exactly it is we need to change, and how. Particularly for starting entrepreneurs who have much to deal with... The fine is € 5000, which I can afford now. But small entrepreneurs cannot.”

Several entrepreneurs with social enterprises often do not meet all of the municipality requirements when applying for municipal subsidies or in case of procurement, while solutions to social problems are often multidisciplinary (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b). For their own interest, and in the interest of the city, they recommend that the municipality stops working in terms of predefined boxes and starts using a thematic approach.

3. Support bottom-up initiatives

Along with the shift in planning systems from government to governance in the past decade, it has become the explicit goal of the Municipality of Rotterdam to act as a facilitator of bottom-up initiatives rather than as an implementer of top-down measures (Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Nevertheless, many entrepreneurs of small to medium-sized businesses indicate that there is a (huge) gap between practice and reality. To illustrate this point, we present one outspoken example from an interviewee (due to privacy reasons we cannot provide detailed information): an entrepreneur in the creative industries mentions how he initiated an independent coalition of local entrepreneurs aimed at improving the image of their area by launching a website about the area. He informed the local area manager about their plans and asked her if she would like to be involved (non-financially). To his surprise she refused and in the months that followed she secretly asked other coalition members to end the initiative. To this day, he still does not know why the manager is so opposed:

“I think it is because, until recently, the municipality had much control in these projects. They determined how things went, they defined the terms and other partners were submissive. In this project (the coalition) they would be an equal partner. I think this is difficult for the municipality.”

4. Counteract (institutionalised) racism

Several minority ethnic entrepreneurs have experienced discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity by government services, banks and customers, which contributes to the feeling that they are not appreciated, and are even excluded by the government. We provide some examples, however we cannot provide detailed interviewee information for the purposes of their privacy. It is important to note that all have Dutch nationality. First, these entrepreneurs argue that controllers of the Ministry of Social Affairs or Municipal Services check them more frequently and more aggressively. For example, one minority ethnic interviewee used to be the manager of a Dutch mainstream supermarket. He now runs his own supermarket and argues:

“There is a lot of discrimination in many different ways. For instance, the labour inspection (by the Ministry of Social Affairs). When I worked at (mainstream supermarket) the inspection team

always politely asked when they could come to visit us for the purpose of an inspection. With me they visited unannounced, with ten guys, acting as if it is the hideout of a terrorist movement. They immediately walk towards the staff and ask for their legitimation. Everyone in the store (customers) is asked to show their legitimation, except for the people with blond hair. It shocks me and I think it is discriminatory.”

Second, two interviewees have experienced difficulties getting a loan from a bank, which in their view is due to their minority ethnic background. When asked if he received any support when taking over his current business, one argues:

“I could not turn to any institutions.”

Interviewer: *“Did you try?”*

Entrepreneur: *“Of course I tried, it was very difficult.”*

Interviewer: *“How come?”*

Entrepreneur: *“I think this is solely because they do not want to lend money to people of foreign descent.”*

Third, a freelance entrepreneur with a döner kebab shop was forced to relocate her business by her landlord, a housing corporation. She was offered to move to a business space across the road, where she had to pay twice as much rent and where she is not allowed to sell döner kebab (although the latter is not part of her contract). Therefore, she changed cuisine. Her story shows a remarkable resilience to the challenges that she faced:

“I used to make Turkish pizza myself, I used to have a kitchen upstairs in the other place. Here we don’t have enough space. So now I use a sandwich machine and sell pre-cut foods.”

Interviewer: *“So you are not cooking that much anymore?”*

Entrepreneur: *“Well, I make couscous salad, bean salad, mainly salads, I don’t make pizza anymore, soup I cook.”*

Interviewer: *“Did it alter the number of customers?”*

Entrepreneur: *“Not really. I used to have döner kebab. Many customers miss it. But it is not allowed. It is supposed to lower ‘the image’ (of the neighbourhood, according to the housing corporation), and they want me to attract a different type of customers. There might be some bad stories about döner kebab shops, but not all those people are bad. They see me as belonging to the same category.”*

Finally, several entrepreneurs have experienced discrimination on the grounds of their ethnicity by customers. One entrepreneur decided to start his businesses in diverse Feijenoord, as here he experiences less discrimination and has more customers. Another entrepreneur explains how he had difficulties gaining the trust of customers with a Dutch ethnicity when he took over his current business, and lost many of them.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges is that there has been a concerted effort by the municipality to attract and support large-sized businesses as well as small and medium-sized businesses in the creative industries. Small and medium-sized businesses in other sectors are aware of the municipal focus on creative and large-sized entrepreneurs. The perceived lack of support and the mainstream, top-down approach of the municipality and other controlling institutions, including the labour inspection by the Ministry of Social Affairs, appears to cause a feeling of social exclusion among many of these entrepreneurs. Many entrepreneurs have become quite pessimistic about their economic perspectives and about the government in general. A perceived lack of acknowledgement of their needs, strict and inflexible maintenance of regulations, high fines and (latent) racist practices towards minority ethnic entrepreneurs further feed into this negative experience of the governance of entrepreneurship in their area. None of the entrepreneurs, including disadvantaged freelancers, were aware of the municipal support measures for disadvantaged entrepreneurs as decided by the national law on Special Assistance for Freelancers (SAF).

Another important conclusion that emerges is – with the exception of the SAF law – the current municipal policy schemes and measures supports entrepreneurs that are performing relatively well economically and that have a relatively high social capital and good connections with the municipality and other institutions that shape the governance of entrepreneurship in Rotterdam. We have given a few examples of how these connections contribute to the economic performance of these businesses. Many of these entrepreneurs profit from the entrepreneurial networking meetings arranged or stimulated by the municipality, for example.

The findings suggest that the municipality and other institutions that govern entrepreneurship undervalue small to medium-sized businesses in non-priority sectors in disadvantaged urban areas such as Feijenoord. It should be acknowledged that these businesses play an important role in the neighbourhood in several ways. They offer affordable and specialised goods and services that cater to the needs of the local population, they provide employment (in an area with a high rate of welfare dependency) and without them, a high proportion of the commercial buildings would be vacant (which would have a very negative impact on the liveability of the area). Therefore, the municipal government needs to be aware of the highly diverse backgrounds, abilities, experiences and knowledge of entrepreneurs in Feijenoord and the need for customised solutions to the challenges that many face, including language barriers, a lack of knowledge about legislation, few financial resources and discrimination.

5.5.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to examine to what extent being located in a hyper-diverse neighbourhood influences the economic performance of businesses in these neighbourhoods. To what extent can hyper-diverse neighbourhoods promote or provide challenges for entrepreneurship? We examined the start-up and settlement motives among entrepreneurs in diverse, dynamic and deprived Feijenoord firstly (section 5.4), and found that diversity was not

the most important reason for starting a business and/or settling in Feijenoord. A combination of other personal and situational factors was, of which the housing affordability in Feijenoord is an important one. However, diversity did play a role in the decision to settle in the area for a substantial number of interviewees. A few entrepreneurs with diverse backgrounds and businesses deliberately settled in Feijenoord because the area is home to a wide range of (sometimes very specific) social groups in terms of lifestyle, race, ethnicity, culture or income, to which they cater their products and services. In addition, for many entrepreneurs in the creative industries doing business in a diverse neighbourhood appeared to be a personal preference, even though they often do not depend on the neighbourhood for their clientele. They were attracted to the vibrant atmosphere that local diversity brings to the neighbourhood.

Second, we examined the extent to which entrepreneurs profit from local diversity and/or whether it provides challenges (section 5.5). We found that a few entrepreneurs with a clearly defined and diverse local clientele profit from Feijenoord's diversity. These entrepreneurs have medium to high educational levels, various ethnic backgrounds and work in diverse economic sectors. Having multiple customer groups makes their business more resilient to economic fluctuations. Nonetheless, most entrepreneurs that we interviewed with a substantial local clientele – a third of our respondents – perform relatively poorly in terms of profit margins, and have experienced recent economic setbacks that relate to the financial crisis and austerity measures. These businesses often lack a clear customer strategy and are typically small and medium-sized, have commercial objectives and operate in the retail, catering, beauty, and car garage industries. Relatively low educated entrepreneurs with a minority ethnic background are over-represented in this group in comparison with the businesses with a non-local audience. A major obstacle for these entrepreneurs is the relatively low income, and hence purchasing power, of many of their customers. As the economic crisis has had an adverse effect on the purchasing power in Feijenoord, entrepreneurs with a local orientation have been in a more vulnerable position than the entrepreneurs. For those active in the retail sector, the competition with online shopping made the struggle to survive even tougher (Weltevreden and Van Rietbergen, 2009).

In our sample, the businesses that perform best mostly do not rely on the neighbourhood for their customers and hence do not capitalise on local diversity. They include cultural and creative businesses and social enterprises of which the owners, managers and directors mostly do not reside in Feijenoord, or in the neighbouring areas either. Along with the absence of a diverse, locally-embedded professional network among many businesses in the creative industries, we discovered that this raises questions about the effectiveness of recent municipal policies seeking to attract creative entrepreneurs to disadvantaged areas such as Feijenoord: what exactly is the added value of these industries for Feijenoord?

Third, we examined the extent to which entrepreneurs in Feijenoord profit from existing policy schemes and measures and what they think should be the priority in entrepreneurship policy in Rotterdam (section 5.6). We found that entrepreneurs with small to medium-sized businesses in

the creative industries, as well as large (multinational) firms, profit mostly from existing policy schemes and measures and often maintain friendly relationships with the municipality, labour unions and other formal institutions in the governance of entrepreneurship in Rotterdam. This is not surprising as the creative industries and large businesses have had municipal priority in recent years.

Small and medium-sized business in sectors other than the creative industries, particularly those with a local clientele, often feel unappreciated and sometimes even worked or discriminated against by the municipality and other regulatory institutions. Except for the conditional municipal support measures for disadvantaged freelance entrepreneurs as determined by the national law on Special Assistance for Freelancers, few formal support schemes and measures exist for these businesses. A perceived lack of support and a standardised, top-down approach by the municipality and other regulatory institutions causes feelings of exclusion among many. Consequently, many have become pessimistic about their economic perspectives and have little trust in governmental institutions. Minority ethnic entrepreneurs' report of (latent) racist practices by the municipality, housing corporations, the Labour Inspection of the Ministry of Social Affairs and banks, as well as from white Dutch customers, which further feeds into the distrust of authorities and feelings of social exclusion.

6 CONCLUSION: DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY

6.1 BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE BOOK

6.1.1 Dimensions of diversity

In chapter one we introduced the concept of hyper-diversity, which refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). This multi-layered process of diversification is also occurring in Rotterdam. Nevertheless, this study found that municipal actors mostly understand diversity in narrow terms; as a matter of ethnicity or income. The current emphasis on the socio-economic and ethnic dimensions of diversity in Rotterdam policy discourses is not surprising given the substantial demographic changes that the city has undergone over past decades. During the 1960s children in Rotterdam grew up in an environment where they would rarely come into contact with non-Dutch residents, whereas the children of today will constantly meet children from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds: when they go to school, visit sport clubs, community centres or just hang around. Presently, roughly half of Rotterdammers have a non-Dutch background, and this proportion is even higher among young people.

Rotterdam has not only changed into an ethnically diverse city, but it is also a much poorer city (as compared to the rest of the country) than it was 40 years ago. Compared to other cities in the Netherlands, Rotterdam is lagging behind in the transition to a post-industrial economy, which is having a negative impact on social mobility opportunities for both old and new Rotterdammers. In the Rotterdam policy discourse, a connection is often made between socio-economic problems and ethnic diversity. A very explicit example of this was the debate that led to a new national law entitled 'Act on Exceptional Measures Concerning Inner-City Problems'. The law enables municipal governments to exclude people who depend on social security (apart from the elderly), and who have not lived in the municipal region in the preceding six years from the rental housing market in so-called problem areas (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013a). The law is popularly named the 'Rotterdam Law' as it was adopted by the national government following a debate in Rotterdam and it has not been implemented (yet) by other Dutch cities. As we described in chapter two, the law was preceded by a debate in which the Vice Mayor of Liveable Rotterdam (a right wing populist party) argued for an 'immigrant-stop' and a 'fence around Rotterdam'. Although the law does not directly target immigrants, the Municipality of Rotterdam (2003, p. 12) makes a very direct link between ethnic diversity and socio-economic problems:

‘...Ethnicity or descent is not the main issue. It is the relative wealth and socio-economic position of newcomers and the opportunities in the city for social mobility. In short, the colour is not the problem, but the problem does have a colour’.

Although the populist party lost power in the elections of 2006, the law was still being implemented after that. The pluralist discourse on ethnic diversity that was prevalent in the period before the Liveable Rotterdam coalition did not return when the Labour Party took power again. The Labour Party was the biggest party in the coalition between 2006 and 2014 (just as it was from World War II until 2002), but this did not lead to a substantial change in diversity policy. The difference with the Liveable Rotterdam period was more in tone than in substance. This can be, at least partly, explained by the fact that every major city in the Netherlands is ruled by a coalition, which means that policies are based on a compromise between different parties. Alongside that, the inability of Liveable Rotterdam to create a ‘fence’ against immigrants is not only related to the fact that they were unable to convince their coalition partners, but also due to the legal obstacles to enforce such a measure.

The coalitions in the period 2006-2014 continued the assimilationist stance of Liveable Rotterdam, albeit in a more implicit way. Both municipal and non-municipal actors argue that it was somewhat taboo to discuss the possible positive effects of diversity because of the tensions raised during the previous period and the fear of losing the elections again. This might explain why Rotterdam is an exception to the trend that cities, compared to national governments, tend to adopt a more pragmatic approach to diversity in which the positive aspects of difference for competitiveness and social cohesion are stressed (Raco et al., 2014). The local pragmatism can be related to the fact that it is in cities where the consequences of immigration are most visible. For city authorities, diversity is a given that has to be accommodated. They would prefer to focus on coping with concrete issues rather than delving into ideological debates (Scholten, 2013). Pragmatism is often combined with a positive approach to diversity, informed by the notion of the ‘creative class’ which is presumed to be attracted to diverse and inclusive places (Florida, 2004). The refraining from this positive approach by the Labour Party did not prevent Liveable Rotterdam to win the elections in 2014, leading to an intensified assimilation stance. The 2015 Integration Memorandum compared the process of integration to merging on a highway. It argues that it is the Netherlands that drives on the highway and it is the newcomers who want to merge in, and it is therefore their responsibility to show an effort and take initiative to do so in a safe way. This is a questionable approach given the fact that half of the population of Rotterdam has (parents with) a foreign background. Moreover, the implicit assumption is that the other half (the Dutch) are all driving at the same speed. Additionally, the previous coalition used the metaphor of two populations travelling at different speeds:

‘Overall, we can speak of a heavy pressure on social structures in Rotterdam and a division of what can be called a fast and a slow city... (defined as) the successful entrepreneurs, the cultural sector, the highly educated, ICT, design, the advanced harbour industry... (and) the city of the beneficiaries, the low educated, the isolated population groups, of poverty and stagnation...’

These developments can threaten the future of the city' Doing More: Rotterdammers in Action. Integration Strategy, p.2, see appendix II.

Although the 'slow city' does not only comprise first and second generation migrants (and some of them will be part of the 'fast city'), there is also an assimilationist tone in the policies of the coalition led by the Labour Party. Clearly, the main goal is not to foster more positive understandings of diversity, but to stimulate the notion that the 'slow city' will adapt to the 'fast city'.

While the municipality understands diversity in ethnic and/or socio-economic terms mainly, non-municipal actors have a much broader focus. Although most local initiatives in Feijenoord see ethnic diversity as one of the most important dimensions determining social differences in Feijenoord, they generally use a broader and sometimes more complex understanding of diversity as a function of various demographic features (e.g. age, education, gender and income), interests, needs, cultures, knowledge, skills and social networks. Most residents appear to have this complex and multidimensional understanding of local diversity. They describe their neighbours and other local groups in a wide variety of ways, referring to observed socio-demographic features and daily practices of neighbours. Resident's experiences of other residents are diverse because their perceptions of others appears to depend on their own individual norms, values and lifestyles. People especially like their neighbours when they are 'like themselves', and this does not refer to characteristics such as ethnicity or income, but more to behavioural and attitudinal aspects. People like their neighbours when they greet them, when they show interest in them, and when they can keep a proper balance between proximity and privacy. Throwing rubbish on the street or making loud noises are, not generally accepted forms of behaviour. What holds for the direct neighbours, also holds for the opinion about the neighbourhood in general. People like others when their behaviour and attitudes match with the behaviour and attitudes of the interviewee. Thus, people do certainly not perceive their neighbours in terms of traditional demographic features such as ethnicity alone. This may be explained by the fact that ethnic diversity in Feijenoord has a long history and that young people especially take this for granted. This 'ordinariness' of diversity is coined by Wessendorf (2014b) as 'commonplace diversity'. As we showed in chapter five, the hyper-diversity of Feijenoord appears commonplace for entrepreneurs too. This applies especially to the entrepreneurs with a local customer base.

6.1.2 A positive view on diversity?

In the municipal discourse diversity is mainly understood as a problem that the city needs to cope with. According to the former vice-mayor on Housing, Spatial Planning, Property, and Urban Economy:

"In every day practice people worry (indeed) about the negative sides (of diversity). ... People are concerned with the here and now. When you are unemployed and thousands of people move here, it makes no sense (for me too) to tell a good story about 'it is all so important for Europe' etcetera. The unemployed will just see the negative consequences."

In contrast, most local initiatives see diversity both as an economic and social quality and opportunity. Most of them build on local diversity to achieve more social cohesion and/or social mobility. The residents of Feijenoord have very positive things to say about the diversity of the area. Although there are not so many residents who moved into Feijenoord because of its diversity, positive aspects of diversity play a role in the intention to stay in the neighbourhood. People find the diversity of the population attractive because it gives them the opportunity to learn from others (e.g. cooking), provides lively and business-oriented streets, and a diversity of local facilities (such as shops). Some people, notably people belonging to minority (ethnic) groups, value the diversity of the area because they would not like to live in a neighbourhood with a majority(ethnic) group. Finally, some parents make clear that they prefer to see their children grow up in diverse areas, which is seen as an advantage and as a preparation for life in a diversified society, although many middle class parents do not bring these ideals into play when it comes to choosing a school for their children. Residents from different ethnic and economic backgrounds do note local school segregation along class and ethnic lines.

Residents also see negative aspects of diversity in the neighbourhood. The presence of groups of youth in the streets is sometimes experienced negatively. People feel unsafe and connect the groups to drugs and noise. Some people feel uncomfortable about people not speaking the Dutch language in public and semi-public areas. Due to the dynamic character of the neighbourhood, the population changes are, at least in the eyes of a number of long-term inhabitants, quite swift, leading to a sense of loss of community. This is reinforced by the changing composition of local facilities, such as shops, which comes with the changing population composition. The diversity of shops is valued, but long-term Dutch residents do miss the more traditional Dutch shops that have gradually disappeared from the neighbourhood.

6.1.3 Diversity and social cohesion

For people with a low SES, for families with children and for the elderly the neighbourhood is important for social contact. For these groups especially, many of their social contacts are in the neighbourhood. Many people belonging to these groups have family members living close by and they generally have a lot of contact with them. These family members are important in terms of social support.

More or less the same story can be told for friends: many residents with a low SES have a lot of their friends living in the neighbourhood (and they generally meet with them quite often), while those with a higher SES have more friends elsewhere (meeting them less often). Networks of friends of residents with a lower SES are not only often local, but also generally with people with the same SES. In terms of ethnicity, there is some more of a mix, however people tend to keep to their family and friendships ties within the same group. This holds for residents with different ethnic backgrounds.

Alongside family members and (close) friends, people meet many of their acquaintances in the neighbourhood. People meet each other on streets, at markets or in community centres and talk

to each other. Some local contacts emerge at school because children want to play with each other or parents meet at the school while picking up their children. Networks of acquaintances are generally more mixed in term of ethnicity and lifestyle than networks of family and friends. Sometimes this evolves into friendships, and quite often these relations have the function of delivering some kind of support (picking up children, company, etc.). Again, especially those with a lower SES, families with children and the elderly mention the importance of (diverse) local acquaintances.

Direct neighbours appear to be very important network members when they share the same values and norms. The study has demonstrated how some neighbours become friends and are trusted fully, while between other neighbours there are no contacts at all and there may even be feelings of distrust. Neighbours often help each other and, for example, take care of each other's homes when one of the neighbours is away on holiday.

Social networks of family and friends in Feijenoord generally consist of people belonging to the same socio-economic category, while networks of local acquaintances and neighbours are, in general, more mixed with respect to ethnicity and lifestyle. While living in a diverse area provides possibilities to contact many different kinds of people, this diversity is not always prominent with strong ties.

Local (semi-)public spaces play an important role in the social cohesion of Feijenoord, although it depends on the kind of space as to whether new contacts emerge in these places. When people visit places in a group, for example sitting or doing activities in a park or at a playground, they usually stay within that group and do not interact with others. However, local institutions such as community centres and schools, appear important for the formation of new social bonds. Peterson (2016) compared a community centre and a library in Feijenoord on their influence on social cohesion. She found that repetitive encounters in the community centre lead to an intimate and homey atmosphere. As groups meet repetitively and many are organised around a shared passion (such as knitting or cooking), participants can identify with each other strongly. Their bonding diminishes the cultural, ethnic or religious differences. As the centre hosts many different groups, visitors become acquainted with other previously unknown. This makes them feel more at home in the neighbourhood because they start to recognise others on the street and elsewhere. The library is also visited by a wide range of people in terms of ethnicity, households and lifestyles. In contrast to the community centre, the library does not play a role in building new contacts, but it still has a positive role for social cohesion in Feijenoord as the (generally superficial and short) encounters here make residents feel more at home in their neighbourhood.

6.1.4 Diversity, social mobility and economic performance

Studies on neighbourhood effects often focus on negative effects: living in concentrations of low-income households may hinder social mobility. Empirical results often indicate that the neighbourhood may indeed have some (negative) effects. However, in our study we came to an

interesting conclusion: the neighbourhood matters for social mobility, but in a more positive way. For people with a low SES particularly, the neighbourhood is important for finding paid or unpaid work. People find work through local social contacts including neighbours, other local acquaintances, friends and family. The networks of neighbours and acquaintances especially often appear quite diverse in terms of ethnicity, work experiences, networks, skills and knowledge. So the population diversity of the area does seem to play a role here. Although many Dutch cities have decreased subsidies for community(-led) facilities in recent years, we found that local institutions (including schools, community and sports centres and religious institutions) facilitate exchanges between diverse local people concerning paid and unpaid work opportunities. The effect of these exchanges on social mobility is not immense. When people move between jobs it is generally between the same kind of low-paid jobs or from one voluntary to another voluntary job. However, in times of economic crisis it is valuable that the local social contacts clearly prevent people from downward social mobility. Residents do have problems with the negative reputation of the area regarding its ethnic diversity and concentration of households with a low SES. Some people feel discriminated against, for example when applying for a job, when they have to say they live in the south of Rotterdam.

The employment opportunities for residents do not only depend on their education, the quality of their social network or the reputation of their area, but also on the demand for labour. As we described in chapter two, Rotterdam has a weak economic position. One aspect of this weak economic position is the low proportion of entrepreneurs compared to other cities. Non-Western minority ethnic groups lag behind in this respect especially. Nevertheless, this study shows that even a deprived area like Feijenoord offers opportunities for entrepreneurs. There is a diverse customer base in the area, which makes entrepreneurs who are able to attract diverse customer groups potentially more resistant to economic fluctuations. However, as we showed in chapter five, many business with a local clientele have relatively low economic performance. A major obstacle is the low purchasing power of their customers. Next to that, they tend to have negative experiences with the municipality, in contrast to well-performing businesses (for example in the creative sector) that tend not to have a local customer base. Nevertheless, a local clientele does not automatically stand in the way of being successful. It very much depends on whether entrepreneurs have a clearly defined strategy to attract customers (whether they focus on a specific or on a diverse group). (Ethnic) diversity can be used as a unique selling point. The social enterprise The Neighbourhood Kitchen of Rotterdam South, where women with diverse ethnicities and cooking talents prepare catering, provides a good example of how local ethnic and cultural diversity can be turned into an economic value and a school for participants (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b). To attract and retain diverse groups of customers, entrepreneurs need not only offer attractive products or services, but also diversity-sensitive communication skills. This requires an in-depth knowledge of socio-cultural difference, which will be enhanced by having a diverse workforce, e.g. regarding age, culture, ethnicity and language.

6.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY

6.2.1 Governance of diversity

From our analysis of the governance of diversity (chapter three) we can distill four lessons. First, a multidisciplinary and tailored approach is needed to cater to the complex and dynamic local needs of the city adequately. The mainstream and assimilationist nature of many policies and social services appears particularly inadequate for people who face multiple (social) problems, as leaders of local initiatives have argued. The inclusive, flexible and individualised approaches of local initiatives successfully fill this policy gap.

Second, ethnically diverse, low-income communities possess many qualities that policymakers often do not acknowledge nor use: knowledge and skills in arts and culture, domestic care, business, catering, languages, management and organisation, music, raising youth, sewing and sports are just some. In Feijenoord, local initiatives see and profit from these qualities to encourage social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance among local residents. They do this by providing a platform for people to develop their talents and to achieve new skills. Policy-makers can learn from this and enable a positive approach to local initiatives to support residents in disadvantaged areas more effectively.

Third, local project leaders appear to be key for the success of local initiatives, but their importance is often not acknowledged by policy-makers. Local leaders have extensive (local) social networks through which they provide local residents with useful connections. Furthermore, their profound understanding of local (ethnic and cultural) interests and needs can provide policy-makers with crucial information when developing and implementing new policies. Therefore, policy-makers, communities, local initiatives and their leaders would all benefit if policy-makers listened more to, supported and collaborated with project leaders to profit from their contextual knowledge, social networks and experience.

Fourth, it is important that policy-makers at the city level recognise the value, and become more supportive, of local initiatives, particularly in disadvantaged areas. The initiatives in Feijenoord are important for the municipality because they support marginalised groups, contribute to social cohesion, social mobility and entrepreneurship and educate policy-makers about innovative, positive and context-sensitive approaches to diversity. Although it would be better for local initiatives to have a variety of parties supporting and subsidising their existence, many such initiatives in a low-income area such as Feijenoord do depend solely on public funding. This is because the local and social nature of the initiatives makes it difficult for them to attract private funds, the initiatives often lack extensive professional support networks and there is a scarcity of local residents who are able to contribute financially, or who are willing to carry out complex managerial tasks. The municipality could support local initiatives financially (e.g. by employing local leaders) or by helping them to develop alternative financial support structures. The municipality could focus more on local needs, or develop criteria that allow local initiatives to apply for subsidies more easily. In Rotterdam, local initiatives often do not meet

the criteria for municipal subsidy schemes, for instance because they operate in multiple policy fields. In addition, policy-makers could provide more continuity in funding and encourage local initiatives to collaborate. We find that the competition among local initiatives for short-term resources presently causes a loss of social capital for the neighbourhood.

6.2.2 Stimulating social cohesion and social mobility

On the basis of our findings in chapter four, a number of policy recommendations can be formulated. First, deprived, diverse and dynamic urban areas such as Feijenoord have an important function on the local housing market: the availability of affordable housing is a main motivation for low-income households and for recent immigrants to settle in such a neighbourhood. Reducing the number of affordable housing options, for example by urban restructuring, will diminish the housing possibilities for low-income households. This can become especially problematic in times of economic crisis and continuing international migration when the number of low-income households are increasing. When low-income households are increasingly forced to live in a decreasing number of neighbourhoods with affordable dwellings, income segregation will increase and the diversity of the population will decrease.

Second, the demolition of socially rented dwellings, the building of more expensive alternatives and selling-off part of the social rented housing stock will seduce middle class households to settle in an area like Feijenoord. This is because the area can be considered attractive for such groups due to its liveliness (diversity) and its favourable location close to the city centre. However, we should not expect that the middle class households in the area will have a lot of interaction with the lower SES households living in the area. Our analysis showed that these groups lead rather parallel lives, with the middle classes having most of their activities and social contacts outside the residential neighbourhood and the lower classes relying more on local social contacts including family relations. Constantly claiming that middle class neighbourhoods of creative people or with families and young children are the ideal or the norm strongly denies that people with other lifestyles and opportunities are also important for a city. It is a discourse that strongly negates the diversity of city life.

Third, policy programmes should have realistic expectations and policy goals regarding the social mobility of residents with a low SES. Our study indicates that residents want to improve their socio-economic position, but those with a low SES can only do this by taking small steps. Local institutions such as community centres, schools and religious institutions appear crucial for enabling residents to take these small steps. It is not realistic to expect these institutions to enable large upward social mobility of low-income residents, particularly those who lack resources to obtain a higher educational degree. Policy should focus on the existing qualities of residents in deprived, diverse and dynamic neighbourhoods and support local institutions that do so, and it should also set more realistic goals for social mobility policies in these areas so that they will benefit the municipality greatly. It will allow the municipality to: cater to the specific needs of low SES groups to foster social mobility; achieve its own policy goals; empower

disadvantaged resident groups; and foster a more positive image of the area in public and policy debates more effectively. As the ability to speak the Dutch language is considered important by both residents and policy-makers, Dutch courses should be made available for free. If not, especially low-income immigrants, will have fewer opportunities to follow such a course. Several interviewees in our study, particularly women, have managed to improve their socio-economic position by following (previously) free language courses at a community centre or school in Feijenoord.

Fourth, many residents do not know about municipal policies aimed at improving their residential neighbourhood. Though it may not be a big problem, it also might be a sign of political apathy. Policy leaders should pay more attention to the needs of people living in deprived and diverse areas, which might help to create support for present and future policies. The municipality should contribute to a more positive image of the people of Feijenoord and Rotterdam South as residents complain about the negative public framing of the people and the area, which it can be argued, restricts their (children's) educational and occupational attainment. The media also play an important role here. Unfortunately, the media is often more interested in confirming negative stories than in telling some more positive news.

6.2.3 Stimulating entrepreneurship

In chapter five we discussed how the municipality mainly focuses on large businesses, the creative industries and high-skilled industries because they provide more employment for the city and economic resilience in the long term. They are important players in the diversification of the city's economy. Nonetheless, the literature points towards several other ways in which 'ordinary' small to medium-sized businesses can be socio-economically valuable to the city.

First, they allow socio-economic participation and entrepreneurs to earn a living, which this study shows is important to most of them. Given the poor starting positions of many, the alternative might be unemployment, reliance on state benefits or even illegitimate activities (Tonoyan et al., 2010). This also applies to their employees, who tend to live in Feijenoord or elsewhere in Rotterdam South. Second, this study has shown that most provide products and services for a low-income clientele, such as the possibility to repair a phone or drink a beer at low cost, something that is not often possible for these people in mainstream retail shops and pubs in Rotterdam. Third, the businesses lower vacancy rates, which is particularly important for neighbourhoods such as Feijenoord with a relatively low socio-economic status. Finally, a strong neighbourhood economy attracts people, and an increased number of 'eyes on the street' positively affects the level of social cohesion and safety in the area (Risselada, 2013).

In order to sustain small to medium-sized entrepreneurship in disadvantaged areas such as Feijenoord, more support and customised measures are required that accommodate the highly diverse backgrounds, abilities, experiences and knowledge of the entrepreneurs in Feijenoord. Many of these entrepreneurs experience language barriers, have little knowledge of legislation, few financial resources and some even experience (institutionalised) racism. The

standardised implementation of regulations, including high fines, have a major impact on these entrepreneurs, as many are in a vulnerable economic position. Unexpected and aggressive governmental inspections of small to medium-sized businesses, as well as not acknowledging their interests (e.g. low parking fees) can harm the economic status of a business and cause feelings of exclusion and mistrust in the government. A diversification of the workforce of financial and governmental institutions could be a step forward to provide more inclusive and fairer treatment of minority ethnic entrepreneurs.

An important question that this study raises is: what exactly is the added value of entrepreneurs in the creative industries for Feijenoord? Local entrepreneurial networks appear generally diverse in terms of business sector, and the educational and ethnic background of entrepreneurs. Yet, the local entrepreneurial networks of most creative entrepreneurs interviewed appears remarkably homogenous in terms of the sector: creative entrepreneurs mostly have contact with other creative entrepreneurs. Along with the absence of a significant local clientele, and the fact that many entrepreneurs (as well as their employees) live elsewhere, this raises questions about the effectiveness of recent municipal policies seeking to attract creative entrepreneurs to disadvantaged areas such as Feijenoord. To strengthen the local economy of Feijenoord it is important that those businesses become more embedded in the diverse local entrepreneurial networks. This can be stimulated by requiring businesses to work together with other local entrepreneurs in different sectors when they apply for a municipal subsidy.

In contrast to entrepreneurs in the creative sector, small to medium-sized businesses are very much focussed on Feijenoord for their customers. They have a local network, but the professional network is in most cases quite small and many entrepreneurs lack linking capital with governmental institutions or other city-wide organisations. As the economic performance is very much dependent on the social capital of the entrepreneur, it is crucial that the municipality helps to organise network training for new entrepreneurs. Moreover, next to the existing network meetings organised by the municipality, which attract mainly the most successful and highly educated entrepreneurs, 'middlebrow' network activities at the neighbourhood level should be facilitated to improve contact between the entrepreneurs and the municipality and between the entrepreneurs themselves.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. THE INTERVIEWED POLICY ACTORS

Number	Function	Organisation
1	Vice Mayor Housing, Spatial planning, Property, and Urban Economy (including NPRS)	Municipality of Rotterdam
2	Political Advisor	Municipality of Rotterdam
3	Senior Policy Advisor	Municipality of Rotterdam, Urban Development Department
4	Senior Policy Advisor	Municipality of Rotterdam, Urban Development Department
5	Vice-Mayor Labour market, Higher Education, Innovation and Participation	Municipality of Rotterdam
6	Senior Policy Advisor	Municipality of Rotterdam, Social Affairs Department
7	Programme Manager	Municipality of Rotterdam, Social Affairs Department
8	Senior Strategic Advisor	Municipality of Rotterdam, Executive Board
9	Area Manager	Municipality of Rotterdam, a Municipal District
10	Area Director	Municipality of Rotterdam, a Municipal District
11	Former Vice Mayor Diversity Policy Rotterdam	Director Rotterdam Skillcity (RVS)/ Philosopher Erasmus University Rotterdam
12	Senior Policy Advisor	Rotterdam Knowledge Centre on Diversity
13	Senior Policy Advisor	Rotterdam Knowledge Centre on Diversity
14	Director	Knowledge Centre on Emancipation/ Dona Daria
15	Senior Policy Advisor	Knowledge Centre on Anti-discrimination/ Radar
16	Programme Manager	Housing corporation Woonstad
17	Director	National Programme Rotterdam-South
18	Founder Pact op Zuid/Researcher	Pact op Zuid/Skillcity (RVS)
19	Director of Research	Stichting de Verre Bergen
20	Programme Manager	Stichting de Verre Bergen

APPENDIX II. THE ANALYSED POLICY DOCUMENTS

Rotterdam City Policy

Rotterdam Perseveres: Towards a Balanced City 2003. (Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg naar een Stad in Balans) 2003.

Coalition Work Programme Rotterdam 2010-2014. Working on Talent and Entrepreneurship (College Werkprogramma Rotterdam 2010-2014. Werken aan Talent en Ondernemen)

Implementation Strategy Rotterdam 2010-2014 (Uitvoeringsstrategie Rotterdam 2010-2014)

Full Speed Ahead. Coalition Agreement 2014-2018 (Volle kracht Vooruit Coalitieakkoord 2014-2018).

#Can do. Coalition Programme 2014-2018 (#Kendoe. Collegeprogramma 2014-2018).

Urban Vision 2030 (Stadsvisie 2030)

Programme Budget 2015 (Programma Begroting 2015)

Citizenship and Integration Policy

Citizenship Policy. Participation: Selecting Talent. Definition of Citizenship Policy for the years 2012 to 2015 (Burgerschapsbeleid: Kiezen voor Talent. Invulling van het burgerschapsbeleid voor de jaren 2012 tot 2015)

Doing More: Rotterdammers in Action. Integration Strategy 2011 (Mee(R) Doen: Rotterdammers in Actie. Integratieaanpak 2011)

Implementation Programme Colourful City 1998-2002 (Uitvoeringsprogramma Veelkleurige Stad 1998-2002)

Integration 010 2015 (Integratie 010 2015)

Policy Memorandum Full Participation in Rotterdam 2016-2018 (Beleidsregel Volwaardig Meedoen in Rotterdam 2016-2018)

Housing Policy

Law on Exceptional Measures Metropolitan Problems (Wet Bijzondere Maatregelen Grootstedelijke Problematiek)

Living in Rotterdam. Updated Housing Vision 2007-2010 (Wonen in Rotterdam. Geactualiseerde Woonvisie 2007-2010)

Implementation Programme Housing Vision 2010-2014 (Uitvoeringsstrategie Woonvisie 2010-2014)

Housing Vision Rotterdam. Head for 2030. Agenda until 2030 (Woonvisie Rotterdam. Koers naar 2030. Genda tot 2030)

Urban Policy for Rotterdam South

South Works! National Programme Quality Leap South (Zuid Werkt! Nationaal Programma Kwaliteitssprong Zuid)

National Programme Rotterdam South. Implementation Plan 2012-2014 (Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid. Uitvoeringsplan 2012-2014)

National Programme Rotterdam South. Implementation Plan 2015-2018 Nationaal
Programma Rotterdam Zuid. Uitvoeringsplan 2014-2018)

Work and Income Policy

Rotterdam Works! Policy Framework Work and Re-integration 2011-2014 (Rotterdam Werkt!
Beleidskader Werk en Re-integratie 2011-2014)

Strong by Work. Policy Framework Work and Income 2014-2018 (Sterk door Werk.
Beleidskader Werk en Inkomen 2014-2018)

Safety Policy

Programme Safety 2014-2018. #Safe 010 (Programma Veiligheid 2014-2018. #Veilig 010)

Action Programme Antilleans. Huntu Nos Por Logra. Together we can achieve it. Antilleans

Policy in Rotterdam (Actieprogramma Antillianen. Huntu Nos Por Logra. Samen kunnen
we het bereiken. Antillianenbeleid in Rotterdam).

Educational Policy

Better Performance Programme. Rotterdam Educational Policy 2011-2014 part 1 (Programma
Beter Presteren. Rotterdams Onderwijsbeleid 2011-2014 deel 1)

Attack on Drop-outs Programme. Rotterdam Educational Policy 2011-2014 part 2
(Programma Aanval op Uitval. Rotterdams Onderwijsbeleid 2011-2014 deel 2)

Language Attack 2011-2014 (Taaloffensief 2011-2014)

Learning Pays Off. Rotterdam Educational Policy 2014-2018 (Leren Loont. Rotterdams
Onderwijsbeleid 2014-2018)

**APPENDIX III. OUTCOMES OF ANALYSIS OF URBAN POLICY DOCUMENTS
ADDRESSING DIVERSITY IN ROTTERDAM**

Policy documents for the coalitions 2010-2014 and 2015-2018							
Indicators	Coalition pro-programmes	Citizenship and Integration Policy	Housing policy	National Programme Rotterdam South	Work and income policy	Safety Policy	Educational policy
Definition¹	Broad	Narrow: ethnicity	Broad	Broad	Narrow: diversity in abilities to participate	Narrow: cultural diversity	Narrow: emphasis on ethnicity
Connotation²	Negative; Positive	Negative; Positive	Negative; Positive	Negative; Positive	Positive	Negative; Neutral	Negative; Positive
Objectives³	Economic Performance	Social Mobility; Economic Performance	Social Cohesion; Economic performance	Social mobility; Economic performance	Social Mobility; Economic Performance	None	Social mobility; Economic performance
Target group⁴	Mainstream; Specific Groups; Area-based approach	Mainstream	Mainstream; Specific Groups; Area-based approach	Area-based	Specific Groups	Mainstream; Specific Groups; Area-based approach	Mainstream; Specific Groups; Area-based approach

¹ Broad or narrow definition; if narrow: what focus?

² Positive, neutral, or negative understanding of diversity?

³ Social cohesion; social mobility; economic performance?

⁴ Mainstream; specific groups; area-based approach?

APPENDIX IV. THE INTERVIEWED LEADERS AND EXECUTIVES OF LOCAL INITIATIVES IN FEIJENOORD

- A coordinator and manager at the Experimental Garden
- A coordinator at Monteiro Gym at the Experimental Garden
- A leader of the Knitting Club at the Experimental Garden
- A coordinator at the Community Shop at the Experimental Garden
- An executive at the Community Fathers at the Experimental Garden
- A director of Spectacle at the Cape (Cultuur Energie Katendrecht)
- An executive at Community Centre De Steiger at Katendrecht
- A resident and promoter of the Do-it-yourself Houses Project
- A resident and promoter of the Do-it-yourself Houses Project
- The director of Another Chance
- The founder and leader of B.R.I.G.H.T.N.E.S.S.
- A manager at The Flywheel
- The director of the Primary School the Bloemhof
- The founder of Pact op Zuid
- The community manager of the Creative Factory
- An owner and founder of the Neighbourhood Kitchen of South
- The manager of the Neighbourhood Kitchen of South
- A coordinator at the Neighbourhood Cooperation Afrikaander neighbourhood
- A professional at the Neighbourhood Cooperation Afrikaander neighbourhood
- The research director of the Far Mountains Foundation

APPENDIX V. THE PARTICIPANTS OF A ROUND-TABLE TALK ON HOW LOCAL INITIATIVES IN FEIJENOORD ARE DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

Date: June 27, 2014.

Place: The Neighbourhood Kitchen of South, Rotterdam.

Participants:

Policy Platform members of DIVERCITIES

- A senior advisor at the Rotterdam Knowledge Centre on Diversity
- A senior policy advisor at the Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations
- A policy advisor at the Societal Development department of the municipality of Rotterdam
- The director of the Rotterdam Knowledge Centre on Emancipation (Dona Daria)
- A senior policy advisor at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment
- A senior policy advisor at the Research and Business Intelligence department of the municipality of Rotterdam

Leaders of local initiatives

- The director of Another Chance
- An architect at We Love the City (for the Experimental Garden)
- The founder and leader of B.R.I.G.H.T.N.E.S.S
- A founder of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and advisor at the Neighbourhood Cooperation
- The director of I am Based in South
- A manager at the Flywheel

Other

- The founder of Pedagogisch Engagement (local informant)
- A master student in Urban Geography from Utrecht University

Facilitators

- The *three* authors of the report

APPENDIX VI. THE ANALYSED LOCAL INITIATIVES IN FEIJENOORD

Arrangement	Focus	Type of organisation	Basis	Target audience	Kind of diversity addressed	Origin	Stakeholders	Duration	Status
Neighbourhood Kitchen of South	Economic performance/ Social Mobility	Business	Area-based	Women who do not participate in paid or unpaid work	Ethnic	District/ Neighbourhood	Purely private/ commercial	Long term	Advanced stage
The Creative Factory	Economic performance	Business/ Incubator	Group-based	Starting, young, entrepreneurs in creative industries	Economic	City/single entrepreneur	Purely private/ commercial, Public – Private	Long term	Advanced stage
Neighbourhood Cooperation Afrikaanderwijk	Economic performance	Cooperation/ Network	Area-based & Group-based	Entrepreneurs	Economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Purely private/ commercial	Long term	Early stage
B.R.I.G.H.T.N.E.S.S.	Social mobility	Movement	Area-based & Group-based	Children/Adolescents	Ethnic & Socio-economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Public-private & Grassroots	Medium term	Advanced stage
Primary School Flower Garden	Social mobility	School	Area-based & Group-based	Children/Adolescents	Ethnic & Demographic & Socio-economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Public-Private, Non-profit, Public	Long term	Early stage
The Flywheel	Social mobility	Governmental organisation	Area-based & Group-based	Women that do not participate in paid or unpaid work	Ethnic & Demographic & Socio-economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Non-profit & Public	Long term	Advanced stage
Another Chance	Social mobility	Foundation	Group-based	Children/Adolescents	Socio-economic	City	Non-profit & Public	Long term	Advanced stage
The Experimental Garden	Social cohesion & social mobility	Foundation & Organisation	Area-based	All people in district of Feijenoord	Ethnic & Demographic & Socio-economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Non-profit & Public	Medium term	Early stage
Do-it-yourself Housing Project	Social cohesion	Project/Policy	Area-based & Group-based	Upper and lower income groups in Hillsluis	Demographic & Socio-economic	City	Public – Private	Short term	Completed
Spectacle at the Cape	Social cohesion	Festival	Area-based	All people in Katendrecht	Ethnic & Demographic & Socio-economic	District/ Neighbourhood	Public-private & Grassroots	Short term	Completed or Early Stage

APPENDIX VII. THE INTERVIEWED RESIDENTS IN FEIJENOORD

General characteristics of the interviewed residents

We interviewed 56 people who live in eight different neighbourhoods in Feijenoord. Most interviewees live in the neighbourhoods of Feijenoord, Hillesluis, Katendrecht and Vreewijk. Our research sample includes people from 15 countries who identify their ethnicity as (a combination of): Dutch, German, (Alevitist) Turkish, (Turkish) Kurdish, (Riffian) Moroccan, (Hindustani) Surinamese, Antillean, Asian Antillean Curacao, Cape Verdean, Portuguese, Eritrean, Dominican, Croatian, Hungarian, Chinese, Rohingya Burmese, Indonesian, Pakistani. The largest ethnic groups among the interviewees are Dutch, Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans. In terms of religion, the sample includes people with different forms of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. Interviewees' duration of stay in the dwelling and neighbourhood varies from a few weeks to a couple of years to several decades. The longest consecutive durations of stay in the neighbourhood are 37, 34, 33 and 31 years. Furthermore, many interviewees grew up in their current neighbourhood, moved back to the same neighbourhood or even moved within the same neighbourhood.

We have spoken with 32 women and 24 men. Most interviewees are aged between 31 and 45. The second largest age group is 46-60 years old. We have also interviewed people aged 18-30 and over 60. The youngest interviewees were 18, 21 and 23 years old, while the eldest were 68 and 69. We have interviewed people who live by themselves, couples, single-parents, couples with children, a multigenerational family and people who live in a form of shared housing (e.g. shared house with brother). The largest groups of interviewees live alone, have a partner and children, or are single parents with children.

In terms of the socio-economic status (SES) of the interviewees referring to income and education levels and type of occupation, most interviewees in our sample have, as expected, a relatively low or lower-middle SES. Most interviewees have intermediate vocational degrees, but several have only completed primary school. People with low and medium education levels include residents of diverse ethnicities. Interviewees with (applied) university degrees include those with Turkish, Moroccan, Dutch and German ethnicity. Many interviewees do not have a job or are in low-skilled jobs (e.g. clerks, low-skilled health care workers). People with high-skilled jobs are mostly Dutch. Most interviewees have a relatively low or medium-low net monthly household income of between € 833-1,667 and € 1,668-2,500 respectively. But, we have interviewed various interviewees with very low (less than € 833), lower-medium (€ 1,668-2,499), higher-medium (€ 2,500-3,333), high (€ 3,334-4,166), and very high (more than € 4167) net monthly household incomes as well. Interviewees with very high incomes are all Dutch. Those with high incomes include Dutch and first and second generation Cape Verdeans and Moroccans.

List of interviewees and key features

	Interviewee	Age	Gender	Household	Income	Ethnicity	Education
1	Hannah	61-75	F	Single	1667-2500	Surinamese Creole Dutch	Lower vocational
2	Maanasa	18-30	F	Couple, no children	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani Dutch	Intermediate vocational
3	Nancy	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Cape Verdean Dutch	Intermediate vocational
4	Jim	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Cape Verdean Dutch	Intermediate vocational
5	Edward	31-45	M	Couple, 4 children	>4167	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
6	Lauren	46-60	F	Couple, 4 children	>4167	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
7	Eric	61-75	M	Single	1667-2500	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
8	Lina	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Moroccan Dutch	Pre-university education
9	Mouad	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Moroccan Dutch	Intermediate vocational
10	Emre	18-30	M	Lives with parents & 1 sibling	No answer	Turkish Dutch	Intermediate vocational
11	Cynthia	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani Dutch	Lower vocational
12	Ebru	46-60	F	Single parent, 3 children	833-1667	Turkish Dutch	Primary school
13	Yavuz	18-30	M	Shared housing	833-1667	Turkish Dutch	Lower vocational
14	Fuat	18-30	M	Lives with parents & 1 sibling	No info	Turkish Dutch	Lower vocational
15	Ronald	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Dutch	Pre-university education
16	Louisa	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Dutch	Primary school
17	René	31-45	M	Couple, 2 children	>4167	Dutch	MSc
18	Mirjam	31-45	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Surinamese Dutch	Lower vocational
19	Hans	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Dutch	Pre-university education
20	Linda	61-75	F	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani Dutch	Primary school
21	Hagar	46-60	F	Couple, no children	No answer	Dutch	Primary school
22	Rick	31-45	M	Shared housing	<833	Dutch	MSc
23	Hilda	61-75	F	Lives with 1 son & 1 grandchild	833-1667	Dutch	Higher secondary
24	Dunya	31-45	F	Single parent, 3 children	1667-2500	Surinamese Dutch	Intermediate vocational
25	Szilvia	31-45	F	Couple, 1 child	No answer	Hungarian Dutch	Intermediate vocational
26	Pari	31-45	F	Couple, 4 children	833-1667	Pakistani Dutch	Higher secondary
27	Falgun	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Dominican Republic	Intermediate vocational
28	Sonia	31-45	F	Couple, 1 child	833-1667	Moroccan Dutch	Intermediate vocational

	Interviewee	Age	Gender	Household	Income	Ethnicity	Education
29	Michael	31-45	M	Single parent, 1 child	2500-3333	German	MSc
30	Cheng	18-30	M	Single	1667-2500	Antillean Dutch	Intermediate vocational
31	Vera	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	>4167	Dutch	MSc
32	Rajesh	18-30	M	Lives with mother & 3 siblings	833-1667	Antillean Dutch	Lower vocational
33	Genji	18-30	F	Lives with parents & 2 siblings	833-1667	Chinese Dutch	Intermediate vocational
34	Peter	46-60	M	Couple, no children	2500-3333	Dutch	BSc
35	Simone	18-30	F	Single	No answer	Dutch	MSc
36	Hanley	18-30	M	Single	1667-2500	Indonesian Dutch	Intermediate vocational
37	Yaryna	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	1667-2500	Croatian Dutch	Intermediate vocational
38	Willemijn	31-45	F	Single parent, 1 child	1667-2500	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
39	Arjan	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
40	Frank	61-75	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Creole Dutch	Lower vocational
41	Tahar	18-30	M	Shared Housing	<833	Burmese Dutch	Primary school
42	Aida	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	1667-2500	Moroccan Dutch	Intermediate vocational
43	Dilara	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	No answer	Turkish Dutch	University of applied sciences
44	Ahmed	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	2500-3333	Moroccan Dutch	University of applied sciences
45	Thea	61-75	F	Single	No answer	Surinamese Dutch	Intermediate vocational
46	Ciwan	46-60	M	Couple, 3 children	833-1667	Moroccan Dutch	Lower vocational
47	Fatima	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	No answer	Moroccan Dutch	Intermediate vocational
48	Winta	n.d.	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Eritrean Dutch	Lower vocational
49	Zula	46-60	F	Single	<833	Eritrean Dutch	Primary school
50	Richard	18-30	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Dutch	Lower vocational
51	Anne	46-60	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Dutch	Lower vocational
52	Bouchra	46-60	F	Couple, unknown nr. of children	833-1667	Moroccan Dutch	Lower vocational
53	Mohammed	46-60	M	Couple, unknown nr. of children	833-1667	Moroccan Dutch	Intermediate vocational
54	Tamara	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	2500-333	Dutch	Intermediate vocational
55	Joyce	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	2500-3333	Surinamese Dutch	Intermediate vocational
56	Marcello	18-30	M	Single	<833	Cape Verdean Dutch	Intermediate vocational

APPENDIX VIII. THE INTERVIEWED ENTREPRENEURS IN FEIJENOORD

Name	Age	Gender	Enterprise and position	Ethnicity and education level
Asli	31-45	F	Co-owner medium-sized café/ restaurant	Turkish Dutch, Lower vocational education
Wibaut	18-30	M	Owner large events agency, a restaurant, a freelance office space rental for freelancers	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Aart	31-45	M	Owner of a medium-sized advertising company	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Fadime	46-60	F	Co-owner of a small-sized café/ restaurant	Turkish Dutch, Primary school education
Ilse	46-60	F	Pub owner	Spanish Dutch, Lower vocational education
Taavi	31-45	M	Owner medium-sized supermarket	Turkish Dutch, Lower vocational education
Azra	31-45	F	Freelance tailor shop	Turkish Dutch, Lower vocational education
Alise	46-60	F	Pub owner	Dutch, Lower vocational education
Ben	46-60	M	Co-director small-sized cultural enterprise	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Sahib	46-60	M	Owner two medium-sized shops in party articles	Surinamese Dutch, Higher vocational education
Pepin	46-60	M	Owner small-sized landscape architecture firm	Dutch, University education
Victor	46-60	M	Director medium-sized indoor skate park	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Muqheet	46-60	M	Co-owner small-sized women's clothes shop	Pakistani Dutch, Secondary education
Hicham	46-60	M	Owner of a small-sized telecom store	Moroccan Dutch, Secondary education
Roy and Annet	46-60	M F	Owners small-sized shop in Spanish foods	Norwegian Spanish Dutch and Dutch, Secondary education
Pim	61-75	M	Manager large-sized supermarket	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Michael	18-30	M	Owner medium-sized journalism company	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Thomas	46-60	M	Freelance furniture maker	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Esmā	31-45	F	Owner small-sized hair salon	Turkish Dutch, Lower vocational education
Anass	18-30	M	Owner small-sized fish shop	Moroccan Dutch, Lower vocational education
Indra	46-60	F	Owner medium-sized consultancy firm	Indonesian Dutch, Higher vocational education
Ronald	18-30	M	Freelance mediator and artist	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Nuwait	46-60	M	Owner small-sized cosmetics shop	Pakistani Dutch, Lower vocational education
Joseph	46-60	M	Freelance custom tailor	Burundi Dutch, Lower vocational education
Mustafa	31-45	M	Owner large-sized home care company	Turkish Dutch, Higher vocational education

Name	Age	Gender	Enterprise and position	Ethnicity and education level
Remy	46-60	M	Location manager large-sized secondary school	Indonesian Dutch, Higher vocational education
Ella	46-60	F	Owner small-sized employment agency	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Janou	18-30	M	Owner small-sized designer clothes shop	Cape Verdean Dutch, Higher vocational education
Katy	31-45	F	Manager large-sized multinational store in electronica	Dutch, Lower vocational education
Timothy	46-60	M	Co-director large-sized multinational industrial business	Dutch, University education
Matthijs	61-75	M	General practitioner and owner of medium-sized practice	Dutch, University education
Sarah	31-45	F	Co-director of large-sized multinational in foods	Dutch, University education
Nezih	46-60	M	Co-owner large-sized business in car parts	Turkish Dutch, Secondary education
Yasin	18-30	M	Owner small-sized employment agency	Turkish Dutch, Higher vocational education
Boris	61-75	M	Freelance cooking workshops	Dutch, Higher vocational education
Willem	46-60	F	Senior legal officer in small-sized law firm	Dutch, University education
Dylan	31-45	M	Owner small-sized youth empowerment association	Surinamese Dutch, Higher vocational education
Monique	46-60	F	Director medium-sized health care centre	Dutch, University education
Salim	31-45	M	Owner small-sized car garage	Turkish Dutch, Higher vocational education
Ruben	46-60	M	Freelance home-based architect	Dutch, University education
Joanne	31-45	F	Co-director large-sized multifunctional events accommodation	Dutch, University education

NOTES

- 1 This chapter is for a large part based on Tasan-Kok, T., R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt (2013), *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- 2 We will elaborate on these concepts later in this chapter. Very general definitions are provided here.
- 3 Large parts of these texts have been published earlier in Tasan-Kok et al. (2013).
- 4 The Randstad is the densely populated central west part of the Netherlands comprising the four largest cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht along with their surrounding areas and small neighbouring cities.
- 5 The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 to protect the Dutch state's trade in the Ocean. The company flourished throughout the 17th century serving the Dutch commercial empire in the East Indies. It was dismantled in 1799.
- 6 Throughout the book when we refer to the ethnicity of people as solely 'Dutch' we mean that both of their parents were born in the Netherlands.
- 7 Due to their socio-economic and cultural position people from Indonesia and Japan living in the Netherlands are seen as people with a 'western' background. They are mainly people born in the former Dutch East Indies and people working for Japanese companies and their families.
- 8 The Antillean Dutch in Utrecht are an exception to this. They are a small category in Utrecht and are characterised by a very low SI score of 12.4 (Statistics Netherlands, 2012).
- 9 The employment share of advanced producer services in Rotterdam increased from 20.3% to 25.8% between 1995 and 2007. The growth rate in Amsterdam was substantially higher in the same period: from 26.0% to 33.6% (Van der Waal, 2010).
- 10 The figures of the Netherlands refer to 2013.
- 11 In the years between 2000 and 2009 20,000 dwellings in Rotterdam were demolished (Dol and Kleinhans, 2012).
- 12 By mainstream policy we mean that a policy is meant to target all citizens in the city rather than a specific group.
- 13 In the period 2006-2010 the Labour Party (PvdA) was the largest party in a coalition with the Christian Democrats (CDA), the Liberal Democrats (D66), the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) and the Green Party (Groen Links). In the period 2010-2014 the PvdA ruled together with D66 and CDA. From 2014 Liveable Rotterdam is the biggest party in a coalition with CDA and D66.
- 14 At the start of a four-year government term in 2010 and in 2014, the ruling coalition developed a City Plan and an associated Implementation Strategy that respectively defined 'what' should be done and 'how'.
- 15 The Knowledge Centre for Diversity Rotterdam closed and was replaced by the Urban Expertise Centre on Integration Radar in December 2015.

- 16 The Tree and the Rhizome is a report by Steen, Peeters and van Twist (2010) for the Ministry of Housing, Spatial planning and Environmental Planning on the position of the changing role of the government in a network society.
- 17 Due to budget cuts and decentralisation processes, the Municipality of Rotterdam decided to close the Flywheel as of 18 January 2016, about one year after we finished our fieldwork here.
- 18 One of the neighbourhoods within the research area, the city district of Feijenoord, is called Feijenoord as well.
- 19 We define socio-economic status by interviewees' education level and household income. A low, medium and high SES we respectively define as having: a primary or lower vocational educational degree and a net monthly household income below € 1670; a pre-university or intermediate educational degree and a net monthly household income between € 1670 and € 3300; a university (of applied sciences) educational degree and a net monthly household income above € 3300.
- 20 Some interviewees mentioned more than one as a driver to move to the current dwelling.
- 21 These groups are sometimes very visible in the streets.
- 22 The term Opzooieren originates from the Opzooierstreet in Rotterdam, where in 1989 residents started an initiative to tidy up their street. It has become an official verb in the Dutch language and the name of a policy programme in Rotterdam.
- 23 Activities are not always with others. Activities like shopping, walking, swimming and going to work or studying are often undertaken alone.
- 24 Not all the interviewees use local public spaces much and some interviewees do not use public spaces at all. Some people (mostly with a low SES) are very family oriented and do not undertake many activities outside their own home. Some people (mostly those who have a job outside the neighbourhood and do not belong to the lowest SES groups) spend most of their time outside the neighbourhood.
- 25 In the study family members include biological relatives, family by marriage and partners.
- 26 We define resident age groups as: young 18-30 years; middle-aged 31-60 years; and elderly as 60 years or older.
- 27 We define low, medium and high education levels respectively as having: a primary or lower vocational educational degree; a pre-university or intermediate educational degree; a university (of applied sciences) educational degree.
- 28 The creative industries include: advertising and marketing; architecture; crafts; product, graphic and fashion design; film, TV, video, radio and photography; IT, software and computer services; publishing; museums, galleries and libraries; music; performing and visual arts; and gaming (DCMS, 2015).
- 29 Many other parts of Feijenoord were rebuilt after the Second World War.

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