4.1 Final publishable summary report
A description of the main S&T results/foregrounds (25 pages)
Interethnic contact, between immigrants and natives, is embedded in unequal power relations, class positions and cultural dispositions. The study of interethnic relations may reflect the core sociological problem of "the formation, stabilization and change of social relations" (Esser 1986: 30). On-going immigration and increasing diversity in European societies amidst the economic and political pitfalls in the context of globalisation, restructuring and crisis, have given rise to growing concerns over interethnic relations as a prerequisite for social cohesion.

One of the key approaches that the relevant literature draws on is the so-called *contact hypothesis*, which assumes that as people of different backgrounds come into contact with each other, prejudice and thus social distance decreases. In its original form, as developed by Allport (1954) and later extended, among others, by Pettigrew (1998), this inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice is maximised when five conditions are met: equal status, cooperation, common goals, support of laws/customs and potential for friendship (Lancee & Dronkers 2011). It is possibly due to the lack of one or more of these conditions that much empirical research has pointed to exactly the opposite outcome, i.e. that intergroup contact may actually increase prejudice, known as *conflict (or ethnic competition, or stratification) theory*. One of the explanations, based on the work of Blalock (1967), focuses on perceptions of threat among the majority group (natives) and how these relate to actual competition with the minority group (migrants) over opportunities and resources. Two criteria are relevant here. One relates to the size of the minority group: the larger this is the larger the threat it supposedly poses, thus the more intense the competition will be. The other has to do with the wider economic conditions: when these are unfavourable resources become scarcer, and therefore the perceived threat grows and competition intensifies.

Putnam (2007) has recently suggested a third possibility, which he terms *constrict theory*. Although he is actually concerned with the effects of diversity on societal trust and social capital, as has also been explored using GEITONIES data, his article departs from the premises set by the above approaches and thus became a reference for recent studies on interethnic relations (e.g. Vervoort *et al.* 2010). His key argument that diversity impacts negatively on social solidarity (in the US context), came at a time of high politicisation of immigration issues and has stimulated much debate, ranging from criticism (e.g. Giddens 2007) to replications of his study in Europe (Lancee & Dronkers 2011). Despite our objections to both the theoretical foundations and methodological tools, constrict theory suggests that *diversity* (read *interethnic contact*) may actually reduce both in-group *and* out-group solidarity, i.e. deteriorate not only interethnic relations but undermine social cohesion at large.

What is often downplayed in studies employing "contact" or "conflict" theory is a failure to account for the social context which influences individual and group relations and patterns of behaviour in various ways. On the other hand, there is also much debate on what "context" may involve and how this relates to individual attributes and attitudes. In his study of interethnic relations among migrant workers in West German cities, Esser (1986: 36) distinguished between two categories of context. One he termed the "(territorially predetermined) *macro-structure*, in particular the presence of persons of the same or of the other group and the behaviour… of those in

each of the groups". This may partly echo the first of the conditions in Blalock's competition theory about the size of the minority group. But it also brings to mind so-called supply-side perspectives (see Vervoort *et al.* 2010: 3), such as that of Blau's (1977) theory of intergroup contact, whereby the social context relates to the "pool" from which people select their contacts. Accordingly, out-group contact is dependent on the size of the in-group; the larger the in-group the less the out-group contacts. In general, this view is reflected in the importance attributed to the ethnic composition of the setting under study - in many cases, as in ours, the neighbourhood (e.g. Vervoort *et al.* 2010). Esser's second category is what he calls the *primary milieu*, i.e. the normative climate prevailing in the relevant reference environment. Again, partly at least, we may find parallels to what others refer to as "third party" influences, pointing to the context of socialisation: others (the family, the ethnic community, the state, etc.) may directly or indirectly encourage or discourage contact (Kalmijn 1998). In addition, context may also refer to other characteristics of the immediate (e.g. neighbourhood) or broader (e.g. city, nation state, transnational space) social environment. Socio-economic and socio-spatial characteristics, are often downplayed even though they often play a role (Fong & Isajiw 2000; Vervoort *et al* 2010).

Moreover, Esser also reminds us of the relationship between residential segregation and ethnic segmentation, echoing the Chicago ecological school's accounts equating social to spatial distance. It is actually there whereby the study of interethnic contact may find its origins. R. E. Park (1950: 138) wrote about the *race-relations cycle* of "contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation". Despite its implied linearity and "mechanistic" logic of sequential stages leading to a "progressive and irreversible" outcome, the pervasive influence of this approach is apparent in later studies which Esser (1986: 32) calls the "*sequence and cycle models*". Even Putnam' paper earlier mentioned describes a linear process by distinguishing between short to medium run effects (when diversity impacts negatively on social solidarity) and the long run (when diversity has positive effects). The important issue here is the introduction of a *temporal dimension* in the development of interethnic relations. Along such lines, Martinovic *et al.* (2009) have recently criticised the bulk of interethnic relations research for being overwhelmingly static and proposed that interethnic contact should be seen as a dynamic phenomenon.[1] The following text will address, analyse and contest many of these theories and empirical results through various thematic studies and statistical analyses using data collected between 2009 and 2010 in the ambit of the GEITONIES project.

Interethnic relations
Prior to any statistical analysis of the data a preliminary descriptive analysis of the nature and frequency of interethnic relations in the 18 neighbourhoods studied across in six European cities is fundamental. This will enable us to begin reflecting on the **different modes of interethnic coexistence that can be identified in European urban settings**, a core research objective.

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[1] This introduction can be found in Labrianidis, L., Hatziprokopiou, P., Pratsinakis, M. & Vogiatzis, N. (2011) Living together in multi-ethnic cities: Immigrant's intimate networks and the development of interethnic relations, GEITONIES, Unpublished.

Beginning with the respondents' global social networks[2] no significant differences were found between migrants and natives in terms of network *size* - with the exception of free time networks, which are on average slightly more extended for migrant respondents (with a mean number of 9.5 contacts compared to 8.03 for natives). As expected, relationships in the other contact fields are much more restricted regardless of background- ranging from 3.72 (help networks of natives) to 3.33 (confidentiality and advice networks of migrants).

As far as the composition of social networks is concerned, a significant component of both migrants' and natives' global network is comprised of relatives; the social network of approximately one out of five respondents is comprised exclusively of family members. Concerning interethnic relations, significant differences can be observed between migrants and natives. While respondents overall tend to socialise mostly with people of the same origin, migrants appear to have significantly more contacts of different ethnic backgrounds than natives. Interethnic relations are more common in the 'free time' contact field, whereas relatives are overrepresented in the fields of "help" and "advice and confidentiality" for both natives and migrants given the nature of the contact. Taking this into account, as well as the fact that relatives form an equal share of migrants' and natives' social networks, one can conclude that relatives do not account at all for the substantial difference found between migrants and natives in terms of interethnic relations. This difference is probably explained to a large extent by the difference in size of the immigrant and native populations in the cities where research was conducted[3], bringing to mind Blau's (1977) "supply-side" theory (Labrianidis, *et al.* 2011).

The findings concerning the respondents' global social network are confirmed when we narrow down our analysis to their close social circle. Again, one cannot observe significant differences in network size (mean number or persons 3.13 and 3.09 for natives and migrants respectively)[4]. In terms of the ethnic composition of close social networks, migrants were reported to have a mean of 1.19 interethnic contacts in their close social network while for natives the mean number of interethnic relations was as low as 0.12. Table 1 presents the share of respondents who have established at least one interethnic relation by immigrant/native background. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference between the two groups. The share of immigrants who have established interethnic relations is 52.4 per cent, compared to only 9.5 per cent for the total number of natives.

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[2] Information was collected on respondents' most important and overall social networks. For the first, name generator questions were used to collect information on the network members of an individual. The respondents could only name up to eight individuals who are considered as most important to the respondent outside his or her household irrespective of where they live. Information on the place of residence and other main characteristics was also gathered for this group. Four contact categories are distinguished: spending free time, asking for or giving confidentiality and advice, and receiving help or helping out (e.g. taking care of children, lending money, helping you and your family in finding work, a good doctor et cetera) as well as other relationships. Respondents were then asked about their overall social networks again divided by the content or role of the contacts. They were asked about the size of their overall network (with no limit imposed), the ethnic composition, place of residence, the extent to which it is family based and sex.

3 With the exception of Rotterdam natives form clear majorities in all cities.

[4] Mean number of contacts, as well as the respective means for interethnic contacts, were calculated only for those respondents who have reported having close contacts. The 223 respondents who appear to have no contacts at all or refused to answer were excluded from the analysis.

Table 1. Interethnic relations according to native immigrant - background

	Interethnic Relations		Total
	No	**Yes**	
migrant background	739	815	1554
	47.60%	52.40%	100.00%
native background	1711	180	1891
	90.50%	9.50%	100.00%
TOTAL	2450	995	3445
	71.10%	28.90%	100.00%

$c^2(1, N=3445)= 765,234, p< .05$

Interethnic relations among migrant and native residents' close social networks were found to follow very similar patterns to that of their overall social networks. For the 52.4 per cent of migrants who do have some interethnic contact in their close social network, about 31 per cent concerns relationships with natives only, while nearly 65.5 per cent concerns "mixed" networks comprised mostly (57.4 per cent) of co-ethnics and natives, while only 17.6 per cent do not socialise with natives at all. The shares of those maintaining close relationships only with people of different backgrounds are very low (below 4 per cent). Thus, we cannot argue that the higher frequency of interethnic relations among migrants is necessarily an indication of "openness" to, and intimacy with, the "other" in general, but rather of their interaction with the host country's native population, and thus a degree of assimilation in their patterns of socialisation. Following Blau's (1977) thesis mentioned previously, this type of relationships could partly be seen as a "necessity" for immigrants, given that natives are obviously the majority (dominant) group. On the other hand, it also entails a dynamic element, since close relationships (such as those examined here) are beyond inevitable native-migrant interaction and extend to the level of intimacy, which is built over time, as immigrants become more and more settled in the host country and in the specific localities where they live (Labrianidis *et al*. 2011).

In order to demonstrate the relationship between the two elements of the social network measured in the survey – the global/overall network and the close network – a further analysis has been conducted specifying different types of interethnic friendships. Here, all respondents who indicated that they have a friend from a different origin in either their overall social network or among their closest friends (out of a possible eight) are included. Four subgroups are considered; respondents with no interethnic friendships, those with interethnic friendships limited to their overall social network, those with friends from another origin only among their closest friends and, lastly, those with interethnic friendships in both their overall network and closet circle of friends.

Table 2 Types of interethnic friendships, by background

	migrant background	native background	Total
No interethnic friendships	592	1502	2094
	37,50%	**78,10%**	59,80%
Interethnic only in overall social network	175	240	415
	11,10%	12,50%	11,90%
Only in close social network	221	51	272
	14,00%	2,70%	7,80%

In overall social network and close friends	591	129	720
	37,40%	6,70%	20,60%
Total	1579	1922	3501

Source: GEITONIES Survey, 2010, chi Square = 782.248, p = 0.000, n=3501, 163 missing

     In concordance with the data presented thus far, perhaps the most prominent observation that strikes one first from table 2 is the fact that almost 80 per cent of natives do not have interethnic friendships in either their close or overall social network, whilst this is true for less than 40 per cent of migrants. For those natives that do have interethnic friendships, the largest part is represented in the overall social network and not in the close social network. On the other hand, migrants with interethnic relations tend to have friends both among their closest circle of friends and in their broader network. At the city level for both migrants and natives the old migration cities of Vienna and Rotterdam are distinct as having the highest degree of interethnic friendships. Whilst the newer destinations have extremely low levels, this is especially true in Bilbao and Warsaw, though for example, Thessaloniki is intermediate due to the specific characteristics of mainly Soviet Greek migrants there and the cultural background and historical links that they share with the native population (Fonseca *et al*. 2011b).

The contact continuum and modes of coexistence: the relationship between weak and strong ties

The types of relationships described previously clearly refer to what (Granovetter 1973) terms 'strong' ties. The distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' ties is an important one to make. The latter relates to relationships that meet fundamental emotional needs and are thought to have a 'bonding' effect. On the other hand weak ties are less personal, superficial even; yet, they serve to bring people from different groups together working as a 'bridging' mechanism. As such, various dimensions of interethnic contact along the contact continuum were measured in the survey, which allow us to explore the relationship and its direction between weak and strong ties, as well as attempting to begin the characterisation of **modes of interethnic coexistence** – as stated in the first research question.

Interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood

On the contact continuum one of the weakest forms of contact maybe engaging in small talk. The informal components of the so-called 'soft-infrastructure' of any given locality are thought to include various forms of interaction that may have a bearing on the social cohesion of the area. Among migrants, regardless of network type (mixed or homogenous), in general terms there is a high degree of superficial exchange. Indeed, even 72.9 per cent of those who do not have interethnic friendships have exchanged small talk in the neighbourhood with natives or other migrant groups over the past three months. When this type of superficial contact is considered the remainder of migrants with no form of contact with 'the other' is minimal, representing only 10 per cent of valid answers. Still, the larger group of migrants who have mixed networks have higher levels of superficial exchange (16%) (Fonseca *et al*. 2011b).

Table 3 Exchanged small talk with immigrants from other origins or natives, by type of friendship, immigrants

	No	Yes	Total
No interethnic friendships	151	406	557

		27,10%	**72,90%**	100,00%
Interethnic only in overall social network		30	141	171
		17,50%	82,50%	100,00%
Only in close social network		60	149	209
		28,70%	71,30%	100,00%
In overall social network and close friends		65	508	573
		11,30%	88,70%	100,00%
Total		306	1204	1510
		20,30%	79,70%	100,00%

Source: GEITONIES Survey; chi square = 54.376, p=0.000, n=1510, 159 missing.

Table 4 Exchanged small talk with immigrants, by type of interethnic friendship, natives

	No	Yes	Total
No interethnic friendships	716	582	1298
	55,20%	**44,80%**	100,00%
Interethnic only in overall social network	54	153	207
	26,10%	73,90%	100,00%
Only in close social network	16	25	41
	39,00%	61,00%	100,00%
In overall social network and close friends	22	93	115
	19,10%	**80,90%**	100,00%
Total	808	853	1661

Source: GEITONIES Survey; chi square =105.850, p=0.000, n=1661, 334 missing.

The picture, nevertheless, is altogether altered when the native sample is considered. Indeed, 44.8% of natives who do not have interethnic friendships have exchanged small talk with migrants in the neighbourhood. However, this almost doubles for the smaller group of natives that have interethnic friendships. Another important point to note is the high proportion of natives with no interethnic relations who have not engaged in small talk at the local level with the other, representing 43 per cent of the total population. In both groups, slightly lower levels of small talk can be observed among those who only have friends in the close social network (Fonseca *et al*. 2011b).

With regards to the causality of this relationship, Fonseca *et al.* (2011a) analysing GEITONIES data using multilevel regression analysis found that the number of persons of natives and migrants of "other" origin than co-ethnics in close social network is a highly significant predicator of superficial contacts (exchanging small talk) at the local level indicating that intimate relations influence daily interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood. Interestingly, however, supporting Allport's contact theory, Kohlbacher *et al.* (2011), testing the relationship in the opposite direction, found in their analysis of GEITONIES data that superficial contacts in the neighbourhood did not reduce anti-immigrant views or attitudes, whilst strong ties like visiting at home or intimate friendships did.

When we move along the contact continuum to a more intimate form of interaction in the local setting, visiting or welcoming neighbours at home, as one would expect the frequency of interaction decreases. Furthermore, we may reasonably assume that visiting at home may result in more affective bonds given its more intimate nature. At the local level inter-group home visits are considerably higher among the groups of natives and migrants who have interethnic friendships.

Still, this difference is clearly mediated by the background of the respondents, being much more pertinent for native respondents. Welcoming or visiting migrants at home is clearly related to having interethnic relations or not for this group; 71 per cent of natives who have interethnic relations visited or welcomed migrants at home compared with only 17.5 per cent of those who do not have interethnic friendships. Among the migrant sample the difference in home visiting among those who have and do not have interethnic relations is considerably smaller (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b). This permits us to tentatively suggest that the neighbourhood might be a more important place for natives in stimulating or developing interethnic bonds than for migrants. Again, however, care must be taken with interpretation and the generalisation of such claims due to the very small numbers of natives with interethnic relations.

Interethnic marriage
Given the low frequency of interethnic marriage, it is unsurprising that in general terms a larger share of respondents who have interethnic friendships do not or have not had interethnic partners in the past. However, when one compares the existence or not of interethnic friendships the share of interethnic marriages is substantially higher among those who have interethnic friendships. Around one third of natives with interethnic friendship has or has had interethnic partners compared with only 6.8 per cent of those with in-group networks. Likewise, only 12 per cent of migrants without interethnic friendships have ever had an interethnic partner compared to over 40 per cent who have mixed friendship networks (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b). For natives, this very intimate form of interaction appears to have particular bearing for the development of close friendships. Fonseca *et al.* (2011a) also found a statistical relationship between interethnic marriages, as an explanatory factor influencing the probability to have intimate interethnic friendships. Moreover, 66.1 per cent of migrants in mixed marriages/partnerships actually developed their intimate interethnic friendships after the initiation of the partnership. A similar pattern also stands among natives: 33% of those in a mixed marriage have intimate interethnic friendships compared to just 6.5 per cent among those whose partner is of the same background. In 73.1 per cent of the cases, intimate interethnic contacts were developed after meeting their partners (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011).

Work colleagues
Working in a mixed environment provides opportunities for encounter and may serve to enhance inter-group familiarity. Indeed, it is important for those who have interethnic friendships, regardless of background group. 87 per cent of migrants with interethnic contacts in both their close and overall social network work in a mixed environment, compared with 53 per cent of those with no interethnic relations. The equivalent percentages for natives are 67 and 30, respectively (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b).

Micro-contexts and relational circumstances of interethnic intimacy
The relationship among the various dimensions of contact along the contact continuum is important to enhance our understanding of how relationships develop among individuals from different ethnic groups. It represents a key research objective of the current project, namely **which factors pertaining to the behavioural patterns and initiatives of the residents (in terms of social interaction) can be pointed out as being causal to the development of modes of interethnic coexistence.** This will be considered further as will the role of other relational circumstances and place in the

development of interethnic relations in response to two of the research objectives. **What is the specific role of places understood as urban neighbourhoods in promoting or limiting cultural interactions across ethnic boundaries?**

How do the ways in which people use space on a daily basis encourage or inhibit intercultural communication and dialogue? What are the most effective spaces for developing meaningful inter-cultural exchanges? (public space, schools, neighbouring)

To state it more directly, one may ask to what extent does the neighbourhood matter in the composition of the social networks of the respondents? Certainly, how this differs for groups of migrants and natives both with and without interethnic relations is also a central point of interest. Due to the way the questionnaire was structured we cannot analyse the overall and close social networks together here. Thus, we will commence with the overall social network and move to the close network. With regards to the overall social network, two main tendencies can be observed in table 5 and table 6. Firstly, it is apparent that the overall social network for spending free time is concentrated outside of the neighbourhood of residence for the majority of natives, (56.2 per cent have none or just a few of their contacts with whom they spend free time there) and the largest proportion of migrants (47.4 per cent) (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b).

Table 13 Ethnic composition of overall social networks for spending free time, share of overall social network living in the neighbourhood of residence, migrants

	None or just a few	Around half	Vast majority	total
All same origin	347	183	293	823
	42,20%	22,20%	**35,60%**	100,00%
Interethnic friends	359	175	131	665
	54,00%	26,30%	**19,70%**	100,00%
Total	706	358	424	1488
	47,40%	24,10%	28,50%	100,00%

Source: GEITONIES Survey, 2010, chi Square =46.021, p = 0.000, n=1488, 181 missing.

A similar pattern can be noted in the other contact fields of sharing confidences and advice and exchanging substantial help. However, the neighbourhood is a more important place as the locus of the overall social network for those who have completely mono-ethnic networks whether they are of migrant or of native background. This is holds true to a greater extent for migrants than for natives. Indeed, slightly over 35 per cent of migrants with no interethnic contacts indicated that the vast majority of their social network lives in the neighbourhood of residence compared with fewer than 20 per cent of those with an ethnically mixed social network. Thus, to certain extent, when the composition of the social network is in-group it is concentrated to a greater degree in the neighbourhood (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b). Furthermore, the literature on neighbourhood effects suggests that the larger the share of contacts concentrated in the neighbourhood of any given individual the more isolated they will be from mainstream society and the more sensitive they will be to the compositional effects of the neighbourhood. Indeed, this theoretical perspective was tested and confirmed using GEITONIES data by Miltenburg and Lindo (2011) as presented later in this summary.
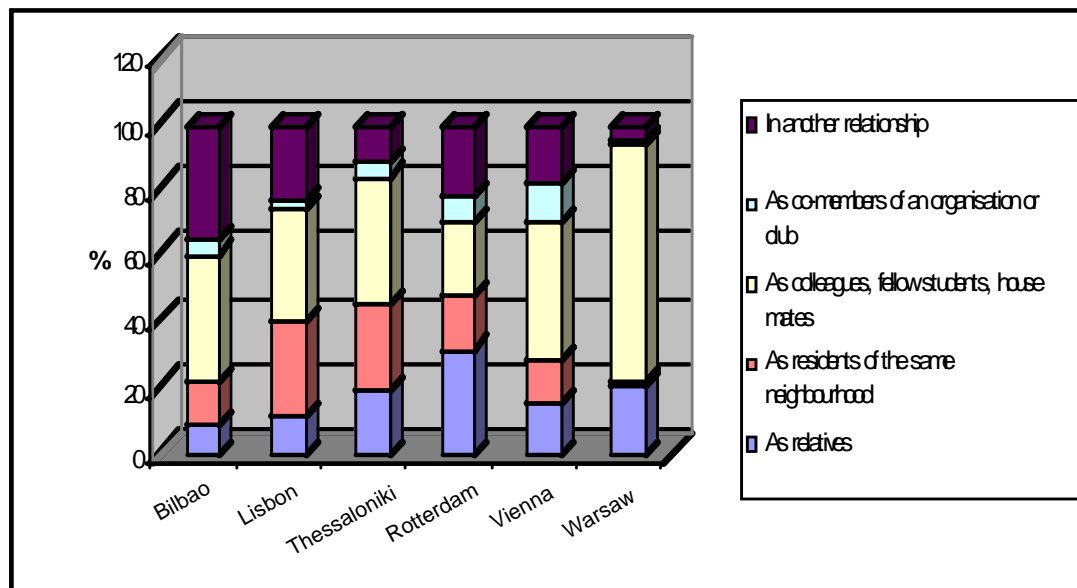
Table 14 Ethnic composition of overall social networks for spending free time, share of overall social network living in the neighbourhood of residence, natives

	None or just a few	Around half	Vast majority	Total
All same origin	823	278	383	1484
	55,50%	18,70%	**25,80%**	100,00%
Interethnic friends	181	81	41	303
	59,70%	26,70%	**13,50%**	100,00%
Total	1004	359	424	1787
	56,20%	20,10%	23,70%	100,00%

Source: GEITONIES Survey, 2010, chi Square = 24.820, p = 0.000, n=1787, 208 missing.

Briefly, it is important to note that those respondents who have interethnic relations not only have a more spatially diverse network, but also have more mixed networks in terms of gender as well as less family-centred networks.

Here we turn to the close social network. Instead of examining the share of people having interethnic contacts, we focus on the actual contacts of migrants and the *micropublics* (e.g. Amin 2003), where interethnic encounters, which later developed into close relationships, took place (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011).
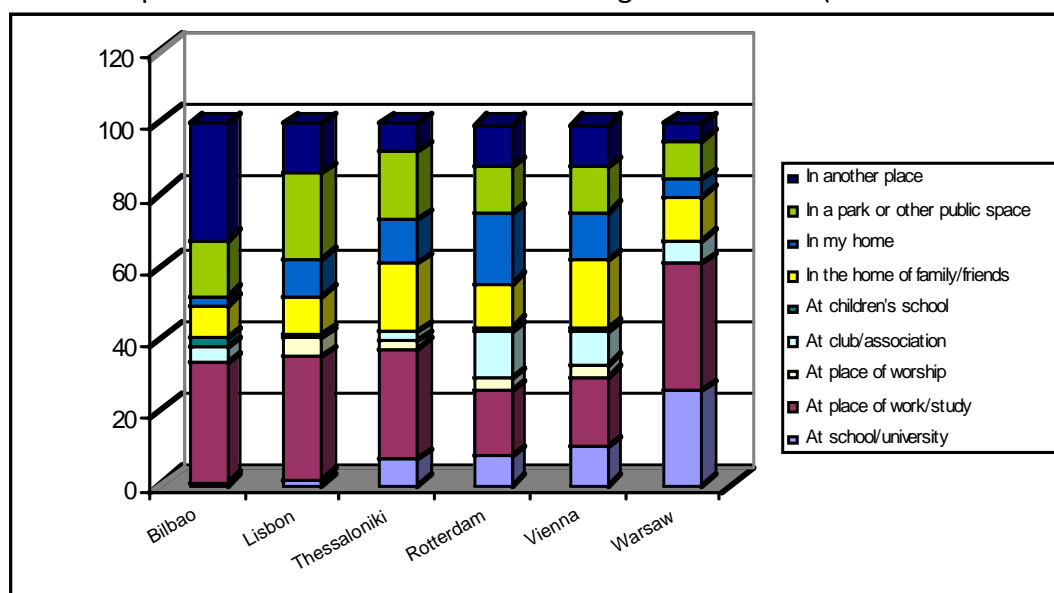

Figure 1. Circumstances of meeting [Question: How did you meet?]

Regarding the circumstances of the original encounter, out of the total interethnic contacts of migrants, the vast majority (38%) were first met as colleagues or fellow students, proportionally more than among same-origin contacts, which are dominated by relations of kin (Figure 1). The picture is similar in the case of natives. Moreover, there are interesting variations by city suggesting that the micro contexts of encounter may also depend on the broader urban and national contexts. Indeed, interethnic encounter as colleagues appears to be far more important in Warsaw than in Rotterdam, where relatives are more important (owning to the higher instance of mixed marriages among migrants). Further, while the share of interethnic contacts met as neighbours is slightly less than that of same-origin contacts, the neighbourhood appears to be a meeting place in Southern European cities. By contrast, while their

overall shares are very low, interethnic contact is more frequent in collective organisations in northern European cities (possibly reflecting the development of civil society) (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011).

The neighbourhood itself emerges as the second most important "micropublic" fostering the development of interethnic relations. It appears to be a slightly more important place of socialization for migrants than natives (seen also for global social networks). However, in actual fact less than one out of three (29.6%) of migrants' total interethnic contacts were developed in the neighbourhood of residence, while a similar share (30.6%) from the total of 815 immigrants who have close interethnic friends met at least one of them in the neighbourhood (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011). When we consider all contacts, whether interethnic or not, of the group of migrants that have at least one interethnic contact, meeting as relatives takes joint first place and the neighbourhood slips into third place (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b).

Interestingly the distribution of immigrants who have met at least one of their interethnic relations across the 18 neighbourhoods does not seem to follow the same pattern as the distribution of the immigrants who have developed interethnic relations in general. Paradoxically the ranking of the neighbourhood seems to be, to a certain extent, reversed. The two neighbourhoods with the highest share of interethnic relations developed in the neighbourhood, Peraia and Costa de Caparica, are among the ones with the lowest overall shares of interethnic relations. At the same time, the majority of interethnic relations in the neighbourhoods with the highest shares have not developed there but outside them. In other words, the neighbourhoods that score high in terms of their immigrants' interethnic relations do not seem to facilitate the development of interethnic relations, but simply concentrate an immigrant population which has developed many interethnic contacts (with the exception of Hoogvliet-Noord in Rotterdam). A first general conclusion that may be extracted from this observation is that the neighbourhood does not appear to be the major determinant in the development of interethnic relations for migrant residents (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011).

Figure, 2. Place of meeting [Question: Where did you meet? (b)}

Another interesting aspect is the actual place where the initial encounter took place, illustrated in Figure 2. The key role of the workplace as a contact point is confirmed,

concerning more than a quarter of migrants' interethnic contacts compared to just 17.5 per cent of same-origin contacts, and is even more pronounced in the countries of recent migration. Similarly, confirmed is the limited share of interethnic contacts first met in a club or association, which is more important in Rotterdam and Vienna. On the other hand, open public spaces appear to be slightly more important meeting places for interethnic relations, especially in Southern European cities (where climate and culture favour socialisation in open spaces). Finally, one can observe the importance of the private sphere of the home (the respondents' own home or the home of relatives or friends) as a meeting place in a quarter of the cases, which exceeds 30% in Rotterdam and Vienna (to an extent reflecting the higher proportions of relatives among interethnic contacts, as well as the limited encounters in the public space), but also Thessaloniki (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011). For all respondents regardless of the background of friends the home is the most important place of meeting followed by the place of work/study (Fonseca *et al.* 2011b).

Neighbourhood and compositional effects: the predictors of interethnic relations
Whilst understanding the types or different dimensions of social interactions as well as their frequency and how and where they develop is crucial, it is important to understand the predictors of interethnic interaction. A crucial objective at the core of the GEITONIES project relates to the role of the local context as well as compositional effects in the process of developing interethnic contacts, expressed in the following research question. ***What neighbourhood and individual factors (social network characteristics, religious affiliations, citizenship, gender, unemployment status, etc) are conducive to fostering an environment of understanding and tolerance?***

In terms of individual factors a simple reading of the data uncovered the existence of particular characteristics that seem to significantly correlate with the tendency of migrants to include interethnic (and mostly native) contacts in their close social networks. These factors that emerged are directly or indirectly related to the time dimension, since – for example – more settled immigrants present higher shares of interethnic contacts, compared to recently-arrived ones, while at the same time, second generation immigrants are also more likely to develop close social networks comprising of native contacts than the first generation (90% of the former have at least one close friend of a different ethnic background compared to 44.8% of the latter). Also, time is relevant in respect to the migrants' life course, whereby specific circumstances (mixed marriages, birth of children) are also associated with the existence (or not) of interethnic contacts in their social networks. The proportion of migrants who have at least one intimate interethnic contact is higher (63%) among those who do not have any children compared to parents (47.4%). As such, the importance of time is underlined in the development of interethnic relations, as an aspect of the wider process of migrants incorporation, which is something often ignored or downplayed in the relevant literature. Further proof of the relevance of the process of migrants' incorporation for the development of interethnic relations came from our examination of factors relating to aspects of their pathways of settlement in the host society. Some of which, like legal status and language proficiency, also seem to be time-dependent, while others simply accounted for the ways individual characteristics, such as ethnicity, religion (fewer shares of migrants belonging to a religion different than the dominant religion among the native sample have interethnic relations compared to those who share the host countries religion(s) or are not

religious at all) education and profession (executive and professional migrants had the highest shares of close interethnic friends) , may relate to the wider political and socio-economic context. Safer and more secured legal status, for instance, is directly correlated with higher probabilities to develop interethnic relations. In most of the cases, of course, these statuses are likely to denote longer periods of permanent residence in the hosting country, while a similar finding stands for linguistic skills (Labrianidis *et al.* 2011).

Following on from the descriptive analysis at the individual level, a more sophisticated statistical analysis was conducted *to explore both the neighbourhood and compositional effects conducive to the development of interethnic relations* (Fonseca *et al.* 2011). The methodology deemed most appropriate to respond to the aforementioned research question was multilevel linear regression modelling, a type of regression analysis in which independent variables from individual and aggregate levels can be included in the same model. Understanding and tolerance were operationalised through social relations measured at both the neighbourhood level and beyond. Two analytical dimensions were taken into consideration: the interethnic dimension of daily contacts in the neighbourhood and the interethnic dimension of the respondents' close contacts. Thus two models were estimated including the following two dependent variables: the share of small talk exchanged in the neighbourhood of residence with people of a different origin (over the three months prior to the survey) and the number of close friends (out of a possible eight) of a different origin.

Two general types of individual-level independent variables were included in the models (not all of these were included in each). The first are *variables related to characteristics of close contacts of the respondent*: number of close contacts*;* share of close contacts with educational levels higher than those of the respondent; number of close persons of different origin; share of neighbours among close contacts; share of relatives among close contacts. The second are those related to the *individual characteristics of the respondent:* long-term residence in the neighbourhood; having children under 16; being in a mixed marriage; education level; gender; age; and religious affiliation.

At the *neighbourhood level* the following variables were used: share of second-generation migrants; social class (EGP mean); and the index of diversity[5]. Including the diversity index at the neighbourhood level also enables us to respond to the following research question: **do levels of ethnic concentration and residential segregation impact on the development of interethnic relations?** Given the differences at the city level dummy variables for cities were included in the models as control variables. The main empirical results can be summarised as follows.

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[5] The index of diversity has been calculated as follows:

$$D = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{N} p^2_i$$

Where

   p = proportion of individuals from a national group
   N = number of nationalities

The index ranges from 0 to 1. A value of 0 signifies no diversity at all, whereby all residents in a given neighbourhood are national citizens of the same country. A perfectly heterogeneous population would have a diversity index score of 1 (assuming infinite categories with equal representation in each category). As the number of categories (nationalities) increases, the maximum value of the diversity index score also increases.

The first point is the differing importance of the neighbourhood level in explaining the variability in the propensity to establish interethnic relations among migrants and natives. For superficial interethnic relations, the role of the neighbourhood context is comparable for migrants and natives, though not very high, indeed, less than 10 per cent of the total variation of their intimate interethnic relations is attributable to differences between neighbourhoods. The analysis of close interethnic contacts resulted somewhat differently. In fact, in the reference model for migrants, 15.6 per cent of the total variation of their intimate interethnic relations is attributable to differences between neighbourhoods. For the native population there is *no* significant neighbourhood effect in explaining the variation of their close contacts with migrants. Given the low percentage of natives with no interethnic relations it is unsurprising that the variability between neighbourhoods is much lower. However, the influence of national and urban contexts in the variation of superficial interethnic contacts in the area of residence should be stressed, especially for natives (the intra class correlation coefficient for the empty model - without controlling for the city level - for natives is 40.3 per cent whereas for migrants it is 18.3 per cent). Thus, the macro-structural characteristics, relating to economic, political and ideological factors or to the migratory context, of each city have a more important effect in comparison with local factors.

Among the neighbourhood characteristics tested in the models, the share of second-generation migrants among migrants in the neighbourhood was the only characteristic at the aggregate level found to shape both superficial and intimate interethnic relations among migrants. In general, the higher the share of second-generation migrants in the neighbourhood the greater the share and intensity of interethnic relations is. Such an outcome suggests that it is the process of migrants' settlement in the neighbourhood over time that matters for the development of interethnic relations.

Among natives, neighbourhood characteristics were only significant in the model for exchanging small talk. The socio-economic level of the neighbourhoods, represented by the mean EGP, is significantly related with the exchange of small talk between autochthonous residents and migrants, indicating that interethnic communication is higher in the urban areas with lower socio-economic status. This may be a result of the over-representation of minority ethnic and immigrant groups in poor neighbourhoods. This is supported further by the fact that the diversity index for each neighbourhood has a positive and statistically significant coefficient, meaning that casual social interaction at the neighbourhood level is more prevalent in those areas with larger migrant communities.

The moderate role of the neighbourhood, as a determinant of the propensity of its inhabitants to develop interethnic contacts, be it close or superficial contacts was also confirmed by the fact that individual predictors have a higher explanatory power than predictors at the neighbourhood level. Beginning with migrants, with respect to individual factors that explain variability in the propensity to engage in superficial interethnic contact in the neighbourhood, the number of interethnic relations in the close social network proves to be a highly significant predicator. This indicates that intimate relations or a positive knowledge of the "other" influence daily interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood (Friedkin 2004; Dixon 2006). The more concentrated the social network is in the neighbourhood the lower the levels of interaction with the

'other' are. Higher levels of education correspond to lower relative frequencies of superficial interethnic contact in the neighbourhood. Gender and religion are also important predictors in the sense that men and those with a religious affiliation interact more in the public domain out with their ethnic group.

Important individual level predictors for natives exchanging small talk with migrants are the number of migrants in the individual social network, age and length of residence in the neighbourhood. Thus, those who have lived in the neighbourhood for longer periods of time interact with migrants to a greater extent. Yet, age has the opposite effect and functions as an inhibitor to daily interactions with neighbours from other origins.

Important predictors for the number of close interethnic relations among migrants include some characteristics of the close social network. First of all, the higher the number of close contacts in general a migrant has, the more likely he/she also is to develop close interethnic contacts. Moreover, migrants who tend to engage in relations with persons with a higher educational level than themselves are also more likely to develop close interethnic relations. To the contrary, the higher proportion of neighbours and relatives among close friends of the migrant, the lower number of interethnic close contacts he/she has. Selected socio-demographic characteristics also have important explanatory power, namely long-term residence in the neighbourhood, being in a mixed marriage and having children under age of 16, which presents a negative coefficient. Levels of educational achievement are also significant with better educated migrants being more likely to develop close interethnic contacts.

In general, only three predictors were found to be significant for natives: the number of close contacts, the share of relatives and the 'mixed marriage' variable. They influence the propensity of natives to develop close interethnic contacts in the same direction observed for migrants.

To summarise, an important finding for the migrant population is the existence of a compositional effect, both in superficial and close interethnic ties, due to the fact that the individual level determinants reduce the variance of interethnic contacts substantially across neighbourhoods. In both cases, it would appear that interethnic contacts vary depending on the migration history, the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and the size and nature of their social networks. Thus, individuals with larger social networks less confined to the place of residence and less focused on family ties have more contacts with mainstream society and are less limited to relationships within their own group. This observation is in line with the model proposed by Bramoullé and Rogers (2010) suggesting that individuals with more connections tend to have more diverse networks. On the other hand, the effect of the neighbourhood context and more amply of the city or the country of residence is considerably more important for natives than for migrants. These results seem to confirm Blau's (1977) "supply side" theory of intergroup contact, in which the development of contacts between natives and migrants are related to the size of the immigrant communities living in the city of residence.

Once again, the analysis also highlighted the relevance of time in the development of interethnic friendship networks, both for migrants and natives, verifying that the length of residence in the neighbourhood presents significant positive coefficients in the multilevel models.

The role of contacts in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants

Moving to the level of more general attitudes, Kohlbacher, Reeger and Schnell (2011) conducted a specific analysis of GEITONIES data on the relationship between social interactions and attitudes towards immigrants, with the assumption that contacts have an impact on attitudes. Daily social interactions in the neighbourhood context are referred to as well as close friends as the relevant plane of reference in order to investigate how contacts in the local context and on a general level are shaping and modifying views on immigrants. Of course, contacts of different qualities, like in everyday life or in the closer circle of friends, are not the only factor influencing the way people think about immigrants and immigration. The data set we have at hand provides the opportunity to analyse the role of contacts in shaping attitudes towards immigrants in comparison with other important determinants like age, education, trust, national identity or religious affiliation.

The leading question was, whether interethnic contacts (or, in Allports terms: true acquaintances) still matter once we consider all important factors at once. Do contacts in the local context still reduce negative attitudes once additional explanatory factors are considered? Our plane of departure was the theoretical foundation of 'inter group contact theory' as proposed by Allport in 1954. The basic assumption of this theoretical argument is that interethnic contacts, under appropriate conditions, are one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members. Thus, personal contacts are also one of the best ways to improve relations among groups that are experiencing conflict. Previous studies on anti-immigrant attitudes were mostly based on national data. However, we have the opportunity **to focus on the local level**. Following Allport's differentiation between the impacts of 'true acquaintance' on the one hand (close relation, friendship) and 'casual acquaintance' on the other, we further argued that it is true acquaintance which matters – especially at the local level in which attitudes are formed through daily face to face interactions. **Our data provided us with the opportunity to empirically differentiate between true acquaintances and casual contacts** which to date has rarely been done. We tested this assumption empirically, first with a descriptive analysis followed by the modelling of attitudes using multivariate analysis, by examining the role of interethnic contacts in addition to a set of predictors that have been identified in the literature as important. This was conducted for fifteen neighbourhoods within the cities Bilbao, Thessaloniki, Vienna, Rotterdam and Lisbon.[6]
The dependent variable, *attitudes towards immigrants*, is measured using an index (mean score) constructed from two survey items. The two questions are: 'It is good for the economy that people from other countries come to live here' and 'In the future, the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society'. The items were answered on a likert scale ranging from 'agree strongly' (1) to 'disagree strongly' (5)[7]. Both survey questions have long been used to measure immigration-related attitudes (McLaren 2003, Quillian 1995, Scheepers et al. 2002, Coenders et al. 2003, Schneider 2008, Semyonov & Glikman 2009).

Our main independent variables of interest, including various types of interethnic contacts, are included as a set of dummy variables in the analysis.

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[6] The neighbourhoods in Warsaw, Poland, were excluded from this analysis as it was impossible to draw random samples for migrants.
[7] The scale of the latter variable has been reversed before creating the index.

'*Interethnic small talks'* and '*Interethnic mutual visits'* indicate whether individuals experienced these types of interethnic contacts during the last three months within the neighbourhood (1=Yes, 0=No). '*Close interethnic relations'* indicate if at least one person in the closest circle of friends is of another ethnic origin[8] All three variables serve as measures for 'true acquaintances' (in Allport`s sense). Next to interethnic relations, several additional factors that have been found to affect attitudes towards immigrants are considered in the analysis. *Trust* is a continuous variable derived from two survey items: 'Do you think that most people try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?' and 'Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?'[9] *Religion* is a dummy variable specifying whether respondents considered themselves as belonging to a particular religion (1=Yes, 0=No). Other individual level control variables were included in the analysis: education, social class, age and gender. Socio-economic attainment is derived from information on the labour market participation of the survey respondents. Following previous research (Phalet et al. 2007) we distinguish economically inactive or unemployed from (self-) employed persons. The latter are then subdivided into broad occupational classes by combining categories into salariat (professional and managerial occupations), intermediate (skilled non-manual and manual occupations as well as self-employed) and working class (semi- and unskilled manual occupations). *Age* is entered as a continuous variable while *gender* is a dummy variable with women being the reference category.

Finally, examining whether the total size of the migrant population and the degree of ethnic diversity within neighbourhoods matters for attitudes towards immigration, we include two contextual variables at the neighbourhood level. First, the 'share of migrants' (expressed as percentages). Secondly, in order to estimate ethnic diversity within neighbourhoods we construct a Herfindahl index of diversity[10]. Two additional variables enter our analysis since they have been identified as highly relevant when explaining attitudes towards immigrants: *Length of residence* in the survey country and *identification with the country of origin*.

A further major contribution of our analysis is that we explored the above expected impact separately **for natives and immigrants** in 15 European urban spaces of 6 metropolises; an approach that has not been done before, taking into account the local perspective, too. The main empirical findings can be summarized as follows:

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[8] We defined 'interethnic' as having contacts with non-co-ethnics.

[9] Both items were measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10 with higher values indicating greater levels of trust. We combined both items as one measure of trust (mean score index with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.68).

[10] This measure represents the probability that two randomly selected individuals will originate from different ethnic groups. The index ranges from 0 to 1 with higher values indicating greater diversity within the neighbourhood. Information to calculate ethnic diversity is drawn from our survey based on the mother's place of birth. This index has been criticized for its 'colour blindness' (Stolle, Soraka & Johnston 2008) because it makes no distinction between a situation where the neighbourhood population exists, for example, out of 40 per cent of one particular immigrant group and 60 per cent of the native population and the reverse. The colour blindness drawback is less relevant in the neighbourhoods included in this study since none of the neighbourhoods was dominated by one particular group (neither one immigrant group nor the majority population).

Overall, we find mixed evidence of the importance of interethnic contacts in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants. We find that true acquaintances reduce prejudice for natives but not for migrants. In line with our hypotheses we saw that the intensity of contacts matters! The higher the degree of intensity of interethnic contacts for natives, the lower their prejudices against immigrants. In sum, interethnic contacts matter for natives. But (in Allport's sense), only true acquaintances (interethnic mutual visits and close friends) reduce anti-immigrant views, but not small talks in the neighbourhood.

With respect to casual contacts we explored the same pattern for natives as for migrants: The presence of migrants in the neighbourhood increases anti-immigrant attitudes while at the same time the degree of diversity decreases anti-immigrant attitudes. In other words, the higher the share of migrants in the neighbourhood, the more negative attitudes are. But at the same time, if the composition within the migrant population is diverse, ethnic prejudices are reduced – for natives as well as for migrants.

For natives, with regard to socio-demographic characteristics, contrary to what has been expected and shown in many other empirical analyses, age doesn't play a role in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants[11] while females have a significantly higher propensity of anti-immigrant views. This has also been shown in other studies where women adopt more negative attitudes than men (e. g. Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007; Bridges & Mateut 2009; Valentova & Alieva 2010). A strong and highly significant relationship between higher levels of education and pro-immigration attitudes is observable. Natives with high levels of education are more positive in their views on immigrants. Though it is often assumed that better educated people simply know the 'right' answers, it has been proved in other studies that the education level is an important and strong predictor (Card *et al*. 2005, Ervasti 2004). People with higher educational attainment tend to hold comparatively sympathetic attitudes toward immigrants (Berg 2009). On the other hand, social class was not found to be significant this may be due to the fact that overall variations of social class positions are greater than in our rather socio-economically homogenous case-study neighbourhoods.[12]

For migrants, educational background as well as social class origin does not significantly contribute to the explanation of attitudes toward immigration across the 15 selected neighbourhoods. We observe differences in attitudes towards immigration between male and female migrants with the latter scoring higher on the attitudinal index indicating greater prejudices against immigrants. Although only slightly statistically significant, age turns out to be a predictor towards anti-immigration attitudes with older migrants found to be less inclined towards newcomers than their younger counterparts.

Besides the main set of independent variables, we found that trust, national identity and religious affiliation were all strong predictors in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants for *both* natives and migrants. Increasing levels of trust (in the fairness and helpfulness of society) gives rise to decreasing anti-immigration attitudes.

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[11] We additionally tested whether age appears as a U-curve by including a squared measure of age. Since this indicator was not significant in any of the models presented here, we decided to drop it from the final models.

[12] It is worth noting that we additionally tested effects of social class origin by using the original Erikson & Goldthrope EGP class scheme (5 groups) but could not find any differences in the two models.

National identity and religious affiliation works in the opposite direction with religious individuals and those with a greater sense of national pride displaying more intolerant views towards immigration.

When comparing the results between natives and migrants, we first have to emphasise that the explanatory power of our empirical model was much weaker in the migrant analysis. In total, we were only able to explore 13 per cent of the total variance. Further research is needed to unfold the underlying dimensions of the formation of attitudes towards immigrants for the migrant population.

In our final empirical examination we explored whether our explanatory model accounted for cross-neighbourhood differences. Overall, after taking the set of predictors into account, only a few neighbourhoods remained significantly more or less likely to have positive or negative attitudes towards immigrants. We discussed possible explanations for the remaining differences in the last section. Nevertheless, future (maybe qualitative) research is needed to understand the remaining differences among the deviant cases.

Finally, we have to stress that our study does not come without methodological caveats: The design of this study does not allow the causal direction of the contact effects to be established and the effect of having mixed friends or living in a mixed neighbourhood might be overestimated because of inverse causality.

Within the literature, there exists an intense discussion on the key conditions to be fulfilled when studying interethnic contacts. However, as pointed out by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006): Allport's optimal conditions are in fact not essential for intergroup contacts to achieve positive outcomes – a finding, that is in line with our results as well.

Neighbourhood effects: Inequalities in the effect of the urban neighbourhood on residents' socioeconomic status

Thus far the specific analyses conducted using the integrated GEITONIES data set have focused on the development of interethnic relations and the impact of individual and other neighbourhood characteristics on attitudes towards immigrants. However, given the uniqueness of the neighbourhood data collected in the GEITONIES survey, it has been possible to contribute to the body of literature on neighbourhood effects. Research has demonstrated that the neighbourhood of residence has a significant impact on life chances. However, Miltenburg and Lindo (2011) point out that more recently, some reviewers of the literature have warned against the self-evidence of assuming a uniform effect of the neighbourhood environment across all residents, as the residential area might in fact affect some people more than others (Glaster 2008 Pinkster 2007; Campbell & Lee 1990, Ellen & Turner, 1997).

The classical assumption is that neighbourhood effects transmit through contagion and socialization models; the impact of socioeconomic characteristics of other residents in the neighbourhood is prevalent in explaining somebody's socioeconomic status. Behavioural influence in the neighbourhood, be it through socialization, peer group activities, role models or social control, essentially transmits through local social networks (Galster, 2008: 10). Therefore, the local contacts of residents should be taken into account when estimating neighbourhood effects. In Galster's words (2008: 10), "the intensity of exposure to such an influence would depend on the degree to which the individual's social networks were contained within the neighbourhood." Indeed, some residents have sources of support that extend beyond the neighbourhood and

they might therefore be less sensitive to neighbourhood attributes (Friedrichs & Blasius 2003, Glaster 2008).

Miltenburg and Lindo (2011), using GEITONIES data, empirically and theoretically expand on this concern. Whilst taking into account the social mechanisms through which neighbourhood effects are transmitted, the focus of the analysis is on whether the degree to which the social network of an individual resides in the neighbourhood leads to differential effects of the neighbourhood's socioeconomic status on the resident's current economic position. In other words, the main idea is that neighbourhood conditions impact differently on different members of our subpopulation of adult residents, and that this difference is related to the size and quality of the social networks of each of them. Residents might have contacts and sources of support that extend beyond the neighbourhood. As a result, these residents might be less receptive to the socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood.

By combining individual predictors and the impact of the socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood, several hypotheses were deduced about how determinants affect residents' socioeconomic status. The first hypothesis concerns education of both the individual and parents, which are believed to be beneficial to somebody's socioeconomic status. *H_1 : The individual's and the parents' educational level are positively related to the resident's socioeconomic status.*

Secondly, we hypothesize that the more contacts inside the neighbourhood an individual has (relative to the total network size), the more isolated the individual is from 'mainstream society'. As a consequence, residents with mainly intra-neighbourhood contacts are set apart for the resources and mainstream institutions that residents with more trans-neighbourhood interaction can access and benefit from. Having a larger share of intra-neighbourhood contacts compared to trans-neighbourhood contacts is believed to hamper economic assimilation and lower the individual's socioeconomic status. In other words, remaining in social isolation hinders upward social mobility of the resident. Leading to the second hypothesis; *H_2: the share of contacts within the neighbourhood is negatively related to the resident's socioeconomic status.*

Third, we argued that individuals with larger networks are assumed to have more resources which can help them to attain a better socioeconomic status.
H_3: The size of an individual's network is positively related to the resident's socioeconomic status.

As indicated, an important focus of the current study is the effect of socioeconomic characteristics of neighbours on the individual's employment ambitions and opportunities. Due to the nature of our data, in the present study the focus lies on the impact of the unemployment rate and the rate of residents with a lower socioeconomic status.
H_4 : The unemployment rate and the rate of residents with low occupational attainment in the neighbourhood are negatively related to the resident's socioeconomic status.
The neighbourhood effect as theorized in hypothesis 4, is believed to be stronger for residents of whom all of their social contacts reside in the neighbourhood. This leads us to our final hypothesis: *H_5: The neighbourhood effects will be stronger for individuals that have solely intra-neighbourhood contacts.*
In order to fully test the research hypotheses a multi-level model was required. Three levels of analysis were studied simultaneously: the individual (level 1), the

neighbourhood (level 2) and the city (level 3). The socioeconomic status of an individual, which constitutes the dependent variable, was assessed by creating the interval scale ISEI (International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status), recoded from ISCO-88 which was collected in the survey. This index ranges from 16 to 90; the highest value is attributed to the highest occupational status.

In terms of neighbourhood level determinants, recent specific municipal data on socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods was not available for all cities. Therefore, the neighbourhood variables are derived by aggregation from the GEITONIES data, taking into account the stratified sample design. We weighted the rate of unemployment in the neighbourhood for the actual ratio of immigrants and natives (derived from available municipal data). To measure the rate of residents with low occupational attainment we measured the rate of residents with an ISEI-score below 30 in each neighbourhood (weighted). Both variables are measured as a level-2 characteristic. For the third level, the city-level, no contextual characteristics are taken into account. However, we do include this level-3 as fixed effects in order to control for the variance at the city- level.

In terms of individual-level determinants we include: the education of the respondent and of his or her father (a cross-national measure of the level of education of the individual with seven categories was used whilst the educational level of the father has eight categories including 'no primary school'); the share of close friends (name generating questions) that live in the neighbourhood; the share of overall social network living in the neighbourhood (a seven-point scale, ranging from 'none of them' to 'all of them'); the total number of most important people (ranging from 0 to 8); size of overall social network (recoded into five groups: 0 persons, 1-5 persons, 6-10 persons, 11-20 persons and >20 persons); and dummy variables for the close and overall network indicating if an individual has solely intra-neighbourhood contacts. Due to their separate measurement, two separate models, one for the most important contacts and one model for the overall social network were run. The multi-level models control for other background characteristics: gender, age (also age-squared to control for a potentially non-linear effect) and background (native or immigrant).

In order to uncover potential differences in the neighbourhood effects, a range of explanations were tested. We found that the more contacts inside the neighbourhood an individual has (relative to the total network size), the lower the socioeconomic status of the resident (Miltenburg & Lindo 2010). The idea behind this finding is that having mainly intra-neighbourhood contacts hinders upward social mobility as this type of resident is believed to remain in social isolation and is excluded from the resources and institutions that others with a less locally-centred network do have access to and benefit from.

We found that the more contacts inside the neighbourhood an individual has (relative to the total network size), the lower the socioeconomic status of the resident. The idea behind this finding is that having mainly intra-neighbourhood contacts hinders upward social mobility as this type of resident is believed to remain in social isolation and is excluded from the resources and institutions that others with a less locally-centred network do have access to and benefit from.

For the most important contacts, the size of the network is positively related to the resident's socioeconomic status. In other words, residents with a greater number of important contacts are expected to have more access to information and resources,

resulting in a higher socioeconomic status. However, this impact is *not* found for the overall social network in the contact fields of confidentiality and advice, spending free time and helping out. This is somewhat surprising, as it is quite often found in similar studies that the size of the network has a positive impact on somebody's socioeconomic status. How can we explain the result that the network size of the overall social network does not have any effect on the socioeconomic status? Campbell and Lee (1991: 217) found that the use of intimate name generators – as employed in our study - leads to smaller networks. Even though no numerical limit was built into the questions on the overall social network, distinguishing between the categories confidentiality and advice, spending free time and helping out is believed to result in a smaller network size. It could be the case that the different way of asking residents information on their networks is the reason we did not find a significant effect. Further research should build on these empirical suggestions.

Another important finding was that the higher the rate of residents with a low socioeconomic status in the neighbourhood, the lower the resident's socioeconomic status. This result corroborates the findings of a great deal of the previous work in this field of neighbourhood research. But in the current study, the aim was to build on these studies and assess potential differences across residents in neighbourhood effects. The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that we found that residents that are strongly embedded (namely, only have intra-neighbourhood contacts) in the neighbourhood are affected more strongly by the neighbourhood than those individuals who also have contacts outside the neighbourhood. This finding holds for the most important contacts and the overall network on confidentiality and advice. This was not the case for the overall social network for spending free time and helping out, possibly because of the different 'content or role' of these contacts.

In sum, the present study confirms some previous findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests that residence seems to matter for one's socioeconomic status, but the stronger the relational embeddedness in the neighbourhood the more this is the case. Even more importantly, while there is no difference between sexes, immigrants and lower-educated seem to score significantly and slightly higher in having exclusively intra-neighbourhood contacts. Consequently, these subgroups are more sensitive to neighbourhood characteristics. In other words, having your social world confined to only the neighbourhood is thus not necessarily a good thing.

Conclusion
The results of the GEITONIES project, based on analyses to date, highlight the complexity of both research on interethnic relations and neighbourhood research. The multiplicity of individual characteristics and responses to contextual factors is further complicated by the dynamic and temporal dimension that processes of building friendships and integrating are clearly characterised by. Understanding, studying and responding to this complexity is evidently a challenge for researchers and policy-makers alike. The crucial point here is that research and policy do not clump migrants together but make considered attempts to uncover the part that other differences play. The results presented here suggest that migrant incorporation should always be seen as a dynamic and time-dependent process. Therefore immigrants' early experiences should not be interpreted as signs of integration failure or of dismantling of social cohesion. Instead, policies and the public discourse could be directed towards

facilitating the process by assisting *both* immigrants *and* local communities to come together in more equitable terms.

The project's focus on the systematic whole (natives and migrants) rather than only on specific groups, served to take the sole onus of the immigrant and allowed us to explore interaction and integration from a more complex 'two-way' perspective, which also considers rights to a shared public space and full participation in public affairs. In this respect, the results obtained allow us to conclude that the effect of the neighbourhood in the variation of interethnic social contacts is not equal for the native and migrant population. Moreover, it is important to highlight the extremely low level of interethnic interaction on the part of natives. Further to this, it is clear that the national context matters at times more than the local context. Certainly, national migration histories in the respective host countries can at the very least partially explain the development and extent of interethnic relations among migrants. Given the fact that our survey included neighbourhoods in Vienna and Rotterdam, where immigrants had been settled there 20 years ago, as well as areas (e.g. Nikopoli in Thessaloniki and Rekalde in Bilbao) where the migratory phenomenon is considerably newer, the time dimension explained the observed differences to a large extent.

Interestingly, mobility in the city appears to have a strong impact on not only economic assimilation, but also on higher levels of diversity and more ample social networks. Clear sub-groups of respondents with their social networks circumscribed to their neighbourhood of residence were less likely to have interethnic relations and more likely to be affected by the neighbourhood context, which translated into a lower socio-economic status. The former appears to be mitigated among migrants over time as they become settled in the country. As such, completely challenging the role of neighbourhood context in the formation of interethnic relations would perhaps go too far, though this is clearly the case for promoting economic assimilation. It is, however, true that the neighbourhood does not appear to be the most important place for developing interethnic relations, whilst other locales where commonalities are more apparent such as work and school are more important.

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