

Executive Summary:

In recent times the accommodation of difference has been challenged and scrutinized across European societies. Whilst the increasing diversity of European societies, especially in ethnic, cultural and religious terms, has at times been celebrated, more often it has given credence to fears that society is becoming more socially fragmented. In turn, models of integration have been subjected to scrutiny. The French model has been criticised for its blindness to inequality and exclusion along ethnic lines, whilst the multicultural models once prized for their cultural-sensitivity and recognition have been criticised for privileging group rights and preserving difference at the expense of cohesion and shared societal norms and values. Despite concerns over parallel lives and signs of a lack of integration there is a lack of empirical data to inform these debates. The GEITONIES project (meaning 'Neighbourhoods' in Greek) contributes to our knowledge in this respect, enabling us to characterise and reflect on the different modes of interethnic coexistence that can be identified in European multi-ethnic metropolises, as well as providing insight into new ways of thinking on how diverse communities can live together in cohesive societies.

The research has been implemented in 6 European cities: Lisbon, Bilbao, Thessalonica Rotterdam, Vienna and Warsaw. The neighbourhood context has been adopted as the field of research, given it is a place where daily social practises, representations and group relations develop and give meaning and identity both to the physical space and to the inhabitants. Therefore, a common survey has been implemented to 3600 residents in 18 neighbourhoods.

The research is innovative in its approach of focusing not only on the immigrant populations of areas, but on the whole population, regardless of socio-cultural or ethnic background. This takes the onus of the immigrant community and takes a more inter-cultural approach to exploring aspects of social cohesion in the city. The main research objective was to explore how, and in which contexts interdependencies, be they of a consensual or conflictual nature, develop between different individuals/groups in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and the impact that this has on the progression toward more tolerant and cohesive European societies. Furthermore, the role that time, place and neighbourhood factors play in developing or hindering belonging, intercultural interaction and tolerance, have also been considered in our analysis.

The outcomes of the project 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 results 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 a failure to integrate or of the demise 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 empirical evidence also demonstrates that the effect of the neighbourhood in the variation of interethnic social contacts is not equal for the native and migrant population. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the results obtained allow us to conclude that the macro-structural characteristics, either related to economic, political and ideological factors or to the migratory context of each city (the particular time when labour migration began) have a more important effect in comparison with local factors.

Project Context and Objectives:

Over the past half century, the process of European integration has been accompanied by an equally steady and sustained growth of diversification within European nation states, in terms of populations, cultures, values and beliefs. This trend towards cultural diversification can be identified when we consider the differences, perceived and commented upon by many, between established and newcomers as the result of immigration. Despite this fact, also within indigenous and immigrant groups a sustained trend towards cultural diversification has taken place and is still developing, along and across lines of age, gender and social class. In general, diversifications in attitude between categories of people are immediately addressed in terms of what the consequences might be for the relations between people belonging to these different categories, e.g. those of generation or gender. However, when addressing cultural diversification as a consequence of immigration, this relational frame of reference is much less manifest. In the social scientific debate as well as in public and policy discourse the focus is more on the culture of specific groups (especially immigrants and their descendants), or on the observed 'mismatch' between what are often seen to be opposing entities: minority and majority culture, Islam and Christianity, collectivism and individualism, and so on.

In Europe this is the framework in which multiculturalism and integration have become hotly debated issues, and are often used as banners by opposing camps. Integration, and even assimilation are concepts that bear increasing weight, as concerns about the cohesion of society have grown steadily due to global processes and dramatic events clothed in symbolism that stress global cultural differences. Long-established policies of dealing with immigrant populations and of 'managing' diversity and difference are currently at stake. The riots that spiralled in November 2006 across the suburbs of Paris and other cities in France gave birth to criticisms of existing integration policies and arguments about the 'failure' of the French republican model that remained blind to inequality and difference (Begag 2007). While, in the UK, part of the reaction to the French experience highlighted the supremacy of the British culturally-sensitive model, it is precisely this model of multiculturalism that is currently being challenged (e.g. Goodhart 2004, Phillips 2005). The question of integration pressingly returns in the aftermath of the race disturbances in towns of the Midlands in the summer of 2001, and more bitterly, of the London transport bombings by "home-grown" terrorists in July 2005. Just across the sea, the other European example of 'successful' multiculturalism, the Netherlands, is also being redefined (Uitermark et al. 2005).

In response to these events across Europe the ways in which difference is accommodated are being challenged and scrutinized. In general terms we are seeing what has been termed as a 'backlash against multiculturalism' (Grillo 2005) where the multicultural model has been deemed as creating a gulf of separation between communities in spatial and socio-cultural terms through its particular focus on group based rights and service provision. The discourse on the failure of multicultural models highlights the erroneous emphasis of collective groups rights over individual rights, the fact that it predetermined fixed and unchanging categories of 'difference' and emphasised identity and racial equality at the expense of other differentials such as class and inequalities (e.g. Papastergiadis 2000). These shortcomings through prioritising cultural recognition are seen as having resulted in the failure of migrant groups to meet their responsibility to integrate and indeed migrants/ethnic minority groups have been accused of segregating themselves as a means to preserve their ethnic identities and resist integration (Phillips 2006). This has been represented officially as an inherent failure of multiculturalism and has given rise to concerns centred on social identity based on the fact that ethnic or religious identities are assumed to be in opposition to a homogeneous national identity and the belief that values at odds with dominant moral values are perceived as threatening national identity (Back et al. 2002, Robinson 2005). Subsequently, these fears have resulted in a resurgence of

assimilationist discourse linked with projects to promote social cohesion and integration. There appears to be a trend more generally across Europe, where a discourse of failing multiculturalism is accompanied by a de-centralised responsibility for integration, the onus falling upon the responsibility of the individual (Mitchell 2004). Some have construed this as a new technology of knowledge/power in neoliberal regimes of governance that constitutes the individual as free-thinking whereas in reality there is little choice as those who 'opt-out' are cast as individuals not willing to participate in wider social life and are liable to be excluded from citizenship rights (Mitchell 2004:645). At the same time, nevertheless, earlier and ongoing processes of settlement generate grounded experiences of everyday diversity, whereby a 'spontaneous' convivial culture may start to flourish, particularly in urban areas in Britain and elsewhere (Gilroy 2004).

Similar debates and policy shifts are taking place at present across the EU, not only in the old host countries of the North, but also in the new immigration destinations of Southern Europe and the emerging reception countries of the East. For instance, the transition of Southern Europe to a target area for immigration has taken place gradually over the past three to four decades (Fonseca et al. 2002) and to a large extent the 'new cultural encounters' (King, 2001) manifested there have been significantly marked by irregularity and stigmatisation of the migrants (Anthias & Lazaridis 1999). At the same time, the new member states of Central and Eastern Europe emerge rapidly as new migrant destinations (e.g. Salt 2006, Drbohlav, Hárs & Grabowska-Lusinska 2009). The integration debate is still limited in these countries, due to the recent character of migration and to the fact that the numbers of migrants are still few. However, the recent developments show that policy-makers have started to identify problems that may develop if the issue is ignored (Iglicka et al. 2005).

Do the concepts of multiculturalism and integration really depict antipodal and incompatible trends? This depends of course on how they are used; in ideological discourse they tend to adopt multi-layered, versatile and ambivalent meanings. The debates surrounding the presence of Muslims in Europe, to give an example, are centred around issues of religious diversity and tolerance of difference, while ultimately they reflect global politics on terrorism (Cesari 2005, Modood et al. 2006; Levey & Modood 2009). Despite the value of these debates in political terms, they do point to a significant lack of scientific knowledge on how cultural interactions actually develop between individuals and groups of different ethnic background, in contexts where they meet on a daily basis. Also, we lack data on how these interactions are related to an interchange of skills and attitudes (acculturation) and how they bear on the social status of the individuals and groups engaged in contact.

This research aims to enhance and improve our knowledge in this respect. It introduces a new perspective to understand these old issues. It reframes the old questions of integration rigorously into a relational format, taking away the spotlight from separate categories or groups of actors and directing it to the systemic whole, the integer, concentrating on the development of interdependencies between individuals and groups in certain territorial spaces. Obviously, much of the issues with respect to integration and multiculturalism are inevitably linked to urban environments (Ray 2003). The majority of immigrants and their descendants are concentrated in European cities, with cities attracting the majority of newcomers. As urban Europe continues to be the locus of various contradictions (economic, social, spatial, cultural, etc.), urban spaces first and foremost provide the arena in which interethnic relations are unfolding. The ever increasing diversity of European metropolises, the persisting social and spatial inequalities in urban areas and the shifting paradigms of welfare provision, precisely call for a redefinition of "host-stranger" relations in cities (Alexander 2003) and set the agenda for multicultural approaches to neighbourhood governance as a means for promoting social cohesion (Allen and Cars 2001; Blockland & van Eijk 2010). Consequently, we

focused on the local level, selecting social areas (neighbourhoods) in European metropolises as the key context for our research, in which we aim to understand the representations, daily practices and interactions that affect relations between social and ethnic groups. We included the complete multi-ethnic population of these areas in our inquiry. In this way, we addressed the issue of social cohesion in urban spaces in the most direct way possible. The policy relevance and the mission of this research are expressed in the following question:

How do interactions between different social, cultural and ethnic groups affect the development towards a more tolerant society? What conditions play a role?

The association between interacting groups of people that share the same residential areas and use the same public spaces makes the notion of place central in our research. A place is a physical space where social practices and group relations materialise, where neighbourhood relations occur and give meaning and identity both to the material elements of the area and to the people that inhabit it (Tuan 1977). A further central question, expressing our mission, can be translated here already in the following terms:

What is the specific role of places, understood as urban neighbourhoods, in promoting, constricting, or moulding cultural interactions across ethnic boundaries?

To elaborate the principal research objective, further research questions central to the project relate to: the different modes of interethnic coexistence that can be identified in European urban settings; local conditions causal to the development of these different modes; the impact of levels of ethnic concentration/residential segregation on these; the impact of behavioural patterns and initiatives of residents; resources (and the effectiveness of these) on a local level to facilitate inter-group contact; daily use of space and its impact on intercultural communication; an assessment of the most effective spaces to facilitate interethnic communication and contact; the management of diversity between groups sharing a residential neighbourhood; neighbourhood factors conducive to fostering an environment of understanding and tolerance; and, finally, the role of neighbourhood stigmatisation on tolerance and xenophobia.

The perspective adopted in this project is intercultural. Departing from the cultural diversity of contemporary metropolises and assuming that culture is dynamic, the construction of spaces of intercultural dialogue is crucial to re-enforce cohesion and avoid feelings of exclusion and the outburst of conflict. Sandercock (2004) argues that the core of interculturalism implicitly refers to two rights: the right to difference and the right to the city. In this view, people have, regardless of their ethnic background, equal rights in the shared public space and an equal capacity of full participation in the public affairs of the urban living environment, not just *de jure* (through legal devices and access to political participation) but also *de facto* (in the practical situations of everyday life).

Focusing on social relations at the neighbourhood level and stressing the role of time and place in the development of positive inter-group contacts and representations, we try to identify key factors that hinder or promote the development of a cohesive society.

References

- Allen, J. and Cars, G. (2001) - "Multiculturalism and Governing Neighbourhoods", *Urban Studies*, 38 (12): 2195-2209.
- Alexander, M. (2003) - "Local policies toward migrants as an expression of Host-Stranger relations: a proposed typology", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (3): 411-430.
- Anthias, F. and G. Lazaridis (1999), eds.- *Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Back, L., Keith, M., Khan, A., Shukra, K. and Solomos, J. (2002) *New Labours white heart: politics, multiculturalism and the return of assimilation* *Political Quarterly*, 73, 4 p445-454
- Begag, A. (2007) - *Ethnicity and Equality: France in the Balance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Blokland, Talja; van Eijk, Gwen (2010): *Do People Who Like Diversity Practice Diversity in Neighbourhood Life? Neighbourhood Use and the Social Networks of 'Diversity-Seekers' in a Mixed Neighbourhood in the Netherlands*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Vol 36, No. 2, pp 313 - 332.
- Cesari, J. (2005) - *European Muslims and the Secular State*. London: Ashgate.
- Drbohlav, D. ; Hárs, A; Grabowska-Lusinska, I. (ed) (2009) - *Experiencing immigration: Comparative analysis of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*, IDEA Working Papers, 14 (available at: http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/pliki/WP14_Experiencing_immigration.pdf - accessed May 2011).
- Fonseca, L. M.; Malheiros, J. M.; Ribas-Mateos, N.; White, P. and Esteves, A. (ed.) (2002), *Immigration and Place in Mediterranean Metropolises, Metropolis Portugal, Lisbon, FLAD*
- Gilroy, P. (2004) - *After empire: melancholia or convivial culture*. London: Routledge.
- Goodhart, D. (2004) - "Too Diverse", *Prospect*, 95 (February): 30-37.
- Grillo, R.D. (2005), *Backlash Against Diversity? Identity and Cultural Politics in European Cities*. Oxford: COMPAS, Working Paper No.14.
- Iglicka, K. ; Kazmierkiewicz, P and Weiner, A. (2005) - "Current Immigration Debates in Europe: Poland", in: Niessen, J.; Schibel, Y. and Thompson, C. (eds.) - *Current Immigration Debates in Europe*: A Publication of the European Migration Dialogue, MPG, Brussels, pp. 295-324.
- King, R., ed. (2001) - *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Levey, G.B.; Modood, T. (ed.) (2009) - *Secularism, Religion and Multicultural Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, K. (2004) *Geographies of identity: multiculturalism unplugged* *Progress in Human Geography* 28, 5 p641-651

Modood, T., Triandafyllidou, A. and Zapata-Barrero, R. (eds) (2006) - Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach. London: Routledge.

Papastergiadis, N. (2000) The turbulence of migration: globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity. Oxford: Polity Press.

Phillips, D. (2006) Parallel Lives? Challenging discourses of British Muslim self-segregation Environment and Planning D: Society and Space Vol. 24 p25-40

Phillips, T. (2005) - "After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation", Speech by the UK Commission for Racial Equality Chair to the Manchester Council for Community Relations, 22 September 2005. available online at CRE website: <http://www.cre.gov.uk/> (accessed 08-05-2007).

Ray, B. (2003) "The Role of Cities in Immigrant Integration", Migration Information Source, Feature Story October 2006, available online at MIS website: <http://www.migrationinformation.org> (accessed 08-05-2007)

Robinson, D. (2005) The search for community cohesion: key themes and dominant concepts of the public policy agenda Urban Studies, 42, 8 p1411-1428

Salt, J. (2006) - Current Trends in International Migration in Europe, Consultant's Report to the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, Council of Europe.

Sandercock, L. (2004) - "Reconsidering Multiculturalism" in Wood, Ph. (ed.), Intercultural City Reader. Bournes Green, Comedia.

Tuan, Y-Fu (1977) - Topophilia. A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values, Columbia University Press

Uitermark, J., Rossi, U. and Van Houtum, H. (2005) "Reinventing Multiculturalism: Urban Citizenship and the Negotiation of Ethnic Diversity in Amsterdam", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 29 (3): 622-40.

Project Results:

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's 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. 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.

Beginning with the respondents' global social networks 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, 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 of persons 3.13 and 3.09 for natives and migrants respectively). 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. 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.

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 closest circle of friends.

In concordance with the data presented thus far, perhaps the most prominent observation that strikes one 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).

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 predictor 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 intercultural 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. 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).

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 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.

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).

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. 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 (owing 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).

Another interesting aspect is the actual place where the initial encounter took place. 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. 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.

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 predictor. 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.

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). 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. '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. 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?' 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. 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:

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 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.

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. 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. H1 : 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; H2: 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.

H3: 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.

H4 : 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:

H5: 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.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
- Amin, A. (2002) "Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity", *Environment and Planning A*, 34:959-980.
- Berg, J. A. (2009), 'Core networks and white's attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73 (1): 7-31.
- Blalock, H. M. (1967). *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Blau P. M. (1977) "Inequality and heterogeneity: A primitive theory of social structure", New York: Free Press.
- Bramoullé, Y. & Rogers, W. B. (2010) 'Diversity and Popularity in Social Networks', CRIPÉE Working Paper, No. 09-03.
- Bridges, S. & S. Mateut (2009), *Attitudes toward immigration in Europe*. Sheffield Economic Research Paper Series, no. 2009008. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.
- Campbell, K. E., & Lee, B. A. (1991). "Name generators in surveys of personal networks" in *Social Networks*, 13:203-221
- Card, D., C. Dustmann & I. Preston (2005), *Understanding attitudes to immigration: the migration and minority module of the first European Social Survey*. CReAM (Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration) Discussion Paper, 3. London.
- Coenders, M., M. Lubbers & P. Scheepers (2003), *Majorities' attitudes towards minorities in European Union Member States. Results from the Standard Eurobarometers 1997-2000-2003*. Report 2 for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.
- Dixon, J.C. (2006). "The Ties That Bind and Those That Don't: Toward Reconciling Group Threat and Contact Theories of Prejudice." *Social Forces* 84 (4): 2179-2204.
- Ellen, I.G., & M.A. Turner (1997). "Does Neighborhood Matter? Assessing Recent Evidence." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4): 833-66.
- Ervasti, H. (2004), 'Attitudes towards foreign-born settlers: Finland in a comparative perspective', *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland* 40: 25-44.
- Esser, H. (1986) "Social context and interethnic relations: the case of migrant workers in West German urban areas", *European Sociological Review*, 2 (1): 30-51.
- Fong, E. and Isajiw, W.W. (2000) "Determinants of friendship choices in multiethnic society", *Sociological Forum*, 15 (2): 249-271.
- Fonseca, L., Gorny, A., McGarrigle, J. & Torunczyk-Ruiz (2011a) *Social relations in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. A multilevel approach*, GEITONIES, Unpublished.
- Fonseca, L., Kohlbacher, J., McGarrigle, J., Reeger, U. & Schnell (2011b) *Modes of interethnic coexistence in the local context*, GEITONIES, Unpublished.

- Friedkin, N. E. (2004). "Social Cohesion." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 409-425.
- Friedrichs, J. & Blasius, J. (2003) "Social norms in distressed neighbourhoods: testing the Wilson hypothesis. *Housing Studies* 18(6): 807-826
- Giddens, A. (2007) "Doubting diversity's value", *Foreign Policy*, (November/December): 86-88.
- Galster G.C. (2008) "Quantifying the effect of neighbourhood on individuals: challenges, alternative approaches, and promising directions" *Schmollers Jahrbuch* 128(1): 7-48
- Granovetter, M. (1973) "The strength of weak ties", *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (6): 1360-1380.
- Hainmueller, J. & M. Hiscox (2007), 'Educated preferences: explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe', *International Organization* 61: 399-442.
- Kalmijn, M. (1998) "Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24: 395-421
- Kohlbacher, J., Reeger, U. & Schnell (2011) The role of contacts in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants: The local context, GEITONIES, Unpublished.
- 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.
- Lancee, B. and Dronkers, J. (2011) "Ethnic, Religious and Economic Diversity in Dutch Neighbourhoods: Explaining Quality of Contact with Neighbours, Trust in the Neighbourhood and Inter-Ethnic Trust", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37 (4): 597 - 618.
- McLaren, L. M. (2003), 'Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants', *Social Forces* 81 (3): 909-936.
- Martinovic, B., Tubergen, F.A. van & Maas, I. (2009). Dynamics of interethnic contact: a panel study of immigrants in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 25, 303-318.
- Miltenburg, E. & Lindo, F. (2011) A different place for different people? Inequalities in the effect of the urban neighbourhood on residents' socio-economic status, GEITONIES, Unpublished.
- Park, R. E. (1950) *Race and Culture*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Pettigrew, T.F. (1998) "Intergroup contact theory", *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49: 65-85.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & L. R. Tropp (2000), 'Does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Recent meta-analytic findings', in S. Oskamp (ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination: Social psychological perspectives*, 93-114. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Phalet, K. et al. (2007), 'Old and new inequalities in educational attainment: Ethnic minorities in the Belgian Census 1991-2001', *Ethnicities* 7: 390-415.
- Putnam, R.D. (2007) "E pluribus unum: diversity and community in the Twenty-First Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2): 137-174.

Quillian, L. (1995), 'Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and antiimmigrant and racial prejudice in Europe', *American Sociological Review* 60: 586-611.

Scheepers, P., M. Gijsberts & E. Helmenstein (2002), 'Religiosity and prejudice in Europe; Test of a controversial relationship', *Review of Religious Research* 43 (3): 242-265.

Schneider, S. L. (2008), 'Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat', *European Sociological Review* 24 (1): 53-67.

Semyonov, M. & A. Glikman (2009), 'Ethnic residential segregation, social contacts and anti-minority attitudes in European society', *European Sociological Review* 25 (6): 693-708.

Vervoort, M., Flap, H. and Dagevos, J. (2010) "The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood and ethnic minorities' social contacts: three unresolved issues", *European Sociological Review*, advance access available online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq029>

Potential Impact:

We distinguish three envisaged types of strategic impact of the GEITONIES project: 1) The impact on research in the field of migration and societal change in EU countries; 2) The development of methodologies that can be adopted in cross-comparative research at the EU level; 3) The impact on policy-making strategies aiming to build cohesive communities in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods.

1 - The impact on research in the field of migration and societal change in EU countries

The increase in socio-ethnic diversity in the societies of the European Union, as a result of processes of globalization and the increase in the geographical mobility of the population, at different spatial scales, is one of the key issues of the 21st century. The research findings of the GEITONIES project make a relevant contribution to our knowledge on the interplay between migration, the process of integration and societal changes in EU countries as well as providing insight into new ways of thinking on how diverse communities can live together in cohesive societies. In this respect the Geitonies survey constitutes a very valuable tool to document life in the neighbourhoods on a wide spectrum of domains, enabling us to describe and reflect on the different modes of interethnic coexistence that can be identified in the Northern, Mediterranean, and Central Eastern multi-ethnic metropolises of Europe.

Despite the fact that there is an abundant scientific literature on the role of urban neighbourhoods in social cohesion, particularly on the analysis of the impact of diversity on the development of social capital, local relations, life-chances/quality of life and social identity (Forrest & Kearns 2001), the debate has overlooked to a certain extent the relative importance of the neighbourhood in wider social friendship networks. The GEITONIES data, combining cognitive (e.g. trust) and behavioural elements of social capital (e.g. individual social networks) allowed for comparative analysis across neighbourhoods in different European urban settings. Thus, this research serves to enhance and improve scientific knowledge on how cultural interactions develop between individuals and groups of different ethnic backgrounds in contexts where they meet on a daily basis.

The neighbourhood has surfaced as the site where these processes are negotiated and given meaning. In particular, there has been much focus on disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the concentration of poverty as well as on multiethnic neighbourhoods in the context of increasing diversity. These two elements are inextricably linked given the relationship between ethnic segregation or settlement patterns and socio-economic marginalisation (Massey & Denton 1993; Marcuse 2002; Bolt 2002). It is a widespread belief that ethnic concentration or segregation is a growing threat to social cohesion as it is symptomatic of social distance in terms of values and behaviour between immigrants and the mainstream society (Blockland & van Eijk 2010). The GEITONIES data allowed us to address this concern. Taking into account the social mechanisms through which neighbourhood effects are transmitted, we found that the negative effect of a high rate of residents with low occupational attainment in the neighbourhood is stronger for residents who have solely intra-neighbourhood social contacts. Residence seems to matter for one's socioeconomic status, but the stronger the relational embeddedness in the neighbourhood, the more this is the case.

Furthermore, when thinking of diversity as an outcome of immigration, issues of identity or diversification along the lines of gender, age and social class are often overlooked by culturally reified stereotypes (Phillips, 2006), this is so in policy and academic circles. This research exploring differences within groups enabled us to empirically illustrate the role of gender, age and education in

the development of interactions between groups from different ethnic backgrounds. Another important finding that came out from our research is the difference in modes of interethnic relations existing in different spheres of social life, namely between the public and the private domain.

In addition, our focus on the systematic whole (native and migrant population living in each neighbourhood) rather than only on specific groups of immigrants represented in urban neighbourhoods, served to take the sole onus of what the immigrant has to do to become integrated and allowed us to explore interaction and integration from a more complex 'two-way' perspective, which also considers rights both to a shared public space and full participation in public affairs. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that 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. The empirical evidence also demonstrates that the macro-structural characteristics, either related to economic, political and ideological factors or to the migratory context of each city (the particular time when labour migration began), have a more important effect in comparison with local factors. Thus, although focusing on the micro level, our research also demonstrates the relevance of macro and structural factors that serve to condition contacts and interactions among individuals from different ethnic backgrounds and the dynamic and time-space dependent nature of the development of friendship networks and intercultural engagement in European urban settings.

Unfortunately, for time concerns, it was impossible to explore all the information and data gathered in the GEITONIES survey, namely the biographical data of respondents, such as housing careers, job careers, important family events like weddings, birth of children, divorces, etc. This information is extremely important to analyse the way defining events that occur during the life time of an individual are related with possible changes in his/her social networks and reverberate in the dynamics of change of daily modes of relationship, superficial or intimate, in the neighbourhoods of residence, among individuals of different ages, social groups, gender, cultural beliefs or ethnic identity. Thus, the research team will continue to use the dataset to deepen the research, from a comparative perspective, on the dynamics of change of European societies and on the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of the resident population in European multi-ethnic metropolises.

2 - The development of methodologies that can be adopted in cross-comparative research at the EU level

Considering the increasing importance of the fields of migration and integration for the European Union, member states and for social science disciplines more generally, there is a unanimous consensus which recognises the need for comparative evidence to provide a broader picture of realities across Europe. Fundamental to this is the development of rigorous cross-comparative methodology to achieve efficient frameworks of comparative analysis.

With the wide social, political and economic issues related with the integration of immigrants and their descendants under consideration in Europe and the development of European level policies on anti-discrimination, migration and integration there is a need for cross-country comparisons and monitoring.

The use of cartographic techniques with resource to Geographical Information System associating statistical databases to spatial units (urban neighbourhoods, census tracks or others) provided a detailed spatialization of socio-urban processes in domains such as housing, employment and

education. We believe that these methodologies are a very useful tool for monitoring conflicts and cooperation at the local level.

Through the use of cross-comparative methodologies, this research also illustrates the relevance of methods of multivariate analysis, namely factor analysis, multiple regression and multilevel models in quantitatively testing the relation between multiple variables and multiple groups (defined in terms of migration background, age, status, gender and other criteria of diversity). It is precisely through comparison that theoretically significant hypotheses have been developed and tested.

3 - The impact on the policy-making strategies aiming to promote cohesive communities in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods.

In recent times the accommodation of difference has been challenged and scrutinized across European societies. Despite concerns over parallel lives and signs of a lack of integration, there is a lack of empirical data to inform these debates. The research findings of the GEITONIES project are expected to impact policy on a macro and a micro level.

At the more general level, the first aspect that arose from the various analyses of the GEITONIES data concerns the (positive) impact of time on the development of interethnic relations. As such, policy initiatives on all levels should be mindful of the importance of time in the development of interethnic exchange, as an aspect of the wider process of immigrants' incorporation (Labrianidis et al. 2011). As far as policy interventions are concerned, the proved importance of time leads us to suggest two sets of measures:

- a. On the one hand, measures promoting or facilitating the integration of new migrants within host societies, as well as measures to guarantee equal standards for more established migrants and for the second generation.
- b. On the other, measures targeting the entire population (immigrants AND natives) in order to make the transition smoother, to reduce potential tensions, discrimination and competition and to foster social cohesion and inter-group knowledge and communication.

These measures are wide ranging and to concretize them we would suggest interventions on four levels: the European level, the national level, the city level and the neighbourhood level.

Europe

The results obtained from the GEITONIES data highlight important relationships between interethnic contact and attitudes towards immigrants. Crucially, weak forms of exchange were not found to reduce negative attitudes towards immigrants across the European cities studied. The intensity of contact between natives and migrants matters and casual street encounters do not diminish discriminatory attitudes. Other types of contact appear to be more conducive to fostering meaningful relationships, which then impact on wider aspects of general attitudes, important for social cohesion.

The promotion of meaningful exchange, however, is not achieved easily and at most, doors can be opened to provide opportunities for building contacts. Tackling discrimination and 'myth-busting' are fundamentals in preparing for actual contact between individuals and groups from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Hence, the first step is clearly related to increasing knowledge of others from different backgrounds and finding commonalities. The main challenge here is to avoid the

cultural essentialism that is often inherent in cross-cultural programmes and more generally in multicultural models of integration. Rather than prescribing educational programmes we suggest bridge building through the joining up of institutions, organisations and associations across space and background groups and the promotion of community led cultural initiatives.

The accommodation and support of institutions and the implementation of certain regulations safeguarding this are particularly important for some cultural or religious collectivities that may feel integrated to a much greater degree if these accommodation measures are provided. Apart from empowering immigrant associations and networks where immigrants take part, public policies should also be oriented toward the promotion and consolidation of other universal social networks, community associations, cultural organizations, sports clubs, leisure and religious groups, and other non-governmental organizations, where interaction between natives and immigrants could be encouraged in positive ways. The intersection of various domains here is crucial as capturing a wide and diverse target group should be the goal.

Such an approach needs to be tiered to cater for migrants at different stages in the process of incorporation or integration and for different generations. GEITONIES data showed that second generation migrants are also more likely to develop close social networks comprising of native contacts than the first generation. However, over time first generation migrants engage more. As such, migrants' experiences, which may include more in-group patterns of socialisation, should not be interpreted as sign of a failure or resistance to integrate. Instead, policies as well as political and public discourse should be steered toward facilitating the process by assisting both immigrants and local communities to come together in more equitable terms (Labrianidis et al. 2011).

Moreover, based on the results of GEITONIES we would suggest measures specifically promoting interreligious dialogue. The involvement of religious communities in local and city wide initiatives to create opportunities for contact is important. Religious leaders may be used here to provide positive information about particular groups of migrants to increase familiarity and promote diversity.

National level

The descriptive analysis highlighted the relationship between the legal status of the migrants and the occurrence of interethnic contact. In short, the safer and more stable the immigrants' status is, the greater the frequency of interethnic contact. This seems to confirm the "contact hypothesis", one of the conditions of which refers to equal status between groups. This highlights the necessity for states to guarantee equal rights to migrants who are settled in their territory and to facilitate the legal status of long-term residents, and speed up asylum procedures.

We have also looked at the general societal attitudes to and perceptions about immigrants. There are at least two levels of intervention important in general terms. One may lie in the field of education, schools but also broader campaigns which may promote familiarity with the "other" or the benefits of diversity without though overemphasizing "difference" or neglecting the native majority. The other concerns the Media discourse. This suggests the need for independent public media control, especially in cases of discrimination and hate speech.

Although not studied in detail, it is quite evident that fears of the other, tensions and competition are also a reflection of the broader economic situation, whether nationally or locally. We need to remember that the field study took place during a period of the global financial meltdown, which

partly affected the debt and deficit crisis particularly in Southern Europe. Needless to say, feelings of insecurity, especially among deprived populations, may either foster in-group solidarity and out-group hostility, or lead to a generalized social meltdown. On this basis, we should not underestimate the broader social and economic context and the need for interventions not only at the level of social policy (e.g. measures to support immigrants, the poor, or the unemployed, etc), but even more at the level of a far-sighted developmental policy which will be able to create jobs. In both cases, such measures may be specifically applied locally.

Furthermore, an important factor to be taken into consideration is linguistic accommodation. Immigrants or persons from other linguistic traditions should find spaces to make use of and transmit their own languages, while they get positive incentives to learn the corresponding official languages.

Once again, it is important to keep in mind that exchange between immigrants and natives take some time to develop. Probably, a first step in the process is to facilitate a peaceful and positive coexistence among different cultural traditions, even if interaction proves to be limited. As such, public institutions should focus their specific efforts, not so much in getting a fast (and sometimes totally unbalanced) interaction, but in adopting all necessary accommodations in order to facilitate different ways of living together without breaking the core of values and principles of the host society.

City level

Although immigration policy is usually decided more at the national level than at the municipal, when integration fails, it is often cities and municipalities that have to deal with the consequences. For this reason, cities must have a genuine interest in creating successful local integration practices for the dual benefit of migrant populations and host societies. In most of our GEITONIES neighbourhoods relatively harmonious intercultural relations are mirrored in the data about social interactions. One must be aware not to paint a too idealistic picture because perceived and experienced discrimination may also occur as well as conflicts, because our analyses about anti-immigrant attitudes showed the existence of prejudices of such kind. However, we could empirically prove that major and violent conflicts rarely occur (or are reported as such). As a consequence we suggest the following policy goals and measures.

Our analysis stressed a renewed role for city and municipal level authorities. Recent literature on multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and social capital has focused almost exclusively on the role of the neighbourhood, choosing it as the site of study. Yet, the wider literature on neighbourhood effects contends that whilst the behavioural influence of the neighbourhood essentially transmits itself through local social networks that, "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" (Glaster 2008: 10 cited in Miltenburg & Lindo 2011). Indeed, our analysis showed that residents who have merely intra-neighbourhood contacts are affected to a greater degree by the neighbourhood context which appears to restrict economic assimilation into mainstream society. As Miltenburg and Lindo (2011: 29) write, based on their analysis of GEITONIES data "having your social world confined to your neighbourhood is thus not necessarily a good thing". These findings would suggest that targeted municipal or city level interventions should be developed including the following.

- Neighbourhood based projects that pair residents with individuals beyond the neighbourhood rather than area based initiatives.

- As the analysis revealed those with poor language skills and low levels of educational attainment are more likely to have their social networks concentrated in the neighbourhood. Educational training and language courses at the city level might broaden people's horizons and help them to establish bridges and contacts outside of their neighbourhood of residence (Kearns 2011; Miltenburg and Lindo 2011).
- The preliminary explorative analysis of the data showed also, that, to certain extent, when the composition of the overall social network is in-group it is concentrated to a greater degree in the neighbourhood, which supports the idea that the neighbourhood is somewhat limiting. Considering the most intimate contacts of respondents our analysis suggest that the neighbourhood still retains at least some importance, but that other places are more important, like the work place and school.

Furthermore, the results of the multilevel analysis found that the higher the proportion of neighbours and relatives among close friends of the migrant, the lower number of interethnic close contacts he/she has. 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, as some variables related to the functioning of the individual in the neighbourhood were found to be significant in the models for interethnic relations for migrants. It appears that long-term residence in the neighbourhood results in a higher likelihood of developing close interethnic relations. Thus again we see the dynamic nature of interethnic relations and the importance of the 'time' dimension.

These results would suggest the need to bolster the role of the city or municipality in building bridges between neighbourhoods or more specifically individuals nested in neighbourhoods by thinking carefully about the geographical scope and application of integration and intercultural policies. Given the finding that the intensity of interethnic contacts matter and even play a role in determining the exchange of small talk in the local area and in shaping attitudes towards immigration, it is important that at the municipality level opportunity building for interethnic interactions is transversal. It should cover many domains, including education, training, public service employees, etc. As such, more meaningful encounters based on common objectives and activities and situations will result in higher levels of weak exchange and conviviality in the neighbourhood.

Local policies fostering a constructive interethnic coexistence should aim to influence relationships between groups with different behaviours due to values, norms, worldviews, interests and ideas. Such policy measures have to focus on the improvement of attitudes and relations between majority and minority groups and the open and respectful exchange of views between different individuals and groups.

Establishing communication between the municipality and the local population is not always easy. Nevertheless, one measure may include the establishment by local policy-makers of advisory committees or means of consultation to inform their work.

Another important recommendation relates to the need for policies to be informed by research. This involves effective data collecting and mapping as well as the monitoring of policies over time.

Reiterating that suggested at higher levels, regular contact with religious organisations of the majority population and of minority groups given the seemingly significant role of religion as a predictor of interethnic interaction and attitudes towards immigration is fundamental.

Municipal programmes and campaigns to fight discrimination and xenophobia, will also have positive consequences for individual social interactions on the local level. The establishment of anti-discrimination offices or anti-xenophobia and anti-discrimination projects, often in cooperation with NGOs and social partners would be advisable. A successful local policy would involve the creation and establishment of informal contact between members of various groups, reducing stereotypes and prejudice between groups, as well as increasing contact among and knowledge about other groups. In the same vein cultural activities remain a key component of successful interethnic social interactions. Cities should therefore support a wide variety of such events and activities on the level of urban neighbourhoods as well as on larger spatial scale - usually in cooperation with both migrant and local mainstream (native) organisations.

As well as cultural activities or recreational facilities, the promotion of commercial activities and spaces in different areas of the city is crucial, where new shops and businesses supported or owned by immigrants could flourish side-by-side with other traditional local enterprises.

As suggested at the national level, public communication and media reporting today exerts an influence on public opinion making and political agenda setting. Therefore, it is recommended to develop a professional media strategy on how to report on minorities, immigration and intergroup relations in a systematic, continuous and professional way.

Neighbourhood

At the urban-neighbourhood level, our analysis stressed the particularities, local specificities and circumstances in specific neighbourhoods. It is therefore very important to underline that there is no general rule applicable to all cities and neighbourhoods, and to that ANY kind of intervention should contextualize and take into account the specific characteristics of a given area.

Interventions in deprived neighbourhoods with high incidences of joblessness should target the creation of jobs and the social support of the entire populations (migrants and natives) of the area. Other kinds of neighbourhoods may require other kinds of measures. We have seen for instance that in some areas that are far from city-centres, seem to benefit from a physical environment (close to the sea, large open public space) which fosters not only the development of interethnic relations but good neighbourly relations in general. Other areas that are distant from the centre appear to be more segregated. Local interventions in these cases may include the development of infrastructure such as public transport connecting such areas with the rest of the urban core, the creation of parks, squares and other open spaces, as well as closed public spaces for social encounters (such as municipal gyms, pools, libraries or community centres). The employment of both immigrants and natives in the latter, or the promotion of resident collaboration to organise common local events, may crucially form in itself a first basis of positive and meaningful interaction.

In neighbourhoods that have the character of "gateways" or "ports of entry" for new immigration, there again specific targeted measures that may be helpful. This is also supported by evidence from the study, since our analysis showed that time may affect interethnic relations positively in general, but the neighbourhood in particular plays a role in the first few years of immigrants' settlement. So for example the measure suggested above about mobile centres of legal advice and support, could specifically target this kind of neighbourhoods. Moreover, we have proved, for example, the role of the language: the better immigrants speak the host-country language, the more interethnic relations they have. Language-teaching programmes therefore should be one of the measures facilitating

integration in the first years of settlement, and such programmes should be based in or close to neighbourhoods with high immigrant concentrations. This measure may more specifically target recently arrived immigrant children, with additional language support in schools. As before, the involvement of local native language teachers, paid or volunteers, may form a basis for meaningful interaction.

Dissemination activities

The project's dissemination strategy rests on five main pillars: 1) dissemination of project outputs through the project website; 2) organisation of national workshops; 3) presentation of results at international conferences ; 4) publication of project edited books, journal articles and other academic outputs; 5) organisation of a final conference held in Lisbon at the end of the project.

The website

The project website (<http://geitonies.fl.ul.pt/>) is the main outlet for GEITONIES outputs. It includes 3 sections, namely 1) a section with general information on the project, the project design, the project team, partner institutions and advisory board; 2) a section for news and events related with the project; 3) a section for publications of project outputs. The main published outputs of the project available on the website include, the city reports which include background city reports (based on existing statistical, historical and legal data) and city survey reports (based on the empirical results of the GEITONIES survey data at the national level) for each of the six cities.

National workshops

National workshops have been organized by each consortium member in conjunction with the Local Key Actor Group, to disseminate the results and facilitate discussion and feedback among policy makers, researchers and key stakeholders in the field.

The national workshops were an excellent platform to strength the dialogue among researchers, policy decision makers and other key stakeholders, contributing to increase the impact of the projects results and outcomes on policy development.

Dissemination through conferences and workshops

During the project's course, project results were extensively disseminated at national and international conferences. Major events include workshops and project presentations at the annual IMISCOE conferences in Bilbao in 2008, in Stockholm in 2009 and in Liège in 2010; at the international Metropolis conference in Copenhagen in 2009 and in The Hague in 2010; at the IMISCOE Conference on Interethnic Relations: Multidisciplinary Approaches, held in Lisbon, May, 2009 and at the XII Iberian Geography Conference in Oporto in 2010, at the GEITONIES final conference held in Lisbon in April 2011, as well as at the International RC21 conference in Amsterdam in 2011.

In addition, project team members presented the project in a large number of smaller workshops, expert panels and other contexts.

Academic publications

Apart from the publication of the city reports and the city survey reports as online publications on the project's website, several individual papers have been submitted for publication in peer review journals (see section 4.2 of this report). Moreover, several publications are planned for 2011 and 2012 and among them the most relevant are the following ones:

- A special issue of the journal *Finisterra. Revista Portuguesa de Geografia* (vol. XLVII, no.94, 2012) (Guest editor: M. Lucinda Fonseca)
- An edited book by M. Lucinda Fonseca, Jorge Malheiros & Jennifer McGarrigle - *Contemporary social structures, residential segregation and inter-ethnic relations in European cities*, AUP, IMISCOE series (submitted).
- A book based on the Lisbon city survey report - Fonseca, M. Lucinda; McGarrigle, J.; Esteves, A.; Sampaio, D.; Carvalho, R.; Malheiros, J. Moreno, L. -(2012)- *Modes of Inter-ethnic Coexistence in Lisbon neighbourhoods: a comparative perspective* (Lisbon, Edições Colibri & CEG).
- An edited book by (Fonseca, M.L.; Kolbacker, J; McGarrigle, J.; Reeger, U.) - *Generating Tolerance and Social Cohesion: Comparative Perspectives on Interethnic Coexistence in the City* (To be submitted to the Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE series). This book will be based on the papers presented by the project team at the GEITONIES final conference.

5) The GEITONIES final conference - *Generating Tolerance and Social Cohesion: Comparative Perspectives on Interethnic Coexistence in the City*, held in Lisbon on the 28-29th April, 2011.

The conference was attended by 78 participants, coming from 9 European countries including the USA and Canada. The audience included members of the scientific community (senior researchers and PhD students), coordinators and directors of national regional and local offices and programmes on youth, social inclusion and migration, scientific community, representatives from NGOs, immigrant associations and private foundations.

The GEITONIES conference provided a good platform for the presentation and discussion of the project findings, as well as for the presentation of relevant work being done by other researchers. In addition, the conference was also used to network with interested parties outside the project team and to develop follow up activities and map out avenues of future collaboration and research.

List of Websites:

<http://geitonies.fl.ul.pt/>