Unequal networks

Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city

Gwen van Eijk

TU Delft

Unequal networks

Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city

Unequal networks

Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city

PROEFSCHRIFT

Unequal networks. Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city
by Gwen van Eijk
Thesis Delft University of Technology, Delft, the Netherlands

Contents

Acknowledgements

I always enjoy reading the acknowledgements in academic books. It has become a habit to glance over the many names: Anyone I know? Any 'big names'? Where did the author travel to write and present draft papers? Where would academics be without their (semi-)professional network?

I thank my promotoren Talja Blokland (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Peter Boelhouwer (Delft University of Technology). I am glad that Talja and I spoke more than two times during the four years of my study: our discussions were inspiring and stimulating and they always helped me to take things a few steps further. I am also grateful for the opportunity that Talja opened up to visit New York and New York University, for preparing me for this (intellectual) journey and for helping me on my way with my academic career. Thanks to Peter for his confidence in the quality of my work.

Thanks to OTB for funding my research and for providing the freedom to explore and wander. I enjoyed being part of the section Urban Renewal and Housing and working with my (former) colleagues (in order of geographical proximity to my desk): my roommate Leeke Reinders, Reinout Kleinhans and Anirban Pal, Saskia Binken and Eva Bosch, Wenda Doff and Mariska van der Sluis-van Meijeren, Carlinde Adriaanse, Christien Klaufus, Alex Curley (now unfortunately on the other side of the Atlantic), André Ouwehand, Ton van der Pennen and Frank Wassenberg, and coordinator Marco van der Land. I thank them for commenting and advising on many earlier drafts of parts of my thesis. Our Books & Breakdowns and Animated Arguments (of Academic Abracadabra and what not) will stay in my mind! Thanks in particular to Reinout for reading some of my chapters and helping me to straighten out my argument, and to Wenda for checking my English summary. Martine de Jong-Lansbergen and Truus Waaijer offered secretarial support and helped tremendously by entering loads of data into Excel sheets and transcribing lengthy interviews. Sylvia Jansen helped me with the questionnaire and statistical data analyses. Thanks to Dirk Dubbeling and Itziar Lasa Epelde for making the transcript publishable. Finally, I much appreciated the collegiality of and outings with (former) fellow PhD candidates at the OTB.

Thanks to the people that made my fieldwork possible: the 204 people living in Hillesluis and Blijdorp who took the time, some of them two or three times, to sit through long interviews and to answer difficult questions about their personal lives and relationships; the team of (then) students of the Erasmus University Rotterdam for their enthusiasm during the fieldwork; and Marco Bik and Piet Burger of the municipality of Rotterdam for providing statistical data on the research areas.

Thanks to Harvey Molotch for having me as a visiting scholar at the Sociology Department of New York University in the spring semester of 2008. Harvey's lectures were thought-provoking and I enjoyed our talks on draft writings of mine. I learned a lot, about urban sociology, about NYC and about academic life. Thanks to Candyce Golis for administrative support.

1 Introduction

This book connects two basic ideas: that 'place matters' and that 'relationships matter'. The first idea holds that people who live in affluent neighbourhoods are better off than people living in poor neighbourhoods and 'problem' places (usually the reverse question is studied—that people in poor neighbourhoods do worse—but the question is really the same).[1]

The second idea holds that people who are embedded in personal networks and who can draw on relationships do better than people who cannot, because relationships offer access to valuable resources and opportunities. The key question of this study is how living in a poor, affluent or mixed neighbourhood matters for the formation and resourcefulness of personal networks.

In more formal terminology, the question is whether and how spatial segregation of socioeconomic categories—(resource-)poor and (resource-)rich people[2]—reproduces or reinforces the formation of unequal networks and, consequently, inequality. People have 'unequal networks' to the extent that networks differ in size and in their ability to provide access to valuable resources, such as information, job and education opportunities, and political 'voice' and power to influence political decisions. Some networks are large, wide-ranging, and include many resource-rich network members, while other networks are small and consist of mainly resource-poor people. In short, people's networks vary as to whom they include and what resources they reach —they vary in 'quality'. If networks matter for access to resources and opportunities, then variations in the quality of networks may play a role in socioeconomic inequality.

An essential part of the question of how spatial segregation and inequality are connected is whether neighbourhoods hinder or facilitate the formation of ties between resource-poor and resource-rich people. From a network perspective, resource-poor people can gain access to resources only via resource-richer people (in a broader perspective, they can also gain access to resources through welfare programmes, see below). Boundary-crossing ties are thus essential to make possible the exchange and equal distribution of resources, whether income, education, information or political influence. This idea has been worked out particularly in the literature on 'social capital', which I will discuss further below.

---

1   In this study, the terms 'poor neighbourhood' and 'affluent neighbourhood' refer to neighbourhoods with relatively many resource-poor residents and relatively many resource-rich residents, respectively. For now, I understand neighbourhoods as geographical sites that draw together a collection of people; the definition of 'neighbourhood' is discussed in Sections 2.1 and 3.2.

2   Alternatively, the categories 'resource-rich' and 'resource-poor' can be read as respectively 'middle/higher class' and 'lower/working class'. I choose not to refer to lower, middle and higher classes because a 'class structure' — as a reflection of the reproduction of uneven distribution of resources — is not necessarily about a hierarchy (a rankable distinction) (Hout *et al*., 1993: 262). Referring to resource-poor and resource-rich categories is unambiguous in the framework of this study: explaining the uneven distribution and exchange of resources.

The study is based on the analysis of the personal networks of people living in three differently composed neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, the second-largest city of the Netherlands. The population of Hillesluis is relatively resource-poor; low-educated, holding low-skilled and low-income jobs. The population is also predominantly of non-Western origin, which is, in the Netherlands, associated with poverty. Cool is a mixed neighbourhood for socioeconomic categories as well as ethnic categories, and has become mixed through government initiatives for gentrification. Finally, Blijdorp is predominantly affluent, particularly the newer residents are highly educated and work in high-skilled jobs.

This chapter offers a theoretical framework of how spatial segregation is associated with socioeconomic inequality, and why this question is relevant. I introduce some key concepts and discuss the research questions, the research approach and, briefly, methodology. The final section of this chapter briefly describes the content of the next chapters.

1.1 Spatial segregation and the reproduction of inequality

In Western cities neighbourhoods are segregated along socioeconomic and ethnic lines (see e.g. Mollenkopf and Castells, 1992; Veldboer *et al*., 2002; Dreier *et al*., 2004; Musterd, 2005) and in this way neighbourhoods can, potentially, enhance and constrain interaction between categories of people (rich/poor, native/non-native) and thus the formation of relationships along these lines. In this way spatial segregation may affect the composition and thus the quality of people's personal networks. However, much is still unknown about the relationship between places and (dis)advantage (cf. Marcuse, 2007). From the viewpoint of relational sociology, examining relations between categories of people (neighbourhood, resource-poor and -rich, (former) migrants) gives insight into how inequality and segregation are reproduced. Spatial segregation of these categories may sustain or facilitate socioeconomically bounded networks and in this way sustain categorical inequality. In other words, when affluent (or poor) people socialize exclusively with affluent (or poor) people, and when living in an affluent (or poor) neighbourhood reinforces exclusive networks, the phenomenon of affluent and poor neighbourhoods sustains exclusive networks—and consequently, the exclusive access to resources such as income, influence and information.

Relational sociology
Studying relationships reveals more than just with whom people like to spend their time and what kind of support they receive from whom: relations give insight into how processes of exclusion lead to inequality—as Charles

Tilly shows in *Durable Inequality* (1998). Social phenomena such as inequality emerge through patterns of relationships and networks. In Georg Simmel's (1950 [1917]: 13) words, 'phenomena emerge in interactions among men, or sometimes, indeed, *are* such interactions' (cf. Tilly, 1998; italics in original). The term 'interaction' is used here in the broadest sense: it refers to everyday and often taken-for-granted actions (e.g. observations of others, routine conversations), to personal relationships and to relations institutionalized by contract, trade and authorities. Relations are abstract as well as personal, and informal as well as formal, connections between people and categories of people. Relations also cover (symbolic) connections (and boundaries) between groups and categories of people (cf. Tilly, 1998). The term 'interaction' refers to 'doing relations'—both interpersonal and intercategorical (see Chapter 6 for this distinction, and Tajfel (1982)). In this book, the term 'relationship' refers to more or less durable and direct personal relations between two people. Throughout the book, I use the terms 'relationships' and 'ties' interchangebly when I talk about personal, direct realtionships.

In thinking about how inequality between categories of people emerges, the analytical distinction between 'category' and 'network' is useful (H. White, in Tilly, 1984: 28-29): members of a category share a distinct characteristic while members of a network are connected through ties.[3]

If inequality is defined as a situation in which resources are not evenly distributed among categories (e.g. blue-eyed persons as a category have more resources than brown-eyed persons have), inequality can be traced back to the lack of, or selective, exchange of resources between these categories, because of exclusive networks (e.g. blue-eyed persons associate exclusively with other blue-eyed persons). When the uneven distribution and exchange involves multiple domains (economic transactions, political associations, personal relationships) we can say the categories are segregated. Segregation becomes a spatial phenomenon when people living in one place are not connected to people living in other places. In other words, when 'place' is a category along which divisions emerge, stay in place or change, segregation then is sociospatial.

The idea that 'essential causal business takes place [...] within social relations among persons and sets of persons' (Tilly, 1998: 33) is central in relational sociology. According to this collection of thought (rather than a theory, see Emirbayer, 1997), studying relations—in a broad sense—is crucial for understanding how phenomena work, that is, for understanding mechanisms

---

3 When people are linked by common characteristics and ties they form a 'catnet' which term 'comes close to the intuitive meaning of the word "group"' (Tilly, 1984: 29). Tilly goes on: 'Whether those entities we refer to indecisively as communities, institutions, classes, movements, ethnic groups, and neighbourhoods correspond to genuine catnets remains an empirical question: Some do, some don't.' On the overlap of networks and neighbourhood, see Blokland (2003b: Chapter 3).

(Tilly, 2005: 7). Relational sociologists argue that social phenomena cannot be understood and explained by starting from people's attitudes or preferences ('mentalism'), or from investigating 'social structures' or 'systems' (Tilly, 2005: Chapter 1 and 2). In this way relational sociology offers an answer to the structure–agency debate by offering an alternative to such theories as Gidden's (1984) structuration theory and Bourdieu's structuralist constructivism (or constructivist structuralism (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992)). Relational sociology is not seeking to connect structure and agency; rather a focus on relations overcomes the problem of this artificial distinction (see Emirbayer, 1997; Dépelteau, 2008). The focus on mechanisms in this way is different from the mechanisms that Hedström and Swedberg (2001), based on Merton (1968), are arguing for, that is, finding middle-range theories that sit in-between description and general laws. Rather, relational sociology seeks a description of how things work which in itself offers insight into 'how' things work—the mechanisms.

Starting from attitudes or from systems is problematic. People might feel, for example, that everyone should be treated equally regardless of their gender or origin, but what matters is whether employers actually promote female employees or hire minorities (Tilly, 1998). Attitudes might be of importance for how people act, but, as Tilly (2005: 6) puts it, 'you can't get there from here': studying attitudes and perceptions alone cannot explain phenomena such as inequality; you need to know how and which relations matter. This observation implies that we need to study how and among whom relations are formed or—equally important—not formed. Following exchanges of resources between individuals and categories, rather than only what people think about others, offers insight into how processes of inclusion and exclusion work, and how inequality is (re)produced.

From a relational perspective, 'society' is thus understood as a process: 'society certainly is not a "substance", nothing concrete, but an *event*: it is the function of receiving and effecting the fate and development of one individual by the other' (Simmel, 1950 [1917]: 11, italics in original). It is about how people together, through interaction, create society as we observe it. According to Bruno Latour (2005: 13), sociologists should describe 'how society is held together' rather than presupposing that 'society' or 'the system' exerts power upon individuals. Societies or collections of people do not just 'exist' and determine people's actions; the question under examination is whether and how (human and non-human) elements are associated. Sociology, according to Latour, is 'the tracing of associations' (2005: 5, 11, 23-24). In short, studying relations among individuals and between 'social sites', including sets of people such as organizations, firms and nations (Tilly, 2005: 7), reveals how phenomena such as inequality and segregation emerge, stay in place, and change.

The spatial aspect: neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods (or geographical areas) become relevant for understanding processes of exclusion and segregation when they are categories which are excluded from resources through segregated networks. Immigrant niches, for example, are often spatially marked in cities (e.g. Chinatown, Little Italy) and serve as examples of how relationships create opportunities for members of certain categories, while excluding others. Being embedded in informal networks provides benefits for acquiring scarce resources. Studies on documented and undocumented immigrants show how networks are important for getting jobs, housing, loans, health care and political influence (e.g. Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Burgers and Engbersen, 1999; Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Chin, 2001; Staring, 2001). The working of these networks also means that those who are not part of these networks are excluded from the exchanged resources and from certain job sectors. In the case of immigrant networks, this sometimes means that people of other ethnic origin are excluded. Tilly (1998: 10) calls this 'opportunity hoarding', a mechanism through which 'members of a categorically bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network's modus operandi'. The immigrant economy may offer job and housing opportunities exclusively for new immigrants, and thus forms a closed network through which resources are exchanged. In these situations there is thus a partial overlap between the category of immigrants and their personal networks.

The spatial dimension of networks might seem obvious when immigrants massively settle in parts of the city. In Dutch cities one can observe similar concentrations of 'ethnic' facilities in certain neighbourhoods, although it is usually a mix of several mostly non-Western entrepreneurs: Turkish grocers, Asian tokos, telephone shops, mosques, Islamic butchers, teahouses and coffee shops.

However, an important question is whether spatial segregation is merely a manifestation of segregated networks and ties, or whether spatial segregation in itself has a role in (re)producing segregated networks. This question is central in academic and political debates about urban poverty: does the spatial concentration or segregation of resource-poor people (or ethnic minorities) cause (further) resource poverty, or is spatial segregation rather a manifestation of non-spatial phenomena, such as poverty and exclusionary networks, without any effects in itself?

It is widely agreed upon that spatial segregation is a product of social segregation (for an early work, see Simmel (1997 [1903])). For example, the creation of Chicago's poor neighbourhoods is, according to Wilson (1987, 1996), in the first place the result of economic restructuring. According to Wacquant (2008b), it is due to the functioning of the state. Similarly, gated communities are considered to result from fear of crime and of 'the other' (Caldeira, 1996;

Low, 2001; Atkinson, 2006) and from concerns to improve 'liveability' (Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005).

There is much more debate about whether and to what extent spatial segregation in turn reproduces or reinforces social segregation and inequality. This is the question of the current study. In the case of the Chicago 'hyper-ghettos', spatial isolation seems to have a role in exacerbating the effects of poverty and isolation, as residents are not only socially but also spatially cut off from jobs, networks, institutions and facilities (Wilson, 1987, 1996; Wacquant, 2008b). In cases of extreme poverty concentration, it is imaginable that the personal networks of the poorest residents are affected. 'If no Eskimo is around, it's hard to meet one', as social network analysts say. If people do not have the opportunity to travel outside their neighbourhood, have no workplace where they might meet others, and no opportunities to be involved in any social or political associations, it becomes almost impossible to meet resource-rich people—people who all live in other neighbourhoods. The reproduction of segregation along spatial lines as a general mechanism is questionable, however. First, because places are rarely totally bounded and cut off from other places and the economy; second, because networks are usually not confined to neighbourhoods; and thirdly, because the neighbourhood has a limited role in the formation of relationships and networks. These questions are worked out in the following chapters, but they deserve an introduction here.

The neighbourhood in perspective

Firstly, most poor neighbourhoods are not spatially segregated and deinstitutionalized to the extent that Wilson and Wacquant describe. Particularly in Europe, the idea of 'concentration effects', that is, the independent effect of living in a poor neighbourhood, is debated, as places of poverty concentration in European cities are usually small in scale and well connected by public transport to the city centre, to areas of employment and to adjacent urban areas. Furthermore, it is argued, people's poverty is partly ameliorated by welfare policies which have a role in alleviating the effects of poverty, and perhaps may have tempered potential concentration effects (Terpstra, 1996; Friedrichs, 2002; Musterd, 2005; Wacquant, 2008b). This means, as these scholars have argued, that the problems, causes and consequences of poor areas in the US cannot be compared with those of poor areas in European cities. Some scholars have argued that even Chicago's high-poverty neighbourhoods are not representative of high-poverty neighbourhoods in the US. Small (2008) concludes that the 'strong concept' of the ghetto, based on Wacquant (2008)—extremely poor, depopulated, and deinstitutionalized—holds for only a minority of the poor African-American neighbourhoods in US cities. The poor neighbourhoods in Sánchez-Jankowski's (2008) study in New York City and Los Angeles, for example, have lower poverty rates (52 to 62 per cent live

below the poverty line), are more mixed for ethnic categories and are not severely deinstitutionalized (see also Klinenberg, 2002b; Small, 2004).

These differences between countries, cities and neighbourhoods are relevant for understanding the processes and effects of sociospatial segregation. Most poor neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, the one in this study (Hillesluis) included, do not only house unemployed and poor people, neither are they deprived of services, institutions and government investment. The conditions for the potential effects of spatial segregation to emerge thus need to be teased out, and this is what I try to do in the next chapters.

A second reason why spatial segregation may not have severe consequences for inequality is that networks do not overlap with neighbourhoods. This argument is not new: scholars such as Barry Wellman (1979, 1996; Wellman and Leighton, 1979) and Claude Fischer (1982a) showed that personal communities and networks no longer overlap with neighbourhoods (see also Webber, 1970; Blokland, 2003b: Chapter 2). In the Netherlands, Jacques van Doorn (2009 [1955]) criticized the idea of 'neighbourhood' as a realistic framework for integration (see also van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, 2003). Technological developments that facilitate travel and communication by mail, telephone and the internet have made geographically dispersed networks possible (van Doorn, 2009 [1955]; Adams, 1998; Blokland, 2003b).

Personal networks extend beyond the neighbourhood, and usually merely a small part of the network is located in the neighbourhood. Even when one's friends and family members live in the same neighbourhood, it is not necessarily the neighbourhood that shapes these relationships. People also *maintain* their relationships in the neighbourhood (e.g. Blokland, 2003b)—or rather: through geographical nearness—as we will see in Chapter 5. This is why gated communities are not considered spatially confined categories similar to ghettos, because usually residents of these communities are not confined to their neighbourhood in forming their personal relationships; in any case it is not likely that their exclusive networks are formed *because* of the gates. Governments may worry that gated communities increase social segregation (Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005) but it is much more likely that the residents did not socialize much with resource-poor people to begin with, which makes the gate a confirmation of social segregation rather than a cause (Atkinson, 2006).

A third reason to put spatial segregation in realistic perspective is that the neighbourhood as site and focus has profoundly changed. The premises and forms of economic, political and social citizenship have changed. In the past, they were strongly connected to place, but they are not any longer (Isin, 2002; Blokland and Rae, 2008). Along with the development of transport and communication, the uncoupling of work and neighbourhood, and the everyday routines that often lie outside people's neighbourhood, people have found ways to participate that are no longer connected to particular places. Blokland and Rae (2008: 38) conclude that

> the changing role of the local means, in turn, that both the city-based networks available to individual residents that are potentially useful to their advantage (…) and the by-products of other interactions and transactions in the city that may create the trust that supports the institutional forms of governance (…) have changed.

They stress that this does not mean that people are disconnected from each other (ibid.: 37), but it does mean that neighbourhoods and the city as spatial sites have lost their self-evident role in shaping networks and the exchange of resources. Put differently, in contemporary cities segregation is not only manifest in segregated neighbourhoods but also through segregated institutions, which makes it doubtful whether the presence of resource-rich people in neighbourhoods would benefit other residential groups or the neighbourhood as a whole. One example, provided by Tim Butler (2003), is that some gentrifiers who (choose to) live in socioeconomically-mixed neighbourhoods take their children to (better, private) schools outside their neighbourhood. In a similar vein, Wilson's (1987, 1996) social isolation thesis may not work the other way around because the poor and the affluent African-Americans are no longer, as was the case in past communal ghettos, institutionally integrated. For example, in a study on a socioeconomically integrated African-American neighbourhood, Wilson and Taub (2007) observe boundaries between resource-poor and resource-rich African-Americans.

Changing mechanisms
These qualifications of the 'place matters' paradigm should be taken into account when studying how spatial segregation reproduces or reinforces socioeconomic inequality. This does not imply that we should focus only on non-spatial phenomena, however. Many urban geographic and sociological studies confirm that place continues to matter, but show that the ways in which it matters might be changing. For example, the process of gentrification is occurring in different forms (e.g. Butler and Lees, 2006; Butler, 2007)—spontaneous as well as state-led—and may result in pushing out residents as well as creating social mix. The restructuring of post-war neighbourhoods is changing the population of these areas. At the same time, the restructuring of the housing market might create new problem areas: social housing was not particularly stigmatized in the Netherlands, but this might change in the future if social housing were offered exclusively to the poorest (van Kempen and Priemus, 2002). The reputation of particular areas seems to be closely associated with the population of those areas (Permentier *et al.*, 2008; Wacquant, 2008b; Sampson, 2009)—the ethnoracial composition, in particular—but as the migration population changes, so does the definition of 'problem population' (although stigma can prove to be quite tenacious (Hastings and Dean, 2003)). Another example that has been described in the literature is the increasing importance of place as a marker of identity and distinction (Sav-

age *et al*., 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007). The mechanisms through which spatial segregation and socioeconomic inequality might be associated are thus changing.

This calls for research. The question is not whether neighbourhoods matter, but how and for whom they matter. This study examines this question by bringing together debates, literature and ideas on how spatial segregation might be linked to unequal networks. In this way the study aims to interweave different mechanisms—mechanisms that may apply to different categories of people but simultaneously work (together or against each other) in reproducing or reducing network inequality. Bringing together literatures on different ways in which spatial segregation matters, will offer more insight into the questions of how 'place matters'.

Furthermore, spatial segregation concerns both affluent and poor neighbourhoods. If neighbourhoods have a role in how new urban-seekers distinguish themselves from others, in processes of social identification with others, and in shaping opportunities or restrictions for people to form and maintain personal relationships, it makes sense to examine not only the effects of concentrated poverty but also the effects of concentrated affluence (cf. Massey, 1996: 409; Sampson *et al*., 2002: 446). Particularly, the question of whether and how mixed neighbourhoods facilitate connections between resource-poor people and resource-rich people—or why they do not—cannot be answered when we look at just one side of the story. Poor, mixed and affluent neighbourhoods are addressed in different studies, and framed in different debates. In essence, they are about the same question: how spatial segregation matters for socioeconomic segregation. Connecting these debates provides a better understanding of this question—that is what this study aims to do.

1.2　Unequal networks: social capital and the exchange of resources

In this study, I draw on ideas that have been developed under the label 'social capital'. Rather than adopting and applying one definition of this concept, I draw on various ideas in order to develop an understanding of how relationships and networks facilitate and hinder the exchange of resources. I will talk about 'access to resources' and 'resource-rich versus resource-poor networks' rather than 'social capital'. Resources here are, broadly, capital and property ('economic capital'), education, skills, knowledge about tastes and 'appropriate' behaviour ('cultural capital'), political influence and status (cf .Bourdieu, 1986; Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Erickson, 1996; Savage *et al*., 2005b). Resource-rich networks are networks that include people rich in (one or all) these resource (see further Chapter 4). These networks can be considered as resources themselves.

My understanding of how relationships matter for the (equal) exchange of resources is largely grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) idea that capitals are convertible and exclusive goods, and that social capital provides access to other capitals. The basic idea is that those who have ties to resource-rich people, and particularly those who are embedded in resource-rich networks, have an advantage over others because they have access, through these ties and networks, to valuable resources.

Tilly's relational sociology is in essence comparable with Bourdieu's relationalism; although for the latter 'thinking relationally' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 96) has a somewhat different meaning. Bourdieu does not work out the concept of social capital in much detail. Considering Bourdieu's framework of how relations between the 'dominant' and the 'dominated' classes are reproduced, the idea of social capital may be interpreted as the crucial mechanism that keeps in place this relation. According to Bourdieu, people struggle over 'capital' in 'fields'—'a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). Relations, in Bourdieu's view, however, are 'not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist "independently of individual consciousness and will", as Marx said' (ibid). This differs substantially from Tilly's emphasis on 'interpersonal transactions' (Tilly, 1998: 18) and it is not immediately clear how, in Bourdieu's framework, capital is exchanged among and between positions and how some have more capital than others. Yet, it is evident that Bourdieu's analysis is about durable inequality (considering the key concepts of 'domination', 'power' and 'symbolic violence'). Furthermore, as Bottero (2009) recently argued, while Bourdieu holds that his fields cannot be reduced to empirical social networks, Bourdieu's conceptual framework presupposes personal networks and, particularly, homophilous relationships—ties between people with a similar position (see Chapter 7).

From this it follows that, theoretically, relationships would only be social capital for the resource-poor if they connect them to resource-rich people and make the resources of the latter accessible. When the resource-poor lack ties with the resource-rich, resources are thus inaccessible for them and remain unevenly distributed. Social capital is an exclusive good—some have resourceful networks and others do not. For Bourdieu (1986: 248-9), social capital refers to the resources that are available through membership in a durable network and it is, in his view, something that the elite classes 'have' through which they maintain their dominant position. This is in contrast to the 'mundane conception' of social capital as a good that anyone can possess, also resource-poor people—which idea is central in the works of Coleman and Putnam (see Crossley, 2008: 477; Field, 2008: 20-22), and in the distinction of social capital for 'getting by' and 'getting ahead' (Briggs, 1998).

To recapitulate, social capital can thus be conceptualized as a mecha-

nism through which resources are (re)distributed among classes. In this way, Bourdieu's concept of social capital can be seen as relationalism à la Tilly. From this conceptualization, the focus on ties between poor and affluent categories of people is essential for understanding inequality. In order for resource-poor people to gain access to resources, they need ties to resource-rich people. The other way around, for resources to be made accessible and exchanged, the resource-rich need to form ties with the resource-poor. This means that my first concern is with the formation of interclass ties, and not with interethnic ties. The exchange of resources is inherently about socioeconomic categories—categories of people with similar socioeconomic status and similar levels of resources. Terms like 'ethnic/black middle class' and 'black gentrification' make clear that people of ethnic minority origin can be capital-rich as well, even though there is a correlation between socioeconomic status and ethnic origin.

Not all relationships can be regarded as (providing) 'social capital', because not all relationships provide access to resources. This is why the idea of social capital cannot be equated with the basic idea that social networks are valuable (cf. Foley and Edwards, 1999), and why the concept of social capital is not the same as the concept of social support. Operationalizing social capital as support contributes to the confusion around the concept. It has become common to distinguish two forms of social capital: one that helps people 'get by' and one that helps people 'get ahead' (Briggs, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). But to what extent is offering emotional support or helping a friend move house social capital? These are valuable forms of support and valuable for a person's wellbeing, but it is not about access to resources in order to improve one's socioeconomic or societal status. In this case, the concept of social capital has little to contribute; concepts such as social support, relationships and networks suffice.

The concept of social capital has been criticized because of the wide variety of definitions that have been proposed. I follow Bourdieu's idea that 'concepts have no definition other than systemic ones, and are designed to be *put to work empirically in systematic fashion*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 96, emphasis in original). For analytical purposes it is less relevant that we come up with a watertight and fixed definition. Rather, I draw on ideas that are developed in the frameworks of social capital theory, social network analysis and other studies on inequality and exclusion, in order to understand how spatial segregation may be associated with differential access to resources. A more theoretical question in this study is how we should understand the idea of 'social capital' and whether the concept can do any analytical work in explaining the reproduction of inequality through networks. I return to this question in Chapter 8.

1.3 Research approach and key questions

To recapitulate, Tilly's framework on durable inequality and Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital provide the theoretical starting point of this study. In order to understand how spatial segregation may reproduce or reinforce socioeconomic inequality, I focus on how spatial segregation is associated with the formation of unequal networks. The unequal formation of personal networks is thus what needs to be explained (explicandum), variables that are associated with spatial segregation are what are examined as possible explanations (explicans). Hence, networks and network inequality are the dependent variables—in contrast to networks or social capital which are independent variables in explaining individual- or group-level outcomes (see Foley and Edwards, 1999). This approach puts the focus on demonstrating (uneven) access to resources, and the role of context in how relationships and networks are formed (ibid.).

The key question is:

To what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks? And, the other way around, to what extent and how does spatial integration moderate the formation of unequal networks?

Inspired by Coleman's (1986) macro-to-micro model (but not his approach of methodological individualism), Figure 1.1 visualizes the relation between the key question and several other, associated questions.

The question of how spatial segregation reproduces the (unequal) formation of networks (black arrow) is part of a broad question of how spatial segregation reproduces inequality in resources (arrow 1). The question whether spatial segregation (re)produces resource inequality is a much debated question, as I have sketched above. Spatial segregation and resources inequality are patterns in populations and thus a direct examination of how the association between these patterns emerges (beyond recording an association) is impossible. The formation of unequal networks is one of the mechanisms that may connect spatial segregation with inequality in resources. This study focuses on this mechanism.

This study does not focus on the question of whether and how unequal formation of networks results in the unequal exchange of resources (arrow 2). This connection is often examined and demonstrated, for example, in studies on social capital (for a recent overview of studies, see Field (2008)), but also in studies on the benefits (and disadvantages) of being embedded in personal networks. The relation between the unequal exchange of resources and inequality (arrow 3) is logically inferred: the unequal exchange of resources means that resources are unevenly distributed and, thus, that there is a situation of inequality in resources. (This follows the logic of relational sociology: the explanation of how unequal exchange of resources is related to inequality actually does not need an extra step, because the unequal exchange is ine-

Figure 1.1 Relation between key question and other questions

Spatial segregation

?

(Unequal) formation of
personal networks

1

2

Resource inequality

3

(Unequal) exchange
of resources
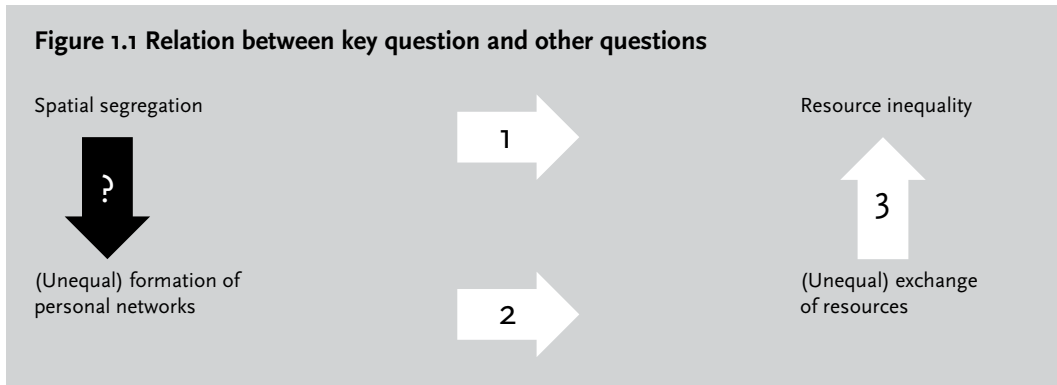
quality. For analytical purposes, and for clarity, disentangling this connection is helpful, though.)

It should be noted that personal networks are not the only channel through which resources are (unevenly) exchanged. The welfare state and its arrangements, charitable organizations and donations are other channels of resource exchange. Through the resource-rich paying taxes and donating money and goods, the resource-poor acquire access to resources and inequality in goods and services is somewhat levelled. The question of personal networks is thus a slice of the question of what constitutes inequality among a population. This study cannot estimate what the relevant impact of spatial segregation, through personal networks, would be. However, if spatial segregation indeed matters for the formation of personal networks, and in particular for the formation of resource-rich networks, we can infer that spatial segregation has a role in reproducing inequality between resource-poor and resource-rich people. Furthermore, there are other mechanisms through which spatial segregation may reproduce inequality; these are not discussed here.[4]

A study on neighbourhood composition and networks inevitably brings up questions about interethnic ties and the multicultural society, and integration, emancipation, social mobility and citizenship. These are relevant questions, but my interest lies elsewhere. I do not examine interethnic ties because whether one maintains relationships with Dutch people—as opposed to people of non-Western origin—is a poor proxy for having resource-rich ties. I have explained that my focus is on ties that cross socioeconomic categories, because my interest is in the exchange of resources. In the study I do examine, albeit not as main focus, the extent to which certain categories of people may be particularly lacking resource-rich ties—women, single parents and people of non-Western origin, as they are identified as disproportionally resource-poor.

The key question (in short, how spatial segregation matters for network formation) falls into five research questions:

1. *In what ways are neighbourhood composition and personal networks connected? (Chapter 3)*
2. *To what extent, how and for whom, does neighbourhood composition, through*

---

4 The literature on neighbourhood effects describes several mechanisms, among them networks (see e.g. Kintrea and Atkinson, 2001; Galster, 2005; Pinkster, 2008b).

structuring meeting opportunities, matter for the formation of resource-rich person-
al networks? (Chapter 5)
3. To what extent, how and for whom does neighbourhood composition, through its
role in shaping the neighbourhood as meaningful place, matter for the formation of lo-
cality-based relationships and thus people's opportunity to expand their personal net-
work? (Chapter 6)
4. To what extent, how and for whom does choosing neighbourhood diversity indi-
cate a greater tendency to form relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries and
thus to maintain more heterogeneous personal networks? (Chapter 7)
5. What factors, next to the neighbourhood, play a role in the formation of unequal
personal networks? (Chapter 8)

This study contributes to existing urban studies in two ways. First, the the-
oretical and empirical focus of the study is on the formation of personal net-
works. In many urban studies, relationships and networks are identified as
key variables and mechanisms, but the formation and form of relationships
and networks are often taken as given or inferred from statistical associa-
tions between spatial segregation and network forms or indicators of socio-
economic status. The formation of relationships and networks itself is rare-
ly theorized and examined in detail (but see Small, 2009). More specifical-
ly, much remains unknown about the spatial aspect of the formation of net-
works (cf. Blokland and Savage, 2008). This study contributes to knowledge on
the spatialization of inequality by explicitly teasing out the spatial aspect of
the formation of networks. Through engagement with the literature on net-
works and relationships, in connection to urban studies, the study works
towards a framework for understanding the spatialized formation of unequal
networks and inequality.

Second, this study examines the consequences of neighbourhood compo-
sition not for either the resource-poor or the resource-rich, but includes both
categories of people in the theoretical and empirical analysis. To this end, the
study engages with different bodies of literature on spatial segregation in cit-
ies: poverty in neighbourhoods and sociospatial isolation (Chapter 5), eth-
nic diversity in neighbourhoods and territorial stigma (Chapter 6) and gentri-
fication, urban-seekers and mixed neighbourhoods (Chapter 7). In this way,
this book brings together several questions and debates on spatial segrega-
tion—debates that may seem very different but in essence are about one and
the same thing: how spatial segregation relates to social segregation. Fur-
thermore, the question of spatial segregation and its consequences deserves
attention from both perspectives (Massey, 1996). After all, how can we know
what 'network poverty' is when we fail to compare the networks of both the
resource-poor and the resource-rich? How can we know whether networks
are more 'mixed' among residents of mixed neighbourhoods when we fail to
include networks of residents of both homogeneous poor and affluent neigh-
bourhoods? Questions on the consequences of spatial segregation of the rich

and the poor on the composition and quality of networks are essentially about how spatial segregation matters for ties between these categories (see, in particular, Chapter 5 and 7). Therefore, we need to know to what extent networks of both affluent and poor people are exclusively within socioeconomic categories. This book aims to answer some of these questions.

1.4 Data and methodology[5]

The data for this study is collected among the population of three different neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. Data on 210 residents of Cool-south (further: Cool)—a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood in the city centre—was collected in 2002 by Talja Blokland (2004). This neighbourhood was the point of reference for selecting two socioeconomically 'homogeneous' neighbourhoods: an area with predominantly resource-poor residents, and an area with predominantly resource-rich residents. Both are located in the city (instead of suburbs) for ensuring some comparability of the physical environment (whether residents live in flats or terraced houses may have a great impact on the formation of ties in the neighbourhood). Based on the demographic and physical features of various Rotterdam neighbourhoods, I selected the Rieder neighbourhood in Hillesluis as a poor neighbourhood (further: Hillesluis) and Blijdorp-south as an affluent neighbourhood (further: Blijdorp).[6]

The descriptions of these neighbourhoods and the differences in their demographic composition, as well as other differences, are discussed in Section 2.1. In these two additional research locations, 104 residents of Hillesluis and 100 residents of Blijdorp participated in the survey Social networks and social support, carried out in March and April 2007.

Because of the rather complicated structure of the questionnaires, we carried out face-to-face interviews at people's homes. The interviews in Hillesluis and Blijdorp were carried out by ten students of the Erasmus University Rotterdam and myself. After distributing an introductory letter about the study, we randomly rang doorbells, asked people to participate and interviewed them right away or returned for an interview later. We asked people about several domains in their everyday life: school and work, children, their dwelling and neighbourhood, social and political participation and social support. For 15 items in the Cool survey, and 18 items in the Hillesluis and Blijdorp surveys, we asked name-generating questions (see McCallister and

---

5 This section offers a very brief discussion of the data collection and analysis; a more detailed description can be found in Section 2.3 and Appendices A and B.

6 These neighbourhoods differ also in ethnic composition, because ethnic origin correlates with socioeconomic status, but as my focus is on the resource-rich and resource-poor, my interest is mainly with whether and how the socioeconomic composition of these neighbourhoods matter for personal networks; see also Chapter 2.

Fischer, 1978; Völker, 1999; van der Gaag, 2005). For example, if people had a job, we asked how they got their job (they could choose from a list of answers) and if they said someone had helped them or told them about the vacancy, we asked who this person was and collected various characteristics about this person and their relationship with the respondent. In this way, we collected information about a number of 'network members' of all respondents and thus gained insight into their 'ego-centred' personal network. More information about this method, and the advantages and drawbacks compared with other methods, are provided in Section 2.3 (introduction to the personal networks) and Appendix A (methodology).

From January to March 2009, I followed up on several respondents and carried out 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews (based on a topic list). I interviewed 15 Hillesluisians and 15 Blijdorpers, and tried to select both resource-rich and resource-poor people, and people with a large and those with a relatively small network. We talked about various network members, particularly those who had helped with finding a job or house, or who had asked respondents to join a social or political association and do voluntary work. The interviews thus served for clarification purposes in the first place. The second goal was more exploratory and included collecting data about perceptions of similarity and difference between respondents and their network members. The procedure of the in-depth interviews is discussed in more detail in Appendix A.

The study is thus based on a mixed-methods approach. However, rather than understanding this procedure as combining a qualitative study with a quantitative study, we can say that this is an intensive study (see Schuyt, 1995) based on both quantitative and qualitative data. While the survey collected mainly quantitative data, and while these data are analysed with statistical procedures (using SPSS), the sample size is relatively small (n=382, all students were removed from the database) and not generalizable to the Dutch population. Nevertheless, the data on each and every respondent and particularly their personal networks, is detailed and therefore it is an intensive rather than an extensive study. Intensive studies collect relatively many characteristics about relatively few cases, whereas extensive studies collect few characteristics about many cases (Schuyt, 1995). Extensive studies are usually generalizable to a wider population and in the first place seek insight into the prevalence of certain characteristics in a population (questions of 'how many?'), whereas intensive studies seek to gain insight into the 'how' of a phenomenon. The primary goal of this study is to offer insight into how spatial segregation is associated with the formation of personal networks.

I analysed the survey and interview data through a dialectic process: I considered and interpreted the quantitative and qualitative data in association with each other and looked for complementary and deviant patterns in both datasets. Furthermore, I focus on patterns, associations and variations in patterns and associations. The statistical analyses should be read as analyses of

association between variables rather than analyses of which independent variables 'cause' or 'predict' particular dependent variables. Furthermore, I follow the 'contextualist paradigm' (in contrast to the 'variables paradigm') in understanding that 'no social fact makes any sense abstracted from its context in social (and often geographic) space and social time' (Abbott, 1997: 1152). That means, among other things, that we cannot attribute causality to (constructed) variables but that we rather need to think about how variables such as socioeconomic status and household composition as co-shaping the everyday lives of people, are associated with the phenomenon that we are trying to understand. This means including a range of, and the combination of various variables in the analyses, because 'nothing that ever occurs in the social world occurs "net of other variables." All social facts are located in contexts. So why bother to pretend that they are not?' (ibid.).

Finally, the study aims for theoretical generalization rather than empirical generalization (or qualitative generalization, see Schuyt (1995: 83-88)). Some of the findings of this study probably point to basic and general patterns and tendencies, and other studies are likely to have found or find something similar, but the findings of other studies are not necessarily identical (see Payne and Williams, 2005: 305). In other words, some of the associations and mechanisms that I describe may be found in other studies, but the empirical details will most probably be different because they are contingent on the social processes and contexts in which they are embedded (Payne and Williams, 2005: 305). Through showing what factors and processes may play a role in network formation, the study aims to inform further research on this topic. Appendix A further discusses the issue of generalization.

1.5 Plan of the book

In order to know whether and how spatial segregation matters for the formation of unequal networks, we need to know whether and how spatial segregation is associated with the formation of personal relationships and networks. In the above Introduction, I laid out the theoretical framework, the academic relevancy and the key question of the study. In the following chapters, I discuss how we can understand theoretically the association between spatial segregation and personal networks (Chapter 3) and further examine, empirically and theoretically, the different ways in which this association might occur (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Chapter 4 is intermediary and discusses the conceptual question of how to define and measure resource-rich networks. Chapter 8 is the final analytical chapter and moves away from the neighbourhood in looking into the question of how unequal networks are formed. The final chapter offers a synthesis of findings and conclusion.

Chapter 2 introduces the three research neighbourhoods and the respond-

ents. Here I will also introduce the personal networks, and discuss briefly how personal networks were measured.

Chapter 3 discusses how we can connect, in theory, neighbourhood composition and the formation of personal networks. I start with a detailed discussion of how relationships are formed. Building on Fischer's (1977, 1982) choice-constraint model, I discuss four aspects of relationship formation: (1) settings, foci and meeting opportunities; (2) categorization, identification and the homophily principle; (3) settings as meaningful places—or how context and identification are intertwined; and (4) the meaning of relationships as exchange relations based on reciprocity and expectations—or the 'rules of relevancy'. Based on this theoretical exercise I infer three ways in which neighbourhood composition and network formation and quality may be connected. First, the neighbourhood can be seen as a collection of neighbourhood settings—schools, community centres, playgrounds and parks, and the 'micro-neighbourhood' of adjacent dwellings—which attract a selection of people, mainly residents, and thus structure encounters, meeting opportunities and the formation of relationships. Second, through processes of categorization and identification, people assess whether others are 'people like us' or not, and this structures the formation of relationships. The neighbourhood as meaningful place (as 'good' or 'bad' neighbourhood) offers a frame of reference for categorization and identification, and in this way the image of a place and its residents, whether positive or negative, may rub off on residents and work through in interactions among fellow-residents. Third, a choice for a mixed neighbourhood may indicate, or translate into, a tendency to form relationships with people across socioeconomic boundaries. In other words, this choice may indicate a deviation from the general tendency that people socialize with similar others. These three theoretical connections provide the core of the study and are further examined in Chapters 5 to 7.

Chapter 4 deals with a question of a more conceptual nature: how to define resource-rich networks? In particular, I zoom in on what kinds of relationships provide access to valuable resources. I examine the analytical and empirical power of Granovetter's thesis of 'strength of weak ties' and Burt's idea of brokerage, and the extent to which certain connections—family members, acquaintances, friends etc.—indicate (more) access to (better) resources. Further, I consider how resources are exchanged between people and argue that resources may be exchanged through both strong and weak ties through respectively 'making an effort' and 'routine exchange'.

Chapters 5 to 7 take up the three ways in which neighbourhood composition and network formation are connected. Chapter 5 examines whether and how living in a poor neighbourhood reinforces 'network poverty'—networks that provide little access to valuable resources. The chapter engages with the sociospatial isolation thesis which has its origins in W.J. Wilson's work on African-American ghettos in Chicago. The neighbourhood composition can

affect networks only when the level of spatial segregation is severe enough to structure encounters between the poor and the rich. A second condition is that people's networks are located mainly within the neighbourhood and, moreover, are formed through neighbourhood settings. These conditions are examined here in order to understand the neighbourhood's role in network formation. The main question is: to what extent are networks locally bound, and to what extent are networks formed or rather maintained in the neighbourhood? And can variations in the 'localness' of networks explain, at least in part, variations in the resourcefulness of networks?

Chapter 6 zooms in on relationships with fellow-residents that are formed in the micro-neighbourhood of adjacent dwellings. I take up a debate that is concerned with the neighbourhood as meaningful place—people read the population of a neighbourhood as its status and thus places acquire reputations. Some neighbourhoods suffer from territorial stigmatization, which may rub off on their residents, and people in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods may feel uncomfortable with the presence of people from other ethnic origin ('ethnic-others'). The question in this chapter is whether and how the ethnic diversity of a neighbourhood, and the interpretation of such diversity by residents, shapes the formation of locality-based ties. To what extent do people in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods withdraw from socializing with their neighbours? If they do, this would mean that particularly the resource-poor—as they often live in multi-ethnic and stigmatized neighbourhoods—miss an opportunity to form new relationships and expand their personal networks. In this chapter I also consider how the micro-neighbourhood as setting shapes relationships—as generating the setting-specific relation of neighbouring—and what this means for dealing with differences and otherness.

Chapter 7 engages with studies on 'diversity-seekers' who choose to move into an urban neighbourhood for its diversity, that is, its mix of socioeconomic categories, ethnic and cultural orientations. Seeking the city and its diversity may signify a metropolitan habitus, but does it signify a tendency to form networks that are more heterogeneous? Several studies, among them notably Tim Butler's, have shown that liking diversity does not necessarily translate into engagement with resource-poorer residents; seeking diverse places may more have to do with distinction than with involvement. Furthermore, if choosing diversity is a matter of taste, and taste draws people together and draws boundaries, then there is an interesting tension here. In this chapter, I compare resource-rich Cool residents and Blijdorpers, the first living in a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood, the latter in a homogeneous neighbourhood: do they differ in the extent to which they have heterogeneous networks?

In Chapter 8, I move away from the focus on neighbourhood composition and examine what factors make for the formation of a resource-rich network. What explains the variations in network quality besides the neighbourhood?

Personal networks are the collection of relationships that have developed in different settings at stages in people's life-course. Variations in network formation result in different network forms, and these vary in size, composition, variety and resourcefulness. I consider what network forms tell us about variations in quality, and how network forms in conjunction with socioeconomic position shape resource-rich networks. I conclude by arguing for understanding 'social capital' as embeddedness in resource-rich networks and settings and thus argue for 'social capital' in a Bourdieuian sense.

Chapter 9 concludes by bringing together the key findings and answering the key question of the study. I conclude that spatial segregation in itself does not structure meeting opportunities between resource-rich people and resource-poor people and thus does not reinforce unequal networks and inequality. Nevertheless, because neighbourhoods are meaningful places, spatial segregation (and spatial integration) keeps in place boundaries between socioeconomic categories and as such spatial segregation does reproduce the formation of unequal and segregated networks and inequality. Subsequently I offer recommendations for policy and practice and formulate questions for further research.

2 The people and the places

A global example of the modern intercultural metropolis which is, time and again, innovative in dealing with a great diversity of cultures and life styles and knows how to capitalize on the opportunities this offers.
Rotterdam City Vision for 2030[7]

Rotterdam is the second largest city of the Netherlands (population 584,856 [8]) The city government council of Rotterdam aims to expand the city's international image through developing the knowledge economy and creating an attractive residential and living environment, and thus create the 'modern intercultural metropolis' that is envisioned for 2030. Rotterdam's skyline and cultural amenities are marketing tools in the competition for the 'middle class' in the Randstad.[9] Rotterdam is a harbour city and this is reflected in its population: more lower-educated residents, more low-skilled workers and more non-Western and (former) immigrant families, compared with the capital city Amsterdam (which can be characterized rather as a service and tourist city). Rotterdam copes with a negative reputation of being the poorest, most unsafe and most 'coloured' city.

   In many ways, although maybe not a 'global city' (Sassen, 2001), Rotterdam is 'polarized' in its image as well as its population and labour market (e.g. Kloosterman, 1996; Burgers and van der Waal, 2008). The two images of Rotterdam come together in the city government's aim to create an attractive city, which is not exclusively for the elite, but also not dominated by poor families and non-Western minority groups. This duality is also reflected in the various strategies that have been implemented to create mixed neighbourhoods. A population prognosis in 2007, which predicted that by 2017 half of the population would consist of people of non-Western origin, resulted in great concerns and radical measures to prevent poverty (and ethnic) concentration (see van Eijk, forthcoming in 2010). Through 'gentripuncture'— minor incentives to stimulate the process of gentrification in places that seem fit for it (Het Experiment, 2005; COS, 2007)—the city government hopes to attract more resource-rich residents and improve problem places. Through 'restructuring', 9000 cheap and small (rental) dwellings were demolished and replaced by 14,500 more expensive and mostly owner-occupied dwellings between 2006 and 2010—again, in order to make the city more attractive for middle- and high-income categories (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2006: 18). These and comparable measures have become part and parcel in many large- and medium-sized Dutch cities.

---

7   Rotterdam, 2007: 6.

8   31 May 2009 (COS, 2009).

9   The Randstad is a conurbation and consists of the four largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) and surrounding cities, towns and villages (population: 7.5 million).

These dynamics make Rotterdam a fascinating location for a study of the consequences of spatial segregation. This is not primarily a study about Rotterdam and its population, however. Rather, Rotterdam provides a variety of neighbourhoods—affluent as well as poor as well as mixed neighbourhoods—which meet the requirements for a cross-sectional study on how neighbourhood composition matters for networks. It should be said that affluent and poor neighbourhoods in Dutch cities are not extremely segregated in terms of socioeconomic composition (Musterd, 2005: 338-339). Yet, in relative respect, the differences between the poorest and more mixed and affluent neighbourhoods are significant and sufficient for a comparative study of the lives of their inhabitants. The different neighbourhood populations furthermore indicate three different neighbourhoods in terms of reputation and facilities. As such, comparing residents in different Rotterdam neighbourhoods provides insights into the key question of this study: how spatial segregation is linked to the formation of personal networks. In the following, I describe the three research neighbourhoods (2.1), introduce the respondents in the sample (2.2), and give a first description of their personal networks (2.3).

2.1 The places: Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorp

The research is carried out among residents of three neighbourhoods in Rotterdam: Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorp. As administrative units, Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorp are larger than the selected areas: in Hillesluis the Riederbuurt was selected for the survey sample (east of Beijerlandselaan and Randweg), in Cool the area of Cool-South (south of Westblaak) was selected and for Blijdorp the southern part (south of Stadhoudersweg). However, for practical reasons I refer to the surveyed neighbourhoods as Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorp.[10]

Before describing these areas, we should think about what defines a neighbourhood. What part of a population and what facilities and spaces are regarded as belonging to the same neighbourhood? 'Neighbourhood' is a common term and a common-sense notion—'hard to define precisely, but everyone knows it when they see it' (Galster, 2001: 2111). When using such common-sense notions, it is important to think of what they actually mean and what their analytic value, if any, may be. That many people (are able to) say that they live in a neighbourhood, and even (are able to) define its boundaries, proves that it is an easy shortcut for talking about particular places; it however does not prove that the neighbourhood is a bounded area in everyday life. Although some places may be 'naturally' bordered by a main road, a railway or water (what Chicago School scholars call 'natural areas'), the bounda-

---

10 Not all statistics are available for the sub-areas and some thus refer to the larger administrative neighbourhood.

ries of neighbourhoods are usually rather arbitrary and can be easily crossed. Many neighbourhoods are furthermore an invention of administrators and social scientists (see, for example, how Chicago School scholars were involved in determining Chicago's neighbourhoods, in Venkatesh (2001)). That neighbourhoods are often meaningful places to people—with a certain character or 'feel'—does not inherently make the neighbourhood a 'real place' more than any other space. All places where people come and go acquire meaning, even places that we sometimes call 'place-less' or 'non-places': they have acquired meaning as a space without authenticity or liveliness (or whatever the concern is). Spaces become places through place-making (Blokland, 2001, 2007; Friedmann, 2007)—through relations between (categories of) people and things who use and occupy these spaces (Blokland, 2003b: 9; Lofland, 1998). Although most people can talk about 'the neighbourhood', where the neighbourhood is, let alone what it is, is not at all self-evident.

All interviewees in Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorp were asked to indicate the boundaries of 'their neighbourhood' on a map.[11] This exercise produced a wide variety of drawings: some circled their own street or several adjacent streets, while others circled a larger part of the city, exceeding the boundaries of their administrative district. Some people marked several separate areas, sometimes also areas in another administrative district. Finally, several people regarded the entire borough or half the city as their neighbourhood, for example, because they had lived in several places in Rotterdam or often travelled through half the city to get to work or friends. The comments people made while they were drawing 'their neighbourhood' were often about where they went (for shopping, visiting people, children's school or went through on their way) and about where they were familiar or not so familiar.[12]

We can thus understand that people's imagination of their neighbourhood is tied up with their (daily) routines and activities (see Blokland, 2003b). Sometimes people pondered over what was 'officially' their neighbourhood, which would explain why many people drew boundaries more or less similar to the administrative borders.

If neighbourhoods are so different for different people, and if they are not bounded clusters of people, how can neighbourhoods have any active role in shaping people's lives? Herbert Gans (2002) argues that places such as neighbourhoods cannot have any power really. Even if we were to determine that the people or agencies in a certain place exert influence on the residents of

---

11   The idea of this question was to have some sort of 'agreement' about what was meant when we talked about the neighbourhood throughout the survey, although (unfortunately perhaps) we did not check whether network members who, according to interviewees, live in the neighbourhood actually lived within the drawn boundaries.

12   People's comments were not systematically noted and coded; this is my recording from the interviews I carried out myself.

that place, according to Gans 'the cause remains in the agencies and what-ever political and other efforts made their combination effective' (2002: 334). Even if people in certain areas help each other out with jobs or organize together for political purposes, 'still, even then, the effects must be ascribed to the people involved and their relations, not to the neighbourhood' (ibid.). Perhaps it is fair to say that, despite abundant attention from academics (and policy makers and practitioners), 'the neighbourhood' is mostly a common-sense notion: convenient for (vaguely or precisely) indicating a place and con-venient for policy makers and practitioners for administrative reasons, but without much analytic value in itself.

To define 'the neighbourhood' thus seems impossible and perhaps it is also unnecessary. For the purpose of studying the neighbourhood as an independ-ent variable, it is more fruitful to define what aspects of what we call 'neigh-bourhood' we expect to do analytical work. In this study, I examine whether the socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood population matters for the formation of relationships and networks. In this way, it is the clustering of a particular category or categories of people that does analytical work. The next question then is at what scale we demarcate the different clusters. Only through repeated personal encounters are we likely to get to know our fellow-residents. We thus are looking for a scale small enough for repeated person-al encounters to occur or to be made possible. Therefore, a scale of (roughly) 'within walking distance' seemed suitable as demarcation of the research are-as. I thus selected two areas with a homogeneous population living in an area that can be easily crossed by foot. I suspected that, if neighbourhood matters for relationship formation, it would be within this area.

The neighbourhood in this respect is a collection of people sharing a cer-tain space in which to live. This space furthermore may include certain facil-ities where people who share this space might run in to each other. We can call these 'neighbourhood settings': settings that draw primarily people who live in the same place (see Chapter 3). These two aspects of the neighbour-hood—what is within walking distance and the neighbourhood settings—vary among people, however. The specific shape and composition of the neigh-bourhood is thus also very personally defined.

For the purpose of this study, 'neighbourhood' is a shortcut for what is geo-graphically near to a person's home. It is, to use another dubious shortcut, what is 'local' (see Savage *et al*., 2005a: 4-7). Perhaps it is most accurate to say that 'the neighbourhood' is a circle (or any shape) which can be drawn around every individual person. The diameter of the circle varies for everyone, and with this variation also the population and facilities of people's neighbourhood vary. Local relationships, then, are relationships with people who live in geographically proximate places, while non-local ties are less proximate and regarded by peo-ple themselves as 'outside' the neighbourhood—for example, not within walking distance. The 'neighbourhood' and the 'local' are then shortcuts for individually-

bound, geographically proximate places where people's dwelling is situated and where they, perhaps, engage in other activities in neighbourhood settings.

Three neighbourhoods[13]

The three research neighbourhoods are chosen for their relatively different composition in terms of socioeconomic categories. The survey in Cool, a socioeconomically mixed area, was carried out in 2001 by Talja Blokland and thus formed the 'benchmark' for selecting a 'poor' area and an 'affluent' area (as I am interested in the significance of socioeconomic segregation for the formation of networks). The population of Hillesluis is predominantly, although not exclusively, resource-poor (housing more low-educated, unemployed people and more low-skilled workers). The population of Blijdorp is predominantly resource-rich (see Table 2.1 for socioeconomic indicators). On all socioeconomic measures, the Cool population scores average: for instance, they are wealthier than Hillesluisians but less wealthy than Blijdorpers, and not significantly more likely to work than Hillesluisians but significantly less likely to be unemployed or unfit to work. Compared with the average Cool residents as well as the average for Rotterdam, Hillesluisians have a weaker socioeconomic status while Blijdorpers have a stronger socioeconomic status.

Another selection criterion for the two additional research areas was the built environment in the three neighbourhoods. The built environment needs to be more or less similar because large differences in type of housing, number and types of public spaces and facilities may influence interaction and thus the opportunities for meeting fellow-residents. The selected areas are thus all 'urban' neighbourhoods in terms of their built environment (many apartments, few terraced houses; high density) while quite different in demographic composition. However, their different socioeconomic status does reflect other differences—in housing stock, in facilities and in ethnic, age and household composition. The variation in kinds and numbers of facilities is further reflected in the non-residential population such as (local) tourists. Walking through the three neighbourhoods, one notices the different and perhaps distinct 'feel' of the three areas. Cool is much more 'urban', so to speak, than Hillesluis and Blijdorp, which has largely to do with the fact that Cool is a 'mixed-use' area while the latter two consist predominantly of dwellings, with shops and offices mostly along the through-roads. Blijdorp is in turn nothing like Hillesluis, as the latter's ethnic diversity is prominent and

---

13   The statistics displayed in Tables 2.1 to 2.3 and Figures 2.1 to 2.3 are based on the following sources: Rotterdam data: BIRD (Buurtinformatie Rotterdam Digitaal/Neighbourhood Information Rotterdam Digital); Netherlands data: CBS StatLine (Statistics Netherlands). The statistics for Cool cover the year 2001, when the Cool survey was carried out; for Hillesluis and Blijdorp the statistics cover 2007, when the respective surveys of those neighbourhoods were carried out. Some statistics are not gathered every year and some statistics cover a larger area (administrative area); in that case the year and area are mentioned in the attached note to the table.

Table 2.1 Socioeconomic and ethnic composition of the research neighbourhoods, Rotterdam and the Netherlands (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Rotterdam	Netherlands
Average annual income (€)	14,900	18,900	22,600	18,800	20,800
Socioeconomic status					
Below income poverty line	28	19	7	17	10
High income	4	17	28	15	20
Income out of work	55	58	75	58	64
Unemployment benefits	29	19	5	17	10
Ethnic origin					
Native Dutch	28	45	78	54	81
Western, non-Dutch	6	18	12	9	9
Non-Western	66	37	10	38	11
Number of residents	6,197	2,098	5,049	-	-
Age 20 and older	70	81	84	-	-

Notes: poverty line refers to standardized income level; high income refers to income in 5th quintile of Dutch population; unemployment benefits refers to WW/WIA. Native Dutch: respondent and both parents born in the Netherlands; western, non-Dutch: Europe (except Turkey), North America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia; non-Western: born or parents born in all other countries. Socioeconomic statistics cover 2005 and larger administrative area.

Figure 2.1 Age categories in the research neighbourhoods and Rotterdam
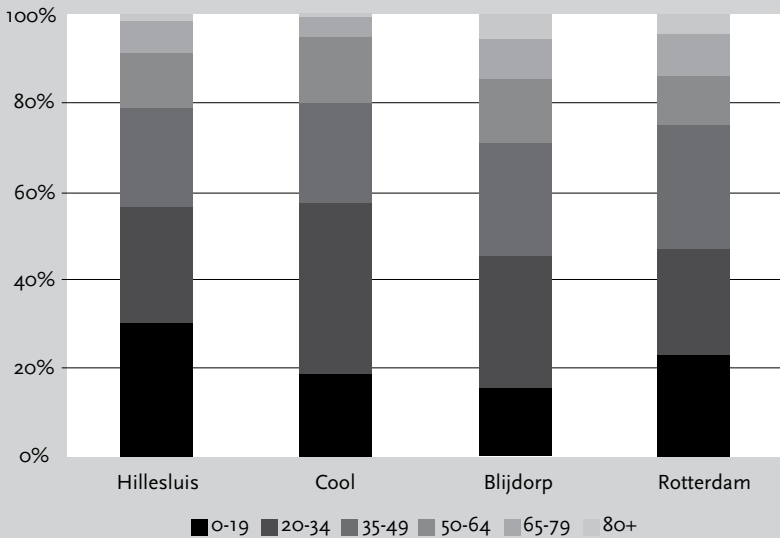
the streets there are much busier during the day and at night. Below is a short description of the three areas, including some comparative statistics.

Figure 2.2 Neighbourhood composition for types of household in the research neighbourhoods and Rotterdam
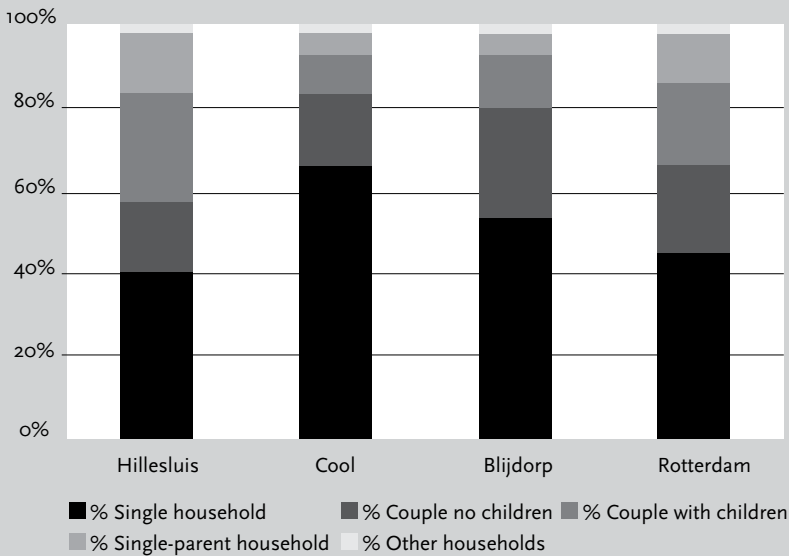
Cool

Cool (mixed neighbourhood) is situated in the heart of Rotterdam, near the shopping and entertainment centre and several museums, and near many bars, restaurants and discotheques. Especially the Witte de Withstraat is a bustling street with bars, hip restaurants and galleries. The city government has appointed this area (specifically Cool-South) as a gentrification area (COS, 2007)—and it has become gentrified since the city government renovated part of the housing stock in the 1990s and invested in its cultural facilities (see Meulenbelt, 1994; Blokland, 2004). The Rotterdam Gentrification Monitor (COS, 2007) describes Cool-South as an area that offers much employment in the 'creative industry' and an above-average growth of employment. The area attracts many younger people (aged 18–34) and singles (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2), even though the value of the dwellings is above average and rising. Of the three neighbourhoods, Cool has the most shops, particularly selling specialist goods, and companies, particularly in the hospitality and service sector (see Table 2.2). As is (also) to be expected in the entertainment district, Cool residents report an above-average frequency of problems such as the nuisance of drunks and noise, violence, theft of bicycles and cars and vandalism. In 2001, Cool scored 'unsafe' in the annual safety index.[14]

---

14 Rotterdam's annual safety index scores all neighbourhoods in one of five categories (from negative to positive): 'unsafe', 'problem', 'threat' (to become a problem), 'attention', '(fairly) safe'. This index is based on registered and self-reported crime, nuisance and problems, and statistics on demographics and housing stock. By 2007, Cool had 'improved' and scored 'threat'.

Table 2.2 Shops and companies in the research neighbourhood

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp
Shops			
Common goods	43	54	20
Special goods	124	345	22
Other	166	327	43
Total (shops)	**333**	**726**	**85**
Companies by sector			
Retail	128	391	59
Hotels, restaurants, bars	46	145	15
Finance, real estate, commerce	41	247	123
Schools, education	24	13	22
Health and welfare	35	34	34
Culture, recreation	19	84	33
Other	58	79	34
Total (companies by sector)	**351**	**993**	**320**

Note: Statistics for larger administrative areas.

Blijdorp

Blijdorp (affluent neighbourhood) lies near the city centre of Rotterdam yet not in the 'lively heart' of the city. Situated 'behind' the Central Station[15], Blijdorp is a quiet area with mostly dwellings and very few shops and facilities for entertainment (Table 2.2). The exception is Blijdorp Zoo, which of course attracts many people and relatively many tourists, but the zoo lies on the edge of Blijdorp and would hardly draw people into the residential neighbourhood. Furthermore, the zoo attracts a rather different audience than Cool's bars and cultural facilities (not to mention that the zoo closes long before the evening and nightlife begins). Blijdorp also counts fewer professional service companies, although many more than Hillesluis, which suggests that Blijdorp is a convenient secondary location for professional (service) business. Overall Blijdorp has fewer shops and fewer restaurants and bars than Hillesluis though, and most of the companies are situated along the through-roads at the edges of Blijdorp (two large supermarkets are prominently visible). Compared with Cool, there are more schools in Blijdorp, although there are not significantly more families with children in Blijdorp.

Furthermore, in addition to the higher socioeconomic status of the Blijdorp population, associated with relatively few residents of non-Western origin, a larger proportion of the Blijdorpers are aged 65 and older (15 per cent) and are single or co-habiting without children (80 per cent; Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Also in the imagination of Blijdorpers, as the in-depth interviews show, the population is varied for age and households, with elderly people as well as young singles and young families. The neighbourhood has an air of peace and safety. According to the annual safety survey, Blijdorp is much safer than Cool (and Hillesluis)—the biggest problem is dog dirt; in 2007, Blijdorp scores 'safe'.

---

15 Rotterdam Central Station has two entrances: one on the side of city centre (the shopping and entertainment district) and the other on the side of Blijdorp, which lies, seen from the city centre, behind the station.

Hillesluis

To get to Hillesluis (poor neighbourhood) we would catch a tram to go to the southern bank of the river Maas—we would cross the Erasmus Bridge (the 'Swan') and pass the recently built (socioeconomically mixed) district of Kop van Zuid. We would see the 'largest mosque in Europe' which is being built at the northern edge of Hillesluis, and then enter a shopping street called Boulevard South (the Beijerlandselaan and Groene Hilledijk). Hillesluis counts many shops and small (fast-food) restaurants—many providing 'ethnic' food and products.

As in the Netherlands income is (still) correlated with ethnic origin, variations in socioeconomic composition are reflected in the ethnic composition of the areas (Figure 2.1). With almost three-quarters of the population belonging to non-Western ethnic minorities and their representation through shops and facilities, Hillesluis is obviously a 'pluri-ethnic' zone—in contrast to Blijdorp and to Cool, where the (minority) ethnic population is not dominantly visible in physical public spaces. Two-thirds of the Hillesluisians are registered as of non-Western origin, compared with respectively 37 and 10 per cent of the Cool residents and Blijdorpers (see Figure 2.3). Most non-Western minorities in Hillesluis are first-generation (born in another country: 82 per cent in Hillesluis, 88 per cent in Cool, 72 per cent in Blijdorp). In Cool and Blijdorp, a relatively large proportion of those of non-Dutch origin are registered as born in a Western country (10 per cent compared with 3 per cent in Hillesluis).

As is common in neighbourhoods with relatively many resource-poor residents, Hillesluis counts several community centres (Cool has one, Blijdorp none; all three neighbourhoods have a residents' association). Furthermore, Hillesluis is a child-friendly area, with many playgrounds and two large, secured playgrounds—run by volunteers—at the eastern edge of the area. Of the three neighbourhoods, the Hillesluisian population has the largest share of families with children (40 per cent) and the largest share of residents under the age of 19 (30 per cent). Most people in Hillesluis have lived there for 5 to 15 years, while most Cool residents and Blijdorpers have lived there for 2 to 5 years, although in Blijdorp there is also a substantial proportion that has lived there for more than 20 years.

According to the annual safety index, Hillesluis was a 'problem' neighbourhood in 2007. In addition, Hillesluis is one of the 40 neighbourhoods that are appointed by the Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration as most problematic areas in the Netherlands.[16]

Like most 'problem' neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, large parts of Hillesluis are currently restructured in order to change the housing stock and the com-

---

16   In 2009, the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration appointed 40 appointed 'problem neighbourhoods', consisting of 83 postal code areas. Hillesluis scores thirteenth out of 83.

Figure 2.3 Ethnic composition of the research neighbourhoods and Rotterdam
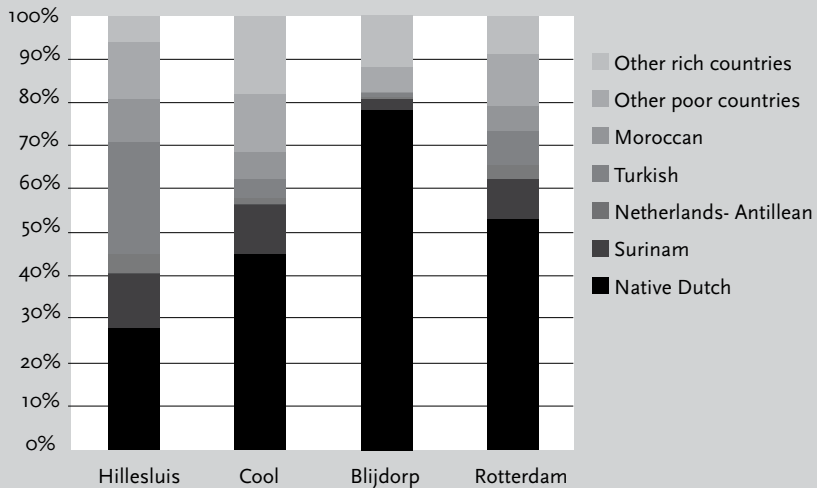
Note: Based on official definition of ethnic origin: if respondent or one of the parents is born in another country

position of the population. In 2009, housing in several streets had been demolished and new, more expensive apartments were being built (with names like 'Celestian', 'Sunset' and 'De Werelden' [literally: The Worlds]). This will create a more mixed population, socioeconomically and ethnically, in the future.

Table 2.3, finally, shows the type of dwellings in the three neighbourhoods. In Hillesluis and in Cool, the majority of the dwellings are owned by housing associations, while this goes for only 3 per cent of the dwellings in Blijdorp.[17]

This also indicates differences in income levels between the three residential areas. More than half of the dwellings in Blijdorp consist of private rental housing, compared with a quarter of the dwellings in Cool and 17 per cent in Hillesluis. Note that private rental dwellings are usually more expensive than social rental dwellings, and should not be seen as an indicator for cheap housing. The stock in the three areas consists mostly of low-rise flats (many gallery- and walk-up flats, which are typical for Dutch urban neighbourhoods) and ground floor and upstairs apartments. Finally, most dwellings provide three or four rooms (including the living room), while in Hillesluis and Cool there are relatively more one- and two-room apartments, and in Blijdorp more apartments with five or more rooms (which again reflects the average higher income levels of Blijdorpers, because these apartments are also likely to be more expensive). While there are some differences in the housing stock, all three areas are typically urban in the dwellings they provide: many apartment blocks (with usually a shared entrance or shared stairs) and few single-family dwellings.

---

17 Including a couple of dwellings owned by the municipality of Rotterdam.

Table 2.3 Composition type of dwellings in the research neighbourhoods and Rotterdam (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Rotterdam
Type of dwelling				
Single-family dwelling	6	2	2	23
Upstairs/ground floor flat	40	18	34	9
Flat	19	17	9	13
Gallery/walk-up flat	35	63	53	54
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Ownership				
Housing association	60	64	3	51
Owner-occupied	22	11	42	28
Private rental	17	25	55	15
Other/unknown	0	1	0	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Number of dwellings	2,797	987	2,779	289,337

2.2 The people: who they are, what they do and why they live there

In this section, I offer a brief description of the respondents who participated in the three surveys. The respondents are not in all respects representative of the neighbourhood population. The study does not aim to generalize to the neighbourhood population, however (Appendix A offers more information on sampling and generalization). Rather, the study aims to compare several categories of people living in different neighbourhoods. Therefore, what is important is that various categories of people are included for comparison and association with individual characteristics.

Table 2.4 shows the key sociodemographic features of the three respondent categories and shows that the three survey samples sufficiently cover women and men, couples and singles, ethnic categories (Western versus non-Western), different age categories, lower and higher educated (distinguished by having tertiary education), employment versus non-employment and occupational skill level (never worked and low-skilled workers are taken together in the analyses). The low number of non-Western respondents in Blijdorp is somewhat problematic, though; interpreting these variables thus demands some reserve.

Respondents' occupational skill level is based on the Statistics Netherlands' Standard Occupation Classification 1992 (Edition 2001). Based on the education and skills needed for certain jobs, occupations are classified as 'elementary', 'lower', 'medium', 'higher' and 'academic'. Based on respondent's current job or, if he or she was unemployed or retired at the time of the interview, respondent's former job, I classified their job as 'low-skilled', 'medium-skilled' or 'high-skilled'. Respondents who had never had a paid job were classified as 'never worked' (in most analyses in the following chapters, this category is taken together with 'low-skilled jobs'). Table 2.5 shows that occupation skill level is an accurate indication of respondent's socioeconomic status as it is associated with both education and income level. In most of anal-

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Table 2.4 Sociodemographics of survey respondents (percentages)				
Male	41	51	38	45
Female	59	49	62	55
Household				
Married/cohabiting	58	48	61	54
Single/living with parents	42	52	39	46
Children age 0-13 at home	28	19	28	24
Single parent	11	3	5	6
Age				
20-34	30	38	22	32
35-49	30	30	48	35
50-64	24	21	17	21
65+	17	11	12	13
Ethnic origin				
Native Dutch/Western	46	68	96	70
Non-Western	54	32	4	30
Highest educational degree				
Primary/secondary education	65	48	15	43
Tertiary education, of which				
Medium vocational training	23	15	12	16
Higher vocational training	8	19	34	20
Academic education	3	19	39	20
Job status				
Paid job	45	68	76	64
Situation of people without paid job				
Retired	23	30	38	29
Unemployed	21	13	4	15
Unfit to work	19	10	29	17
Welfare	19	13	0	13
Other/don't know	17	34	29	27
Occupational skill level				
Never worked	13	11	1	9
Low-skilled	61	33	9	34
Medium-skilled	19	23	21	21
High-skilled	7	34	68	36
N	97	187	98	382

yses in the following chapters, I include job skill level as proxy for socioeconomic status.

Reasons for moving

Respondents were asked why they had moved into their neighbourhood. We asked them to choose from a list of reasons and prioritize these reasons. On average, respondents reported five reasons (and some of them mentioned additional reasons that were not on the list). Table 2.6 shows the top five reasons for moving into each of the neighbourhoods.

Of these reasons, three refer to what I will further call 'network reasons':

■ staying or moving into the neighbourhood because people were born and bred there;

Table 2.5 Correlation between occupational skill level and education and employment status of survey respondents

	Occupational level				
	Never worked	Low	Medium	High	All
Primary/secondary education	85	82	37	1	43
Medium vocational training	6	17	37	7	16
Higher vocational training	9	0	16	44	20
Academic education	0	2	10	49	20
Has a paid job	0	46	74	91	64

Table 2.6 Top-5 reasons of respondents for moving into their neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp
1	Public transport (57)	Public transport (57)	Size and character of dwelling (78)
2	Close to shops (53)	Close to shops (53)	Architectural quality of neighbourhood (55)
3	Coincidentally got a dwelling (44)	Coincidentally got a dwelling (44)	Close to shops (53)
4	Size and character of dwelling (44)	Size and character of dwelling (44)	Public transport (50)
5	Near family members (38)	Near family members (38)	People in the neighbourhood (40)
Scale 'neighbour-hood choice'	.70	.49	.53

Note: scale ranges from 0 to 3.

■ moving to be near family members; and
■ moving to be near friends.

Choosing to be near family members is in the top five of Hillesluisians' reasons. Hillesluisians are significantly more likely to mention this reason (14 per cent did so, compared with 6 per cent of both Cool residents and Blijdorpers; Cr. V=.135; p=.031). They are also likely to mention 'near family members' more often (Cr. V=.232; p=.000). I computed a scale, which ranges from zero to three, indicating the number of these three network reasons that respondents mentioned. People who score '0' mentioned none of these reasons; people who score '3' mentioned all three reasons. On average, Hillesluisians score a little higher on this scale, although not significantly. These reasons are also significantly associated with socioeconomic status.[18]

18   Born and bred Cr. V=.169; p=.004; near family members Cr. V=.201; p=.000; being near friends Cr. V=.152; p=.012.

Blijdorpers did mention 'the people in the neighbourhood' significantly more often, but this reason refers to the population in general rather than to people they personally know. We would expect that the scale of 'network reasons' is associated with network localness and thus with the potential 'effect' of neighbourhood composition on networks. This is further examined in Chapter 5. Other reasons are examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

Local status and neighbourhood use

Having relationships within the neighbourhood may be related to what Hunter (1974: 11) calls 'local social status': 'the positions an individual occupies in the social structure of the local community', indicated by the length of time people live in their neighbourhood, participation in local organizations, and use of local facilities such as shops, bars and restaurants, parks and playgrounds. Homeownership can be added to this, as it is often thought that homeownership increases one's involvement with the neighbourhood and is an indication of residential stability. Length of residence is thought to be relevant because those who live longer in their neighbourhood have had more time to develop and maintain relationships with their neighbours and other fellow-residents. Several studies on neighbouring have also shown that newcomers in an established area have difficulty forming ties with the locals (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986). On the other hand, Abrams also notes that newcomers make more effort to get to know their neighbours, so this may result in reporting more neighbours—which ties possibly fade away at a later point in time.

Local facilities such as shops, outdoor spaces and bars and restaurants, and neighbourhood organizations 'facilitate' interaction and thus offer opportunities to meet others (Völker and Flap, 2007: 260): 'all conditions that cause people to spend more time in the area where they live will facilitate contacts among neighbours'. This may work both ways: people can meet each other through shared use of certain local facilities, but their relationships may also be maintained through the use of these facilities (see e.g. Blokland, 2003b: 53; Small, 2004; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2008). Insofar as the two are related, higher neighbourhood use is thus not to be interpreted necessarily as a cause of more relationships with fellow-residents. This suggests that it is important to examine closely the content of local relations, that is, the way in which people are connected: through shared activities, or just through living next to each other, and (perhaps) distinguishing friends and family members within the neighbourhood from 'just neighbours'. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

I computed a scale 'neighbourhood use' that includes frequently visiting the local park, visiting restaurants and bars, and attending meetings of the residents' association. Cool residents score significantly higher on this scale (1.60) than Hillesluisians (.81) and Blijdorpers (.92). This reflects the function

Table 2.7 Length of residence, tenure and neighbourhood use of survey respondents (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Length of residence in dwelling				
0-2 years	10	15	12	13
3-5 years	13	25	29	23
6-10 years	25	25	25	25
11-20 years	* 38	24	21	27
>20 years	15	10	13	12
Tenure				
Owner-occupant	24	26	** 69	37
Social housing renter	78	75	17	69
Private renter	22	23	80	29
Neighbourhood use				
Visit local park	36	** 76	46	58
Visit restaurants and bars	23	** 71	16	45
Attend activities of residents' association	22	13	* 30	20
Scale 'neighbourhood use' (0-3)	.81	** 1.60	.92	1.23

*p<.01; **p<.001 . Scale ranges from 0 to 3.

of Cool as an entertainment area—both Hillesluis and Blijdorp have fewer restaurants and bars.

2.3 The networks: first descriptions

In this section I discuss the measurement of personal networks and describe some basic characteristics of the networks. A more detailed discussion can be found in Appendix A.

Data on the personal networks of respondents were collected through name-generating questions (see McCallister and Fischer, 1978; Völker, 1999; van der Gaag, 2005). The structure of the questions is as follows, for example, for finding a job:

> Q: Do you have a job?
> [If 'yes':]
> Q: How did you get the job?
> [Respondent chooses from card with answer categories. If respondent chooses 'someone helped me/told me about vacancy':]
> Q: Who was this person?
> [Further questions on network member and relationship followed.]

In this way, through a number of questions, we collected a list of network members. Table 2.8 shows the eighteen name-generating questions. 'Help to get job' includes answer categories such as 'someone helped me' and 'someone told me about the vacancy'. 'Help to get house' includes the answer categories 'someone found this house for me', 'I knew the landlord' and 'I knew

the people living here before me'.

'Volunteering' refers to volunteering for a social or political association, in particular taking up a position on the board of an association. We asked respondents to list all their memberships of political and social associations. Subsequently we asked whether they attended meetings of the association, and whether they held a position in the association. If someone had asked the respondent to volunteer or take up a board position, we included this person in their network. Regarding the most recent elections, if someone had asked the respondent to vote, we included this person, but only if it was someone that the respondent personally knows (thus excluding door-to-door recruitment). Furthermore, we wanted to know whether people had ever been asked to work on a campaign for a (local or national) political party (regardless of whether they are members of a party).

'Political voice' refers to a list of questions about contacting policy makers or practitioners about problems, signing a petition, participating in a demonstration, attending a meeting of the city council, neighbourhood association or parents' council, donating money, and writing a letter to the newspaper. We asked whether someone had asked them to do so, and whether it concerned an issue on neighbourhood, city, national or international level, or a personal issue. Volunteering, campaigning and 'voice' are in some analyses included as a single dummy signifying social and political participation. Help with getting a job, with finding a house and volunteering and political voice are further examined in Chapter 4, where I look into the kinds of network members that were reported.

The final name-generating questions concerned whether there was 'anyone important' missing on the list. Seventy per cent of the respondents added between one and fifteen network members to the list. During the survey interviews, we did not ask why this person was important; in the in-depth interviews I did ask about (some of) these network members.

Through name-interpreting questions and tie-interpreting questions, we collected information on the network member and the relationships between the respondent and the network member. We asked about network members' gender, ethnic origin (native Dutch, Western non-Dutch or non-Western), educational level (any education after secondary school: yes/no), and place of residence (five categories). Table 2.8 provides an overview of the name interpreters and tie interpreters (descriptive statistics are included in Appendix D).

Network size and composition
In this study, the focus is on non-household relationships, as I am interested in understanding how the neighbourhood plays a role in variations in the personal network, and not so much in explaining variations in household composition and marital status. For the analyses, all household members (partners, children and other family members living in the same dwelling) are thus

Name generators	Name interpreters	Tie interpreters [1]
Help to get job	Gender: male/female	*How connected:*
Babysit unexpectedly [2/3]	Ethnic origin: Dutch/non-Western [4]	Partner/household member
Asked to volunteer at school [3]	Tertiary education: yes/no	Family member elsewhere
Help to get house		Colleague
Is there a neighbour you trust?	*Place of Residence:*	Fellow club member
Volunteer together or asked	Neighbourhood	Friend
Urged to vote nationally	Rotterdam	Acquaintance
Urged to vote locally	Netherlands <1 hour drive	Neighbour
Asked to work on campaign	Netherlands >1 hour drive	Otherwise
Political voice together or asked	Abroad	
Help with small tasks in or		Frequency contact [5]
around the house		
Help when sick [2]		Feel close: yes/no
Borrow groceries/tools [2]		Visit each other: yes/no [6]
Talk about politics		Dinner together: yes/no [6]
Talk about personal matters		Outdoor together: yes/no [6]
Consider opinion for decision		Same ethnic group: yes/no [7]
Otherwise important person		Same class: yes/no [8]

Table 2.8 Name generators, name interpreters and tie interpreters in questionnaire

Notes: [1] More tie interpreters were asked but these are not analyzed in this study. [2] Question only asked in Blijdorp and Hillesluis survey. [3] Questions only asked to parents. [4] In Dutch: autochtoon or allochtoon. [5] Answer categories: daily, few times a week, weekly, 2-weekly, monthly, 3-monthly, few times a year, rarely ever. [6] Time frame: in last three months. [7] Question was preceded by a question about respondent's own ethnic group: 'Sometimes people feel they belong to an ethnic, national or racial group – how would you describe yourself?' [8] Question was preceded by a question about respondent's own class position: 'Sometimes people categorize society in several classes, such as working class, middle class, and upper class – how would you categorize yourself?'

excluded from the network data. Furthermore, for most analyses, those network members who were reported as 'trusted neighbours' are excluded, because including these network members over-represents the proportion of local ties and neighbours in the network. This is because fellow-residents are included in the network data in two ways: firstly through the general name-generating questions, and secondly through the specific question, 'Is there a neighbour you particularly trust?'. Because this over-represents neighbours and fellow-residents, I exclude all network members who were reported only as 'trusted neighbours' from most analyses. They are separately examined in Chapter 6.

After these adaptations, the personal networks include on average 6.5 network members (see for descriptive statistics Appendix D). Difference in network size is associated with socioeconomic position (occupational level) and having a paid job: respondents with a paid job and particularly those with medium- and high-skilled jobs have larger networks than those with low-skilled jobs and unemployed people (cf. Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982a; Campbell *et al.*, 1986; Marsden, 1987; Spencer and Pahl, 2006).

We asked people to label their relationships themselves by indicating in what way they are connected: as family, friends, colleagues, club members, acquaintances, neighbours or otherwise. Relationships with people living in

the same neighbourhood were not automatically labelled as 'neighbours'; some of the local ties are labelled as friends and family members, while others are designated as neighbours. Labels like 'family', 'friend' and 'neighbour' are crude indications of the type of relationship. Both the content and the intensity of relationships will vary even within these categories. For example, some family members are as friends (given-as-chosen) and some friends are like family (chosen-as-given: see Spencer and Pahl, 2006). Family members may remain at a distance, only connected by blood and family name, or they may maintain frequent contact but be a burden. Friendships may be about fun or small favours, while others are soul mates (Spencer and Pahl, 2006). In a similar vein, the label 'neighbour' covers a variety of relationships ranging from interdependencies (knowing of one's existence) to friendships and family-like ties (Blokland, 2003b: 13, 80). We will see later on how locality-based relationships take on different forms (Chapter 6). These labels rather indicate the way in which people are connected to their network members—by family relation, by work, by neighbourhood, or otherwise.

Figure 2.4 shows the variation in the composition of the networks: while the number of family members is about equal, Cool residents and Blijdorpers reported significantly more friends and colleagues than did Hillesluisians.[19]

Cool residents further reported significantly more fellow club members.[20]

Figure 2.5 shows the size and composition of the networks again but now by socioeconomic status. People with medium-skilled jobs and particularly people with high-skilled jobs have significantly more friends than people who have never worked or who have a low-skilled job.[21]

Further people with a (former) paid job reported more colleagues—and people with high-skilled jobs did so in particular[22] —and people who have never had a paid job reported significantly fewer acquaintances.[23]

Showing the proportion of the connections (Figure 2.6) controls for the differences in number of network members and in this way gives a more accurate picture of the dominant relationships in people's networks. For all socioeconomic categories, friends and family make up the largest part of the network. However, while the number of family members is more or less equal, the proportion of family members in the total network varies because thenumber of non-family ties varies. People of weaker socioeconomic status

---

19   Difference in number of friends between Hillesluisians and Cool residents/Blijdorpers is significant on .001-level (Tamhane's T2). Difference in number of colleagues between Hillesluisians and Cool residents is significant on the .01 level.

20   Difference is significant on the .05 level.

21   Difference between never worked/lower class, on the one hand, and middle class, on the other, is significant on the .001 level. Difference between low middle and high middle class is significant on the .05 level.

22   Difference compared with never worked significant on at least .05 level.

23   Difference compared with never worked significant on at least .05 level.

Figure 2.4 Size and composition of networks of respondents, by residential category
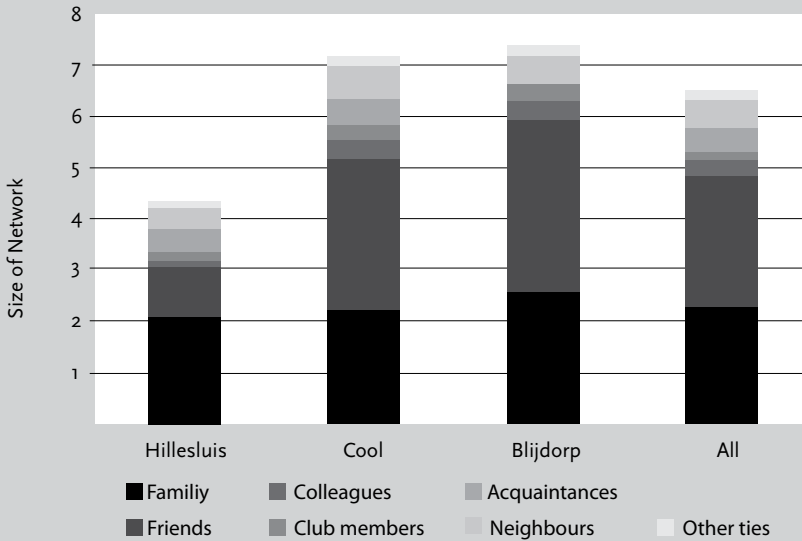
Figure 2.5 Size and composition of networks of respondents, by occupational level of respondent
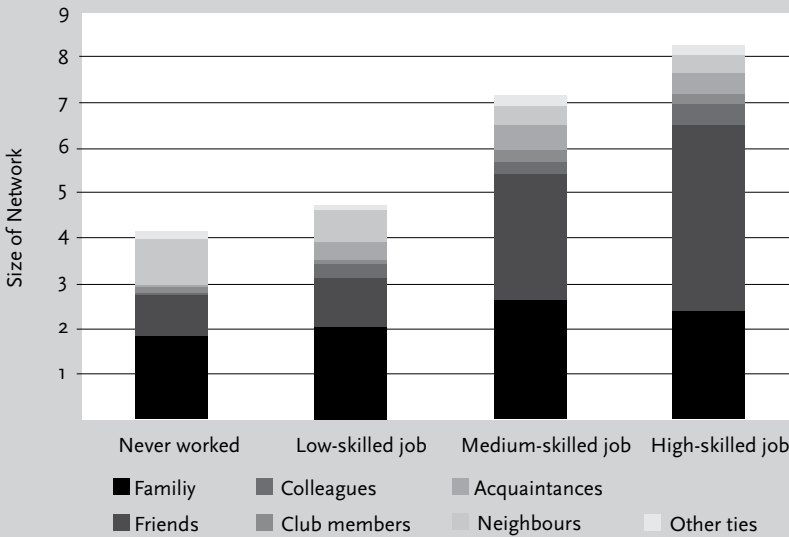
further have a smaller proportion of friends in their network. Finally, people who never worked reported on average one neighbour, which is twice as much as people with medium- and high-skilled jobs did (although the difference is not statistically significant), but because of the small size of the networks of those who never worked, neighbours make up one-fourth of the network, while this proportion is much smaller for the other respondents (difference in proportion family, friends and neighbours: cf. Fischer *et al.*, 1977;

Figure 2.6 Relative composition of networks of respondents, by ocupational level of respondent
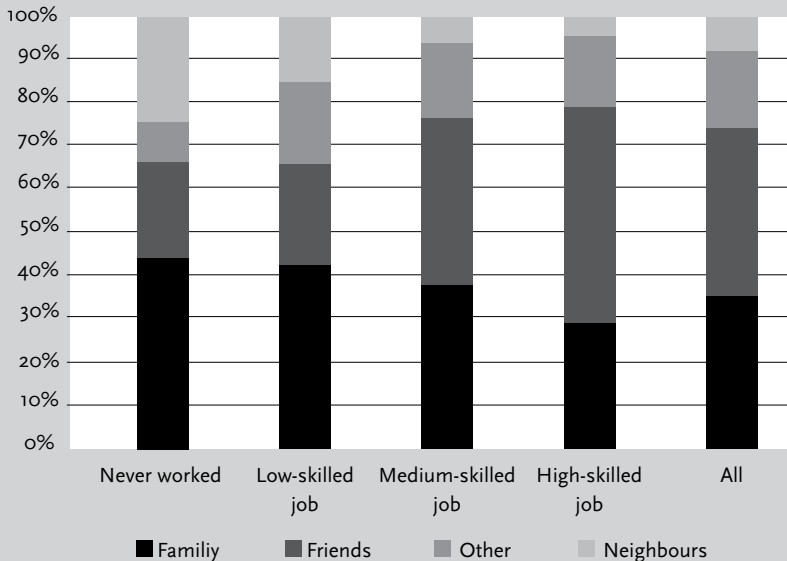
Fischer, 1982a; Marsden, 1987; McPherson *et al.*, 2006). These differences also reflect differences for people of different ethnic origin and gender (cf. Fischer, 1982a; Marsden, 1987; Moore, 1990; McPherson *et al.*, 2006). People of non-Western origin reported more household members (but not more family members), more neighbours and fewer friends, than did native Dutch people. Women reported more family members (but not more household members, which indicates that both men and women receive support from their partner and/or children) and more neighbours, and mentioned fewer colleagues, club members and acquaintances.

Differences in network composition and quality are examined further in the following chapters. In particular, the difference between residential categories is further examined. Chapter 5 examines variations in localness and the number of higher-educated network members, Chapter 6 examines variations in the reporting and number of neighbours, and Chapter 8 examines in more detail the variations in network formation and, associated with this, network form, composition, variety and resourcefulness.

3 How relationships are formed
Connecting neighbourhood and network

In this chapter, I discuss, theoretically, how relationships between people are formed and structured. Building on this discussion, I theorize how neighbourhood composition and network formation and quality may be connected—this then forms the basis for the following chapters. In the discussion of how relationships form and develop, I pay attention in particular to how the neighbourhood may play a role in this process. I start this exercise by discussing a basic model of relationship and network formation, namely Claude Fischer's choice-constraint model. Based on four aspects of relationship formation, described in Sections 3.2 to 3.5, I identify three ways in which neighbourhood composition and network formation and quality may be connected. These three connections are further examined—theoretically and empirically—in Chapters 5 to 7.

3.1 Filling in Fischer's choice-constraint model

Personal relationships develop from repeated interaction with others, which in certain circumstances transform from contingent into more durable ties—some of which provide support or access to resources. But how are relationships formed? This question is rarely discussed or examined in studies on networks and social capital, particularly in urban studies. Often, the existence of relationships and networks is taken for granted (cf. and for exceptions: Spencer and Pahl, 2006; Fuhse, 2009; Small, 2009). Assumptions about how relationships are formed are implicit, though, in the ways in which urban scholars think about how spatial segregation affects relationships and networks. These assumptions are quite similar to a basic and popular model of relationship formation: Fischer's choice-constraint model.

Fischer's (1977; 1982a) argument, rooted in rational action theory, is that people choose to socialize with certain—usually similar—people based on the benefits they get out of the relationship, while the context in which they act offers opportunities to meet people as well as constraints. Put differently, within contexts, people select certain other people with whom to socialize and form relationships. Many network analysts, as well as other scholars interested in relationships, follow Fischer's choice-constraint model and the idea that both 'structure' and 'agency' matters—sometimes trying to understand how context and choice are connected or which matters most (see e.g. Verbrugge, 1977; Feld, 1981, 1982; Blau and Schwartz, 1984; Abrams and Bulmer, 1986; Adams and Allan, 1998; Flap, 1999; Völker and Verhoef, 1999; Kalmijn and Flap, 2001; Völker and Flap, 2007; Hipp and Perrin, 2009; Mollenhorst, 2009). There is no doubt that, without opportunities to meet others, it

is impossible to develop relationships with them (although the internet has made *physical* interaction unnecessary, see Adams, 1998; Wellman, 2001). Further, quite a number of studies have demonstrated that people mostly socialize with people who are in several respects similar to them (education, religion, political attitudes, gender, life stage, ethnicity, and so on: see Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; Laumann, 1973; Jackson, 1977; Marsden; Hamm, 2000; Kalmijn and Flap, 2001; McPherson *et al.*, 2001; Mollenhorst *et al.*, 2007; Mollenhorst *et al.*, 2008). This pattern is referred to as the 'homophily principle', a term first coined by Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton (1954: 23) which refers to 'a tendency for friendships to form between those who are alike in some designated respect' ('tendency', they explain in a footnote, does not refer to personal inclinations, but to an observed correlation). These observations have contributed to the understanding that people prefer and accordingly choose to socialize with people who are much like themselves.

Applied to the neighbourhood, the choice-constraint perspective suggests that the composition of the neighbourhood in which we live influences with whom we socialize because the composition structures meeting opportunities. Spatial concentration and segregation of socioeconomic categories of people—neighbourhoods with predominantly poor or affluent residents—may affect the formation of relationships by stimulating interaction within categories while hampering interaction between categories. On the other hand, if people 'prefer' to socialize with similar others they will select 'people like us' in these contexts, or perhaps look for similar others outside their neighbourhood if the preferred others are not present within their neighbourhood. Context, then, may not have an effect in the end.

However, the question whether and how 'place matters' is more complex, as I will argue in this chapter. The choice-constraint model raises several fundamental questions, which I will briefly address here. These questions form the starting point for this study and will be addressed and examined in more detail in the following chapters. Furthermore, in this chapter I put flesh on Fischer's model by connecting its various aspects to urban questions. Firstly, regarding the 'constraint' aspect, what mechanisms link neighbourhood composition and the formation of relationships? Is it mere statistical opportunities, or is there more to it? Secondly, regarding the 'choice' aspect: How are we to understand 'preferences' for similar others? How are 'preferences' shaped, and what characteristics of others matter to us? Thirdly, are constraint and choice two separate mechanisms, or are they intertwined, and if so, how?

3.2 Context: meeting opportunities, setting and focus

The neighbourhood can be seen both as a context where people can meet others and a context in which they can maintain their (earlier formed) relationships. When we move into a new neighbourhood we have—at least—the opportunity to meet new people: our immediate neighbours; if we have children we will likely meet other parents at the children's playground; we can meet co-residents at community meetings and in the park when we walk the dog or go for a run. Some people move into a neighbourhood because they know people who live there, for instance, family members or friends. Sometimes people stay in the neighbourhood where they were born and bred and thus may know many residents who have also been living there for many years. Still others never form relationships with the people in their neighbourhood or even go out of their way to avoid fellow-residents—for them, the neighbourhood has no direct role as a context for forming and maintaining relationships.

Following the choice-constraint model, context is important for the formation of relationships because it offers opportunities to meet others and we need to be around others in order to meet and interact with them. But relationships do not just happen by chance. According to Feld (1981, 1982; Feld and Carter, 1998), the pattern of relationships is shaped by 'foci of activities'. A focus of activity is a 'social, psychological, legal, or physical [entity] around which joint activities are organized', including persons, places, positions, activities and groups (Feld, 1981: 1016, 1018). Foci are thus physical and non-physical settings and situations that draw people together. When people organize their activities around the same focus, this increases, according to Feld, the likelihood that they will interact and develop positive sentiments towards each other, which in turn increases the likelihood of people forming relationships (and creating new foci of activity, and so on).

Does a neighbourhood qualify as 'focus of activity'? According to Feld, foci are significant for relations only when they are what he calls 'constraining': when people 'devote time and energy in participating in joint activities associated with that focus' (1981: 1025). A setting can only structure interactions when people spend sufficient amounts of their time in these settings and are, while being in these settings, oriented towards other people spending time in the setting. The question is whether this applies to the neighbourhood and its residents. The fact that people spend time in their neighbourhood— at home, at the playground or while shopping—, even when they spend all their time in their neighbourhood, is not necessarily the same as associating with people in their neighbourhood. Rather, one's home, the playground and shops are foci of activity located in a neighbourhood. But the 'neighbourhood', as a collection of people that share a geographical site for living, may involve very few joint activities and little association and as such it hardly

structures interaction. In such a definition, the neighbourhood does not qualify as a focus, as Feld also suspected (1981: 1019).

It may be more fruitful to think of particular settings in the neighbourhood as foci of activity—a community centre, the church or mosque, the school, playground and owners' associations, for example. Whether these settings will bring together fellow-residents depends on whether the setting is a neighbourhood setting: located in the neighbourhood and drawing people primarily from the neighbourhood (cf. Small, 2004 : 276).[24]

Some of these settings may still attract clientele from elsewhere, but when it is used mainly by fellow-residents this setting will increase the chance of repeated interaction—which is a necessary condition for the formation of relationships. Local shops, schools and 'community centres' do attract not residents exclusively, but a majority of the clientele will likely be living in the neighbourhood.

In a similar vein, we can regard the 'micro-neighbourhood' of adjacent and opposite dwellings as a setting (cf. microsettings, Kusenbach, 2008). Living next to, above, or opposite each other usually structures interaction sufficiently enough to speak of a 'focus'. Particularly direct neighbours, and residents of walk-up flats and flats with shared entrances, will regularly encounter each other. At least, it would be difficult to completely avoid these encounters, and we usually do not meet fellow-residents who live a couple of blocks away unless it is through another setting in the neighbourhood. In this way, micro-neighbourhoods structure interaction. An additional condition, though, is that people have more or less synchronized everyday routines (Völker and Flap, 2007: 230). Furthermore, 'neighbouring' in itself may be a focus of activity, when people value 'good neighbourly relations' (Blokland, 2003b: 81) and as such make an effort to socialize with their neighbours whenever they see them.

The 'effect' of the neighbourhood composition on the formation of relationships and composition of personal networks thus may not be straightforward but rather is, at least in part, mediated through neighbourhood institutions (Small, 2004) whose populations are composed of a subset of the residents but not necessarily a representative subset. Not everyone is involved in neighbourhood settings, and for some the neighbourhood is a setting in which the network is maintained rather than expanded. This is one of the first questions that we need to examine if we want to understand the neighbourhood's role in the composition and quality of people's networks: do people maintain old relationships or do they form new relationships—thus expanding their personal network? Only then can we move on to a second question

---

24   My definition of neighbourhood setting is loosely based on Small's definition of a 'neighbourhood institution', which he defines as an 'organization with a physical establishment, located in a neighbourhood, and having a clientele composed primarily of neighbourhood residents'. Neighbourhood settings, however, need not have a physical establishment, when they concern micro-neighbourhoods and local initiatives such as *Opzoomeren*.

of how the neighbourhood composition may play a role in the composition of personal networks. These questions are further examined in Chapter 5 on sociospatial isolation and poverty networks.

The neighbourhood as a collection of settings may thus structure meeting opportunities. But other factors play a role in the formation of relationships, and there is more to a setting than the opportunity to meet others.

3.3 Choice: categorization, identification and the homophily principle

Based on observations that people socialize predominantly with others who are similar to them (the 'homophily principle'), social network researchers have concluded that people generally have a 'preference' for socializing with similar people. It is relevant to pay attention to this assumption because it holds the danger of reducing people's 'identity' to a categorical attribute and presuming that people have fixed preferences that align with their socio-demographic features (see e.g. Laumann, 1973: 5)—women prefer to socialize with women (except when it comes to a love partner, in many cases), Turks prefer to socialize with Turks, and so on and so forth. However, 'identity' is a continuous everyday process of socially placing ourselves vis-à-vis others and assessing who others are, rather than a fixed entity (Jenkins, 2000; Buckingham, 2008). Furthermore the tendency of homophily is relative rather than absolute: network members are similar in some respects while dissimilar in others (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; Hamm, 2000; Bottero, 2009). But how do people estimate similarity and dissimilarity?

Identities emerge from encounters and interactions with others (Dépelteau, 2008: 61; White, 2008: Chapter 1). This is more than to say that that people belong to multiple categorical groups and that they can 'switch' back and forth between their 'multiple identities'. Relational sociology is based on the principle of 'trans-action', which should be distinguished from 'inter-action' (Emirbayer, 1997; Dépelteau, 2008). Inter-action refers to two independent individuals, both having their individual 'identities', who deal with each other and along the way adjust their expectations and goals (and identity) according to what the other wants, but they remain fixed and unchanging individuals. The notion of trans-action, on the other hand, recognizes that relations also 'work' the other way around: the people involved become what they are, and change in relation to each other, through dealing with each other. Trans-action is based on an 'underlying idea of entities that are related and (…) that these entities would not be what they are if they weren't related' (Schinkel, 2007: 725). This idea is grounded in Merton's (1968) insight that people and things are always different only in relation to each other. In other words, there is no similarity without difference, and no 'us' without 'them'. Catego-

ries thus only exist in relation to other categories. Therefore it is preferable to talk not about 'identity' as an essence and identity-based preferences, but about 'social identification' as a process (Jenkins, 2000; also Back, 1993; Blokland, 2003b: 64). In a similar vein, boundaries between 'us' and 'them' do not just exist based on given 'objective' differences. Rather, boundaries merge through transaction—hence, we can speak of 'boundary making' (Tilly, 2004; Wimmer, 2007).

It is through processes of categorization and social identification that we estimate whether others are 'like us' or not (de Swaan, 1995; Jenkins, 2000: 8; Blokland, 2003b: 62-64; Buckingham, 2008). Social identification refers to 'knowing who we are and who others are', which is based on categorization—something we automatically and naturally do in order to understand the world around us better. We categorize according to characteristics that are meaningful to us (Blokland, 2003b: 62) and on the basis of stereotypical ideas (Fischer, 1982a: 235; Tajfel, 1982: 7).[25]

For many 'invisible' aspects such as interests, religion, or political views, people cannot really know whether others are similar or dissimilar before they have met. Such things as skin colour, sex, clothes, manners, use of language and behaviour are used as markers for us to categorize persons (cf. Merry, 1981; Bourdieu, 1984: 243; Sztompka, 1999: 79; Blokland, 2003b: 99ff). We often rely on observation and thus on visible cues for estimating others. Visibility of others and of their daily practices is necessarily in order to assess others—and to become familiar with them (Blokland, 2003b: 90, 93).[26]

Although categorization is a given, the characteristics on the basis of which we categorize and identify with others are not. First, identifications 'evolve with the transformations of human society' (de Swaan, 1995: 25). De Swaan, for example, describes how, next to identifications based on kinship and proximity, new identifications are 'grounded in relatively novel social formations, such as class, nation, ethnicity or racial groups' (ibid.). In her study of Hillesluisians, Blokland (2003b) describes how class and religion have become less relevant as 'binding fields' and suggests that people have found new circumscriptions for social identification, among which consumption and lifestyles, ethnicities, and shared memories.

Second, categories need not consist of people who are actively connected, but rather arise from encounters and interaction with others which only then

---

25 Fischer refers to stereotypical categorization in explaining how people deal with encountering strangers—who mostly remain strangers—in public places, not for forming relationships.

26 There may be a neurological foundation for the link between visual cues and observation of daily practices, and public familiarity: neurologists have discovered that mirror neurons and mirroring actions are responsible for creating mutual understanding and empathy (see '*Spiegels in de ziel*', interview with neurologist Marco Iacobioni in *NRC Handelsblad*, 14 May 2009, page W04).

become separate categories (Tilly, 2005: 112). [27]

Put differently, categories emerge from 'boundary work': the creation and incorporation of boundaries in processes of political and economic organization (Tilly, 1998, 2005). Some categories arise from encounters with new groups of people—for example, the influx of migrants into a country or the settlement of new residents in a neighbourhood. The figuration 'established'–'outsiders', a classic example, emerged only after the settlement of new people in the small town that Elias and Scotson (1965) studied. Before the settlement of the 'outsiders', there was no such distinction. Categories further emerge from economic and political processes that differentiate categories within society, such as division of labour, migration politics and welfare policies (Young, 1990: 43; Isin, 2002). If there were no migration, or no perceived urgency to deal with the 'integration' of migrants, the distinction between 'natives' and 'immigrants' (*autochtonen* and *allochtonen*, in Dutch) would be meaningless. These organizational categories are then often imposed on individuals (Tilly, 2005: 112), not only by governments but also in everyday situations. People transfer boundaries from one setting to another through 'emulation' and 'borrowing'. Emulation refers to the 'copying of established organization models and/or the transplanting of existing social relations from one setting to another' (Tilly, 1998: 10). Borrowing is a special type of emulation and refers to a process in which people 'are not *inventing* the boundary in question but installing a familiar sort of boundary in a new location' in everyday interaction (Tilly, 2004: 219; emphasis in original; 1998: 63). Residents of stigmatized neighbourhoods, for example, may adopt (and then refute) the stigmas that are attached to them (see May, 2004; Blokland, 2007; Wacquant, 2008b: Chapter 6).

The concept of borrowing makes clear that interaction (or rather: transaction) in settings is not neutral: categories and boundaries are borrowed from other settings and transplanted to new settings (see also Amin, 2002). The tendency of homophily is thus not grounded in preferences for alike others, but is rather the manifestation of boundary making. Put differently, our 'choice' to interact with certain, usually similar, people and not with certain others is a reflection of processes of identification, which processes are conjoined with other processes of categorization. This idea is further elaborated in Chapter 7.

Settings themselves may reproduce boundaries, or create new boundaries, when they become social markers for categories of people, for example, when one's neighbourhood becomes a means to distinguish oneself, or when it becomes a stigma.

---

27 Categories are not similar to 'groups': the first is 'a collectivity which is identified and defined by others', while the latter refers to 'a collectivity whose members recognize it and their membership of it' (Jenkins, 2000: 9). Members of a category may not feel they belong in that category and consider themselves members of another category instead, or discard the distinction altogether. This means that people may, and often do, categorize others on the basis of attributes that the latter do not recognize or find important.

3.4 Setting and identification intertwined

The neighbourhood is a collection of people and therefore offers opportunities for meeting people, but it is also a meaningful place: spaces acquire meaning and become places (e.g. Lofland, 1998; Blokland, 2003b, 2007; Savage *et al*., 2005a). It has long been recognized that the neighbourhood in which people live is not important to them for practical reasons only but also has a 'symbolic' meaning (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 107-108; Blokland, 2003b: 159ff). Neighbourhoods offer 'not only spatial demarcations but social demarcations as well', because 'people use place names to identify the general social standing of themselves and others' (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 107). In this way, neighbourhoods are of significance for processes of categorization and social identification. Through the presence (or absence) of other people and categories of people (Lofland, 1998: 65), combined perhaps with the physical appearance of places (Blokland, 2008; Sampson, 2009), places acquire meaning that in turn help us assess who others are and position ourselves in relation to others (Blokland and Savage, 2008). Further, the reputation of places constitutes a stratification of places (Hunter, 1974; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Permentier *et al*., 2008; Sampson, 2009): people have an idea about what are 'good' neighbourhoods and what are 'problem places' or 'bad' neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood and its population then may become frames of reference for categorizing others—'setting' and 'identification' are thus intertwined.

This means that it is not at all self-evident that neighbourhoods—or any setting—that bring together people of different categories will automatically increase relationships across categorical boundaries (even though they may increase the statistical chance of meeting others). Neighbourhoods as meaningful places may have an effect on the formation of relationships, for example, because a neighbourhood's reputation may 'rub off' on its residents. For example, people living in stigmatized neighbourhoods may experience stigmatization themselves. Loïc Wacquant (2008b: Chapter 6) describes how residents of Chicago's Black Belt and Paris's banlieues experience a 'powerful territorial stigma' (ibid.: 168) attached to living in these areas. This stigma results from the low status of these places and the recognition—by both outsiders and residents—that these places are 'dumping grounds' for poor people (ibid.). This stigma would affect 'all realms of existence' (ibid.: 173), including involvements with others, both people outside the area and other residents. Place then becomes a 'social marker' through which people categorize others.

The mechanism of 'borrowing' (Tilly, 1998, 2004), as described above, links neighbourhood composition and categorization. The interpretation of the composition of a neighbourhood, and changes in the composition, is linked to divisions in societies because these divisions are reproduced in other contexts. These boundaries vary according to specific forms of different relation-

ships, but existing economic and political boundaries in societies are likely to have a role in defining new categories within the neighbourhood. Wacquant's description of stigmas and divisions is one example. Another example is provided by May's (2004) study on how immigrants come to be assigned as 'outsiders' through categorization processes at the national level, showing how the label is maintained by their native-German co-residents. For Chicago, Robert Sampson (2009) shows how perceptions of disorder are linked more to the racial composition of neighbourhoods than to actually observed disorder. Moreover, in what were historically the most racially segregated areas, as they become increasingly diverse, people perceive less disorder (ibid.: 25-6). Increasing diversity here thus seems to be interpreted as a positive change, and this can only be understood in relation to the history of these areas as stigmatized areas.

The reputation of neighbourhoods is contingent on the historical development of places (Blokland, 2003b: Chapter 9). These histories are maintained in the 'character' (Molotch *et al.*, 2000) or 'image' (Watt, 2006) of places, although people will experience and value the development of their neighbourhood differently. Neighbourhood change can stick to people's perceptions of their living environment and the people surrounding them for a long time (Massey, 1995; Blokland, 2001) and continues to matter for how people interpret 'diversity' and how they assess others within their neighbourhood. The interpretation of neighbourhood change and the actors involved (e.g. the newcomers) is associated with people's position in the neighbourhood, in society and vis-à-vis others. Is the influx of newcomers perceived as improving the atmosphere and the appearance of the neighbourhood; as causing 'decay' (narratives of urban decline (May, 2004: 780)); as a 'hostile take-over' pushing the original residents out (Rose, 2004); or as offering entrepreneurial and job opportunities (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993)?

The bottom line is that neighbourhood composition cannot be treated as a neutral statistical fact: the composition and (particularly) the changing composition means something to both residents and outsiders. Governments and media interpret changes, too: when lower class residents move in that is often perceived as 'decay' and when more privileged groups move in that is mostly celebrated. These institutions are likely to influence the images of places (Watt, 2006: 779-80). Through representations of an 'underclass' (ibid.) and neighbourhood problems, places can become 'problem places' (Mooney, 2008). On the other hand, the neighbourhood's 'character' and 'diversity' may become an asset—a marker in a positive sense. Places may increasingly become markers through which people distinguish themselves from others (Savage *et al.*, 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007). This aspect of the neighbourhood as meaningful place is often emphasized in studies on gentrification and gentrifiers, who would seek to distinguish themselves from resource-rich people moving into (homogeneous) suburbs (this idea is elaborated in Chapter 7).

The two aspects of Fischer's choice-constraint model are thus intertwined: the neighbourhood as a meaningful place plays a role in processes of categorization and identification—thus setting may play a role in tendencies to form homophilous ties by marking off who belongs and who is different. Fuhse (2009: 52-54) unravels several 'order principles' that shape networks: opportunity structures, categories and relationship models. Opportunity structures make possible initial contact, while categories and 'relationship models' shape contacts and the extent to which contacts develop into (certain kinds of) relationships. Fuhse (ibid.: 54) gives the example of a dancehall: the gathering of people in a dancehall structures meeting opportunities, and gender structures contacts into male–female relationships (or male–male and female–female relationships when it is a dancehall for gays and lesbians). What is important, is that opportunity structures are meaningful themselves (ibid.): a dancehall is known to be a context where love-relationships develop and where people actively engage in finding a partner. This stands in contrast to, for example, a supermarket, where asking someone to dance or buying them a drink would lift a few eyebrows. The setting thus is interpreted in its entirety and in relation to the people who are in the setting. Furthermore, the setting might impose certain (unwritten) 'rules' about how people are to socialize with each other. This is a fourth factor that shapes the formation of relationships, to which I now turn.

3.5 Exchanges and expectations: rules of relevancy

Personal relationships vary a great deal in content. When encounters between people develop into personal relationships, what further structures the development of relationships? Is this a structured process at all? The formation of relationships and the development into different kinds of relationships is impossible to predict, yet it is possible to identify certain patterns in how relationships develop. I draw on ideas formed in social exchange theory to develop a starting point for understanding variations in kinds of relationships—particularly, variations in what is exchanged through personal relationships, and what is not exchanged. This relates to questions about whether strong or weak ties are useful in accessing particular resources (cf. Granovetter, 1973; Wellman and Wortley, 1990) or what kind of relationships act as brokers (cf. Burt, 2000). These questions are further examined in Chapter 4.

Social exchange theory (Emerson, 1976) holds the assumption that interaction is reinforced when people are 'rewarded' through the interaction. Instead of thinking about material benefits, we might think about emotions—whether an encounter or relationship makes us 'feel good' (Lawler, 2001). Lawler argues that experiences automatically produce emotions, which we then

seek to explain—that is just how human nature works. To explain emotions produced by interactions we seek for explanations related to the relationship (Lawler, 2001). We might say that people produce narratives about their experiences, interactions and relationships in an attempt to interpret themselves, the world around them, and their place in this world. In other words, they tell stories about experiences in order to give meaning to their experiences (cf. Tilly, 1998: 63; White, 2008: Chapter 2). When interactions produce a good feeling we attach positive sentiments to the particular experience, and, according to Lawler (2001), by repeating positively valued interactions we eventually attach positive sentiments to the relationship itself. In this way Lawler explains how people become attached to other people—and not to others with whom they have initial negative experiences and consequently have felt negative emotions. Bad experiences produce bad emotions, which over time produce negative sentiments.[28]

Once people have attached positive sentiments to a tie, their relationship is more likely to survive even when some interactions will produce negative emotions. The relationship 'has taken on expressive value in itself' (Lawler, 2001: 329).

Social exchange theory further sees social life as produced through longitudinal exchange relations—as opposed to resulting from individually-made decisions. Emerson (1976: 349-350) makes the point insightfully:

> A person hurries six blocks through a heavy rainstorm to meet a friend in a tavern. He enters wet and laughing, spends an hour or so and then goes home by bus to dinner. He could have taken the bus straight home, avoiding the rain and enjoying a book and a solitary glass of wine before dinner. Now, most exchange theorists in social psychology write as though such an episode involved a choice between the two paths of action, which can be analyzed in some hedonistic calculus [of costs and rewards]. (...) If we assume instead that social life consists of longitudinal social relations forming, changing, and maintaining over time, then every feature of the above example can be seen in a different slant. Is a run in the rain 'costly' when it is experienced within a long-term friendship? If a driving rain forces me to cancel a planned meeting, has much reward been foregone when the friendship continues through other meetings?

The point is that relationships are continuous exchanges, and the content of relationships is thus structured by (experienced) past and (expected) future exchanges. These exchanges are not to be taken literally as the exchange of support or resources (when I water your plants, you will look after my mail

---

28 Emotions are 'primitive', 'stimulus based and not under the control of the actor' (Lawler, 2001: 328) (feeling good or feeling bad), while sentiments are 'enduring affective states or feelings about one or more social objects. Relations and groups are social objects, as are self and other. Sentiments link emotions (feelings) to social units.' (ibid.: 235-6).

next time), but as the sequence of interactions (we had a nice chat before, and later I might agree to water your plants, because I have attached positive feelings to our relationship).[29]

I take from this idea the understanding of relationships as ongoing interaction, in that every action produces a reaction that produces a reaction and so on (but not necessarily in a rational action perspective: I see exchanges not as economic transactions or appraisals). Further, the exchanges are not based on general economic motivations but are unique to each relationship (cf. Paine, 1969: 512). (Exchanges can of course be distinguished only analytically and in retrospect; in reality our reactions usually follow each other so fast that we don't experience interaction as an exchange. In the stories we tell about relationships we might talk about exchanges, for instance, when we say that someone is always there for us, or when we complain that someone never does anything for us.)

When we see relationships as exchanges, it is possible to think about how these exchanges might become patterned, and how past exchanges might structure future exchanges. If actions follow on from previous actions, our current actions are somewhat bounded in possibilities. In other words, our next action is likely to occur within the margins of what can be expected given the course of the past exchanges. In Allan's (1977: 390) words, it may be that 'relationships do not develop haphazardly, but according to the (implicit) principles which the participants consider normal for such relationships'. Allan here follows Paine (1969: 509, 510), who speaks of 'rules of relevancy' which refer to 'the delineation of social relationships in terms of the bounds of their permitted content and conduct (…), that is to say, about what is permissible and/or desirable in the relationship'. Fuhse (2009: 54, 60) speaks of 'relationship models', which, next to setting and categories (e.g. gender, class), structure interaction into relationships. A relationship model refers to the 'definition of what the relationship is about' and each model entails specific 'interpersonal expectations'. Erving Goffman (2007 [1959]) describes how we sometimes feel awkward about being too intimate with relative strangers—we feel we have stretched the boundaries of what was to be expected in the relationship in question. But we don't feel awkward when we reveal our deepest thoughts in other relationships—with lovers and good friends, for example. Apparently, we have an idea about what behaviour is 'appropriate' within the perceived boundaries of the one or the other relationship. The definition of the relationship, through expectations, structures future interactions. In this way, interactions between two people in a relationship become more or less consolidated through mutual expectations.

These distinct patterns may be what distinguish different 'kinds' of rela-

---

29 Exchange differs from (general) reciprocity where it is about support and goods that are exchanged.

tionships from each other—why we describe some relationships as 'intimate' and 'strong' while others are regarded as 'distant' or 'weak' (and everything in between), and why we label some ties as 'friends' and others as 'acquaintances'. The labels that people use to describe their relationships may reveal more about the relative difference of their relationships in terms of expectations and exchanges, than that a label in itself says something about the content of the relationship. (Hence this means that the relationships should be analysed as part of the networks and not as stand-alone ties, see methodology in Appendix.A)

The boundaries of relationships are not fixed, however. Firstly, relationships can 'switch models' (Fuhse, 2009: 60)—neighbours can become friends, for example. Secondly, the boundaries of relationships are open to 'contextual adjustments' (Paine, 1969: 510). According to Paine, the openness of relationship boundaries is related to the extent to which relationships are founded upon a 'structure'—a particular setting such as the work place or the doctor's waiting room. This argument can be read as a specification of Tilly's (1998: 53ff) idea that social transactions differ along the two dimensions of 'scripting' and 'local knowledge'. Scripts refer to routines and formulas, while local knowledge refers to tacit understandings and memories. The first provide models for participating in certain relations, while the latter provide 'a means of giving variable content to those social relations' (ibid.: 53).

The extent to which people define their relationship as bounded by a particular context may matter for the development of their relationships. This is particularly relevant considering Allan's argument that working-class and middle-class people differ in the extent to which they alter the 'original rules of relevancy' of relationships. Allan (1977: 390) observes that, in the past, for friendships of middle-class people

> the implicit boundaries of received social structures were overcome, and the relationships were extended and developed by the participants in a manner that emphasized the individuality of the friendships rather than the context of their interaction. (...) In contrast, the working class respondents appeared specifically to confine their non-kin sociable relationships to particular situations. (...) They tended to see each relationship as relevant only to a particular social structure and were more willing to accept the restrictions imposed on the relationships by this structure.

In other words, lower- and middle-class people differ in the extent to which friends are 'situation specific' (ibid.). We can take this broader and argue that people differ in what they make of interactions with others in specific contexts such as the work place, associations, and the neighbourhood. This would further mean that it is not just whether people participate in certain contexts that explains how and whether relationships are formed, but also whether people form relationships in these contexts, and how these relation-

ships are defined. In this way, the setting itself may play a role in shaping relationships.

To summarize, whether ties are (regarded as) useful in accessing resources thus not only depends on what people need, but also on the relationship itself. In social capital theory and network analysis it is common to distinguish between weak and strong ties (based on Granovetter, 1973) or between 'role type' (see e.g. Wellman and Wortley, 1990), but it can be argued that this dichotomy is too crude, and it may even be inaccurate. For example, Abrams (1986) and Blokland (2003) argue that neighbour relationships cannot be characterized, like many other relations, by their content: 'physical proximity, rather than social characteristics, distinguish them from other relations' (Blokland, 2003b: 13, 80). Physical proximity, in this case the neighbourhood, is little more than a setting in which people interact, as is the workplace for colleagues, but the relationships that develop from physical proximity can be very different in their content, intimacy and intensity. This is further worked out in Chapter 5, as I distinguish local ties from locality-based ties, and in Chapter 6, when I consider different forms of locality-based relationships.

Furthermore, I examine what factors are associated with the likelihood that some network members act as 'brokers' (Burt, 1992)—making resources accessible for others. Chapter 4 examines more closely the conditions that are associated with the potential of relationships for accessing valuable resources.

3.6   Summary: three ways to connect neighbourhood composition and networks

In the above, I have analytically distinguished four dimensions of relationship formation that shape relationships and personal networks. Relationships never just spring from mere meeting opportunities or from individually made choices; some sense of social identification—preceded by the natural process of categorization and related to the setting in which the (initial) interaction takes place—and an idea of what is 'appropriate' behaviour given the setting and the network in which people are embedded, always play a role and structures the formation of relationships. Furthermore, although I present them as separate aspects here, the four aspects are closely intertwined, as the analyses in the following chapters will show.

Studies on urban neighbourhoods, relationships and networks are often explicitly or implicitly based on Fischer's model of choice and constraint, or in any case follow the same logic, although different strands of literature call attention to different aspects. For example, studies on sociospatial isolation and poverty in neighbourhoods emphasize the constraints for residents to form resource-rich networks. Studies on gentrification, on the other hand, stress that gentrifiers make a choice for neighbourhood diversity and

thus, perhaps, for encountering 'otherness'. Studies on place-making in relation to boundary work between residential groups focus on the meaning of place. We thus can understand the different aspects as different mechanisms that may mediate the association between spatial segregation (or integration) and inequality because they point to different ways in which neighbourhoods and networks are connected. In Chapters 5 to 7, I discuss three ways in which neighbourhood composition and networks may relate to the formation and quality of personal networks.

First, we can understand the neighbourhood as a (collection of) setting(s) where people encounter each other. The neighbourhood composition provides and constrains meeting opportunities, as categories of people are not evenly distributed among neighbourhoods. Specifically, the poor neighbourhood is seen to constrain the opportunity of its residents to form ties with resource-rich people. This argument is part of Wilson's (1987, 1996) social isolation thesis and is further examined in Chapter 5.

Second, we can see the neighbourhood as meaningful place. The meaning of a neighbourhood depends in part on its population because people 'read' a neighbourhood's population as a marker for its status. In this way the neighbourhood as meaningful place offers a frame of reference for the categorization of and identification with others. When the neighbourhood status is a negative status, people may tend to distance themselves from others and withdraw from interaction and thus from forming relationships with fellow-residents. In this way, the neighbourhood composition plays a role in relationship formation, not by structuring meeting opportunities but through playing a role in whether and how people draw boundaries between themselves and their fellow-residents. These ideas are further examined in Chapter 6. In this chapter, I also consider how the rules of relevancy that are generated by the setting of the micro-neighbourhood matter for the formation of relationships with fellow-residents.

Third, we can connect neighbourhood composition theoretically to tastes and tendencies to form boundary-crossing relationships. Some people have a 'taste' for diversity and seek to engage in settings where they can rub shoulders or socialize with people who are in some way 'different' from them. A segment of resource-rich urban-seekers, sometimes identified as the 'new urban middle class', would move into (socioeconomically and ethnically) mixed neighbourhoods because they like this diversity. This raises the interesting question of how this taste is associated with the pattern of relationship homophily (the tendency for relationships to form between similar people). If diversity-seekers truly love diversity, do they then not 'prefer' to socialize with 'people like us', and does this mean that they have more mixed personal networks? From this point of view, neighbourhood composition is thus connected to the extent to which networks are mixed, or not. These questions are examined in Chapter 7.

The following chapter is intermediary and looks into a question of a more conceptual nature. Chapter 4 discusses the characteristics of resource-rich relationships: what defines a resource-rich network? I particularly pay attention to what kinds of relationships provide access to valuable resources, engaging with literature on the 'strength of weak ties' thesis. This question needs to be addressed before moving on to the question of how neighbourhood matters for network formation and quality. Too often, ideas of what defines valuable relationships and networks are uncritically presumed in urban studies. Readers who wish to move to the question of how neighbourhood composition matters for networks may skip Chapter 4 and move on to (either one of the) Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4 Bridges and brokers
Access to resources

The key question in this intermediary chapter is what kinds of relationships provide access to resources: can we identify characteristics that point to more or less 'resourceful' and more or less 'useful' ties? Should a measure of resource-rich ties focus on particular ties only, or consider a particular type of connection as proxy for resource-rich ties? And, more fundamentally, how are resources exchanged? These questions are discussed in relation to Granovetter's (1973, 1983) 'strength of weak ties' thesis and its critics. I will argue that resources may be exchanged through different kinds of relationships in different ways, and that therefore it makes little sense to regard only 'weak' or 'strong' ties as resourceful and useful.

4.1   Social capital and network inequality

The focus of this study is on how spatial segregation of socioeconomic categories matters for network inequality. Network inequality is shorthand for inequality in the resourcefulness of networks—some networks consist of more resource-rich people than other networks. In the introduction I have briefly discussed how Bourdieu's concept of social capital and Tilly's theory of durable inequality explain the importance of relationships for access to and the exchange of resources. Valuable resources such as knowledge, skills, influence, property and capital, are exchanged through ties. When personal (or economic, political) networks are exclusively formed among resource-rich people, these resources are exchanged more within this category of people than between the resource-poor and the resource-rich, thus constraining the access to and use of resources for those who are excluded: the resource-poorer people. 'Social capital' hence is an exclusive good (Bourdieu, 1986; Crossley, 2008; Field, 2008).

The idea of the concept of social capital is, simply put, that relationships facilitate access to valuable resources—thus, it is not merely having relationships but having relationships that enable people to acquire resources. The value of this concept is that it brings relationships into the unequal distribution of resources, focusing attention on how some people or categories of people are excluded from resources (cf. Foley and Edwards, 1999). Furthermore, relationships provide access to resources as well as opportunities to use one's own resources—such as education and knowledge—in order to 'multiply' one's capital or create other (non-monetary) advantages (cf. Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 1992). Pierre Bourdieu (1986) used the concept in order to show how different forms of (economic, cultural and social) capital are interconnected and transferable, and how the 'dominant class' maintain their position by excluding others from their networks and thus from their capital. James Coleman (1988, 1990) aimed to merge social science and economics and developed the concept mainly in explaining how human capital works

out differently for different people and categories of people.

I draw on ideas about social capital, rather than defining or applying a definition of social capital. As a concept, 'social capital' has shortcomings: it is difficult to define and measure because it is neither tangible nor static. It is uncountable, changeable, and also unsure: you cannot know exactly what resources are available in your network, whether network members will be around when you need them, or whether they will give you access to their resources. Networks and relationships are thus always *potential* social capital. Methodologically, furthermore, the only thing that is measurable is the amount and forms of support people have received in the past, and the extent to which people are embedded in networks. From this we can infer the likelihood that relationships will offer access to resources in the future.

I follow Foley and Edwards' (1999: 166-167) conceptualization of social capital as 'resources + access'. Networks as such are not sufficient, and neither is the mere proximity to resource-rich people (e.g. through membership of an organization), for acquiring access to valuable resources. Networks facilitate access to resources when they are made up of resource-rich people, whose resources are available to the network members. Furthermore, relationships become a resource in themselves when they are used as a means to gain more and other forms of resources (it is convertible, cf. Bourdieu 1986). Put differently, social capital is, like financial capital, 'instrumental in the flow of goods and services to individuals and groups' (Foley and Edwards, 1999: 142; Robison *et al.*, 2002). In this way, the idea of social capital points to a mechanism through which socioeconomic inequality is reproduced: through exclusive networks. The concept of social capital elucidates, first, that social networks are connected to patterns of inequality and segregation, and second, the importance of the distinction between 'within-group' and 'between-group' ties (Foley and Edwards, 1999: 165). This fits in with Lin's (2001: 64-65, Chapter 10) 'strength-of-position proposition' which hypothesizes that access to resources is in part dependent on people's position in the 'hierarchical structure' (their socioeconomic or political status). People rich in resources (occupying a 'high position' in the 'structure') benefit most from ties with other people who are rich in resources (i.e., within their own socioeconomic category), while people who lack resources ('low position') benefit most from ties to resource-rich people (i.e., between socioeconomic categories) (see also Lin and Dumin, 1986).

The distinction between within-group and between-group social capital (Foley and Edwards, 1999: 148) has also been described as 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital (Putnam, 2000), where bonding refers to ties within one's social circle (often to similar others) and bridging to ties outside one's social circle (theoretically to people who possess different resources). This idea is based on Granovetter's (1973) 'strength of weak ties' thesis: weak ties would provide access to valuable resources and new information because

weak ties function as bridges between networks. Bonding social capital, as understood by Putnam and others, is equal to support for 'getting by', while bridging social capital is deemed to facilitate the flow of information and to offer opportunities to 'get ahead' (cf. Briggs, 1998; Woolcock, 2001). This idea has been hailed as well as criticized, and below I will discuss this in more detail.

What is clear is that networks alone do not make 'social capital'. Inequality in access to valuable resources is related to the composition of networks and particularly to homogeneous networks (i.e., including people who are similar in certain respects). Nan Lin (2000: 786-787) offers an explanation of differential acquisition of social capital based on two principles:

> Inequality of social capital occurs [firstly] when a certain group [read: category; GE] clusters at relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic positions, and [secondly] the general tendency is for individuals to associate with those of similar group [category] or socioeconomic characteristics (homophily). (...) These two principles, when operating in tandem, produce relative differential access by social groups [categories] to social capital.

People of ethnic minority origin, for example (see Lin, 2000), have on average a relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic position, and when they form ethnic-exclusive networks their access to people with more advantaged positions (natives), and hence their access to valuable resources, is restricted. Members of socioeconomic categories do not 'cluster around' (dis)advantaged positions, of course, because the (dis)advantaged position is what defines socioeconomic position. But the general idea in Lin's explanation is that of the extent of overlap of network and category (in White and Tilly's sense, see Section 1.1) matters for how resources are distributed among categories of people—whether based on ethnicity, socioeconomic position or gender. Resource-poor people who are embedded in networks of other resource-poor people have little access to valuable resources: they may have large networks and people willing to help them, but if their network members have few resources themselves they cannot provide much in the way of valuable resources. For resource-rich people, in contrast, a homogenous network of resourceful others provides them with opportunities at least to maintain their advantageous position. Socioeconomically-mixed networks, then, would provide resource-poor people with the resources needed to improve their position and gain more income, more political power, or more knowledge and skills (Lin, 2000: 787).

Differences in the acquisition of social capital (or any capital) may arise from differential opportunities (Lin, 2000: 791). An obvious difference in opportunities to become friends with resource-rich people stems from the fact that some people go to college or university and others do not (see e.g. Devine, 2004). A further opportunity to form ties with resource-rich people

is having a job, which provides opportunities to meet people who are in the same business and who know about job opportunities and are able to provide credentials (see Granovetter, 1995; Burt, 1992). Granovetter (1995: 85) even went so far as to say that '[career] mobility appears to be self-generating: the more different social and work settings one moves through, the larger the reservoir of personal contacts he has who may mediate further mobility'. In his study *Getting a Job*, Granovetter found that most (highly educated) workers relied on network members acquired at various stages of their work-life. Domínguez and Watkins (2003: 125) find a similar pattern in a study on low-income mothers.

The question at hand in this study is whether spatial segregation—living in a poor or affluent neighbourhood—in similar ways constrains or provides opportunities to form relationships with resource-rich people. When spatial segregation indeed sustains segregated networks, spatial segregation thus reproduces the uneven distribution of resources. On the other hand, if spatial integration (mixed neighbourhoods) promotes boundary-crossing ties and heterogeneous networks, this counterbalances the uneven exchange and unequal distribution of resources. To understand the significance of neighbourhood composition for (reproducing) social inequality we would have to focus on how neighbourhoods play a role in the formation and maintenance of exclusionary and integrative networks. In order to study this, we first need to know how to define useful relationships and resource-rich networks.

4.2 Measuring resource-rich networks

Based on the above discussed literature, we can conclude that a resource-rich network would have the following characteristics: (1) a network, plus (2) access to (3) resources.[30]

The presence of a network (1) can be assessed by measuring network size: the number of network members. For understanding the 'quality' of these networks, we need to know whether people have access to network members' resources. Access (2) means that there has to be a relationship through which resources can be exchanged and requires having direct ties, not just being 'nearby' resource-rich people through associational membership (cf. Foley and Edwards, 1999: 155). The requirement of resources (3) distinguishes the value of resource-rich networks from mere networks, which may also provide emotional and practical support.

In the following chapters, I operationalize resource-rich ties as ties to peo-

---

30   These three items compare with definitions of social capital, e.g. those of Flap (2002: 36) and van der Gaag (2003: 4-5; 2005: 10).

ple who have had education beyond secondary school (also referred to as 'tertiary education', which includes undergraduate and graduate education as well as vocational education and training). These ties can be regarded as more resourceful not only because of higher educational attainment (diplomas and occupation-specific knowledge; institutionalized cultural capital) but also because they are more likely to have more economic capital, embodied cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). First, higher-educated people are more likely to have more stable and better-paying jobs (income), and consequently also to own a dwelling (property, wealth). Furthermore, and perhaps more important, higher-educated people are likely to understand and master culturally acceptable practices, which helps them to navigate through dominant rules and norms in society (Bourdieu, 1986; Lamont and Lareau, 1988). Drawing on the work of Bourdieu and Passeron, Lamont and Lareau (1988: 156) define cultural capital as 'institutionalized, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion'. Because cultural capital is an indicator for socioeconomic position it is also exclusionary—people who lack cultural capital are excluded from positions with higher status (jobs, resources, power). Cultural capital, furthermore, is not so much knowing 'high culture' (a particular taste in art, literature, music) but knowing about a range of tastes and practices and knowing which are appropriate in which setting (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 156; Erickson, 1996). In addition, higher-educated people are more likely to have larger and more diverse networks (see Chapters 2 and 8, and Fischer, 1982a; Campbell *et al.*, 1986; Marsden, 1987; Erickson, 1996) and thus they reach, potentially, a greater number of people, networks and resources. Although some well-educated people will be unemployed, live in poor neighbourhoods and have a small network, and lower-educated people can become resource-rich if they required resources in other ways, for example, through successful entrepreneurship or political participation, for the above-stated reasons, a higher-educated network member is a good proxy for access to resources.

In this chapter, I examine the aspect of 'access': can we identify any characteristics of relationships that indicate access (or no access) to network members' resources? It is arguable that once people are included in someone's network, their resources are accessible to this person (although we can argue about when someone is included in one's network). The way in which the personal networks in this study are measured means that at least certain resources are indeed accessible—after all, respondents were explicitly asked to report network members who had helped them in one way or the other in the past. For some of the network members, probably mostly family members and friends, and those who made a deliberate effort to help, their resources will be accessible in the future and for a variety of needs. This is however less evident for other network members, for instance, those who passed on infor-

mation through routine or coincidental activities (see below for more on routine exchanges and making an effort). Before I discuss what kind of relationships may be needed to gain access to resources, I briefly discuss what we can learn from examining mobilized relationships and resources—to what extent are mobilized resources an indicator of resource-rich networks?

Mobilized resources

In the survey, we asked questions about mobilized relationships (for the distinction between potential and mobilized social capital, see Lin, 2001). In this way, we gained insight into people's personal networks and the extent to which they have (potential and actual) access to valuable resources. We asked whether people had help getting their job, getting their house, getting involved in politics or (voluntary) organizations. Actual mobilization of ties may however provide little—and maybe even misleading— insights into inequality in access to resources. The argument, following Lin (2000), is that people with more resource-rich networks are not necessarily more likely to use them, because they might not need it. This is relevant because it signifies the importance of other capitals—notably cultural capital (education, skills, knowledge about norms)—for gaining access to resources. I will illustrate this point by briefly looking into who had help with finding their current job.

Of the 244 employed respondents, 76 (31 per cent) had help finding their current job.[31] People with high-skilled jobs were less likely to have had help than people with lower-skilled jobs: 43 per cent of the latter category had help with finding their job compared with 27 per cent of the professional employees (Cramer's V=.159; p<.05). If we were to measure the presence of resource-rich ties by who had actual help, we would conclude that lower-skilled workers have more resource-rich ties. However, this finding may point to another pattern. Lin (2000: 792) suggests that disadvantaged people may be more likely to use informal methods in job searches, and that 'those embedded in resource-rich networks or having more social capital are not more likely than those in resource-poor networks to actively mobilize personal contacts in job search'. Lin (2000) theorizes that embeddedness in resource-rich networks goes together with 'routine flow of useful information' and that therefore members of these networks do not need to actively mobilize ties. This further implies that, because of the routine-nature of information flow, people in resource-rich networks—e.g. professionals—are less inclined to report that they had help: if it's routine to hear about job information they may not even perceive it as 'help'. Perhaps the information came to

---

31   Forty-five per cent said that someone helped them get the job; 41 per cent of those reported that someone had told them about the job opening; 8 per cent had help starting up their own business (all people with high-skilled jobs); another 6 per cent was helped otherwise.

them by a forwarded bulk e-mail or mailing list—which is an ultimate example of a routinized flow of information through a professional network. People thus were members of such networks, but this is not a personal network as defined in the current study. Lin (2000) finally notes that he does not think that people in resource-poor networks do not routinely exchange information, but that this information will likely be less useful. This is perhaps because resource-poor people, more often occupying low-skilled jobs, are not embedded in professional networks and the information that is routinely disseminated in their personal network may often not be tailored to their needs or skills.

To summarize, measuring mobilized ties tells us little about variations in resourceful networks. We may however be able to infer from these instances whether there are certain characteristics of mobilized ties that point to potentially more or less resource-rich or useful relationships. In this chapter I investigate what kinds of relationships are needed to gain access to resources, connecting to the academic discussion about strong versus weak ties.

4.3 The strong–weak dichotomy: bridging ties and intersecting networks

Knowing someone does not mean having access to his or her wealth, knowledge, skills or power. What kinds of ties provide access to resources? Consider Smith's (2005: 3) argument that the networks of the African-American urban poor do contain resources but that these resource-rich ties 'choose not to assist' because they perceive their job-seeking network members to be untrustworthy. She concludes that the inefficaciousness of job referral networks 'may have less to do with deficiencies in access to mainstream ties' (i.e., the resourcefulness of ties) than 'with functional deficiencies' (ibid.). When network members cannot be mobilized there really is no access to their resources.

One way of thinking about differential access to resources is to think about variations in the strength of ties.[32] Whether a tie is weak or strong depends on the 'combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie' (Granovetter, 1973: 1361). First, strong ties may be better for exchanging resources because of the greater motivation to help (through affection) or a

---

32   A number of studies on the 'return' of strong and weak ties looks at how people get jobs in the first place, while other studies look into how people get better jobs, a higher salary or more satisfaction. The mechanisms for this kind of help might differ, I suggest: for getting a job, the status of your supportive tie, as long as he or she knows about jobs, may matter less, while it matters a great deal if you want to make a career—in the latter case you are probably better off knowing people who occupy functions in higher positions. A complete overview of this literature is beyond the scope of this study. I am interested in theories on how certain ties are more valuable than others and draw from a diverse range of studies to gain more insight into this question.

record of reciprocity (Granovetter, 1983). A second way to think about differential access is in terms of the potential 'returns' of these ties: what kinds of resources are accessible through what kind of ties? Variations in both the mobilization and returns of ties is often related to the weak–strong ties dichotomy, based on Granovetter's (1973) 'strength of weak ties' thesis (but see also Craven and Wellman, 1973). Granovetter theorized that 'weak' ties are valuable because they connect different social networks. He built on the idea that the people with whom we have strong ties are usually more similar to us, and thus that the reverse applies, too: 'bridging weak ties, since they do link different groups, are far more likely than other weak ties to connect individuals who are significantly different from one another' (Granovetter, 1983: 204). In a similar vein, Craven and Wellman (1973) distinguish 'dense' and 'loosely-knit' networks, with comparable differential benefits. In yet other words, Lin (2001) argues that stronger ties are often characterized by homophily, while weak ties are heterophilous ties. It is exactly because of the difference between people that weak ties between them may be valuable: these ties then connect people to new and different social networks, potentially providing access to new resources and information that are not available in one's network of close friends and relatives. Therefore, Granovetter argued, bridging ties enable people to improve their socioeconomic status (1973: 1373-1376).

Many have since built on Granovetter's thesis, within social capital theory and social network analysis (see, in particular: Burt, 1992; Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001; Woolcock, 2001), as well as in urban studies (e.g. Briggs, 1998; Middleton *et al.*, 2005; Curley, 2008). Putnam's account is probably the most well-known, which incorporates the notion of weak ties into the concept of 'bridging social capital' (Putnam, 2000: 22). Bridging here is seen as distinct from (but also complementary to) 'bonding' which refers to more personal and practical support (cf. getting by versus getting ahead: Briggs, 1998).

A common way of measuring strong and weak ties is to distinguish relatives and friends from acquaintances (see Lin and Dumin, 1986; Bian, 1997; Briggs, 1998: 188; Putnam, 2000: 23; Woolcock, 2001: 71-72; Middleton *et al.*, 2005). Neighbours are sometimes regarded as strong ties (Woolcock, 2001; Middleton *et al.*, 2005; Parks-Yancy *et al.*, 2009), whereas others see neighbours as weak relations (assuming accompanying benefits, see Vermeij, 2008: 114). This confusion, I suggest, follows from mixing-up the function and form of ties. Measured by function, neighbours usually give 'bonding-type' support: help with small tasks and loans of things (Wellman and Wortley, 1990; Völker and Flap, 2007). At the same time, these ties are often non-intimate (ties with local friends and family not included), but that ties are non-intimate does not mean that they link networks by functioning as bridging ties. Recognizing the value of the function of bridges (i.e., access to opportunities, flow of information) seems to have shifted to assuming the value of non-intimate and heterophilous (e.g. interclass and interethnic) ties. I will return to this shortly.

The dichotomy strong–weak has been criticized, even before the concept of social capital gained popularity. First, there are different ways in which to measure the 'strength' of a relationship and different aspects become confounded (see Marsden and Campbell, 1984; Burt, 1997). Some have argued that the dichotomy is non-existent: relationships are just more complex than that (Wegener, 1991: 64; Crow, 2004). Others have suggested that 'weak' and 'strong' should be seen as ideal types (Craven and Wellman, 1973: 74). Blokland and Noordhoff (2008: 119) add that 'weak ties and strong bonds are a continuum, and many of people's ties may move back and forth on it'. In a study on low-income women in a Boston public housing project, Curley (2009: 223) found that 'the women's social ties could not be fully captured by these existing dichotomous frameworks.' The women mostly received job information through intimate ties (friends and relatives), and learned about opportunities, such as education and tutoring programmes for their children, through more distant ties (ibid.: 240). The essence of most of these women's ties is, according to Curley, best captured instead by three themes; namely 'supportive', 'draining' and leveraging'.

Another criticism is directed at the idea that only weak ties are likely to function as bridges to new networks (Greenbaum, 1982; Bian, 1997). Why would relatives and friends not be able to function as bridges? That only weak ties can bridge is a peculiar viewpoint particularly when we consider that classic scholars have argued that modern societies are characterized by the separation of work, family, neighbourhood and leisure. This would have resulted in intersecting rather than totally overlapping (or 'concentric') networks (Simmel, 1955 [1922]; Blau and Schwartz, 1984) and, related to this, more 'simplex' relationships. Theories of how traditional society differs from industrialized society, found in the now classic studies of Durkheim and Tönnies, include the idea that, in Anthony Cohen's (1985: 22-23) words, 'individuals' social lives [are] becoming more and more specialized, not just in their labour, but in all of their social relations. They engage with different people for different, and limited purposes', signifying a transformation to a situation 'in which individuals have to weave their way among their different sets of relationships'. This idea can also be found in early studies on urban life by, for example, Wirth (1938)—which can also be read as a description of the transition to modern society. Simmel (1955 [1922]: 167) has described how the division of labour has an impact on relationships: 'spheres of activity are divided in such a fashion that an individual, or a group, may be engaged in different activities, and each sphere of activity comprises a number of qualitatively different relations'. In particular Simmel describes the way in which in modern society everyone takes up a central position in his or her own 'web of group-affiliations' in which people 'stand at a point at which many groups "intersect"' (ibid.: 141). This transformation of relationships has also been described in terms of simplex versus multiplex ties—the first are relationships that

exist only in a single context and fulfil a single function, as opposed to the latter, through which connections of kin, colleagueship and friendship are combined (Gluckman, 1967, in Cohen, 1985: 29).[33]

The members of people's networks are thus also the 'centre' of their own personal networks; in this way people are linked to various other networks—which may partially overlap but most networks will likely not overlap totally. While social theorists in the past have lamented the transformation to more simplex ties, from the perspective of dissemination of information, intersecting networks and simplex ties are an advantage because it means that people are connected to more non-overlapping networks. This is exactly the crucial insight of Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties thesis: the pattern of partially overlapping networks makes possible the exchange of resources among networks.

On the other hand, the extent to which 'modern' relationships are simplex and networks non-overlapping should not be exaggerated. Colleagues and neighbours can still become friends, and the other way around. Although Gluckman saw a difference between relationships in preindustrial and industrial society, he believed that both simplex and multiplex ties exist in industrial societies (Cohen, 1985). Spencer and Pahl (2006) describe the various forms of friendships—some friends are valued for playing tennis with, others are valued as soul mates or family-like intimates, still others as favour friends, and so on. Some friendships evolve around a single shared interest, whereas other friendships are built around several mutual activities. The 'situation specific' (Allan, 1977, 1998b) or 'compartmental' ties (Small, 2009)—ties not extended to other settings (further: setting-specific)—need not be non-intimate: they can be valued as friendships even when these relationships are not transported to other settings (Small, 2009). Furthermore, Conley (2009) observes a trend that reverses the trend that Gluckman and Simmel observed: the intertwining of work and leisure—'weisure'—and the intertwining of relationships in these contexts (and the complexity that this brings, see also Cohen, 1985)—although his observation may hold particularly for highly educated professional workers. The 'domains' of people's lives thus are not as strictly separated as was depicted by several theorists who described societal transformations.

What is essential about the 'strength of weak ties' argument is not the strength but the function of some ties as bridges between two (or more) networks. Much confusion about bonding versus bridging and weak versus strong ties arises because the function and form of ties gets mixed up.

---

33 Gluckman's distinction between simplex and multiplex ties is grounded in his analysis of legal forums and the difference between preindustrial and industrial societies—disputes between people with a simplex relationship will be handled differently than disputes between people with a multiplex relationship.

Weak ties are valuable not because they are weak but because they have more *potential* in bridging multiple networks. Hence, Granovetter's argument is that bridges are most likely weak—as in: weak in intensity, non-intimate and heterophilous—but weak ties are 'certainly not automatically bridges' (1973: 1364). As explained by Campbell *et al.* (1986: 98):

> Weak ties are valuable neither because they are weak, nor because they are likely to serve as local bridges between otherwise unconnected networks. These structural features [of the tie] are pertinent only because weak ties are more *likely* than strong ones to link an actor to information that is novel and not otherwise accessible. (emphasis added)

This means, as I will further elaborate below, that both weak and strong ties can be bridges. Granovetter's (1995) study also confirms this. In his study on high-skilled male workers, Granovetter found that 31 per cent of the ties that provided job information were family members or other 'social contacts', and the other 69 per cent were former teachers, employers and fellow-workers at the same company or in the same sector (ibid.: 41-42).

Ronald Burt's (Burt, 1992, 2000) idea of 'brokerage' is therefore more clear because it refers to the function of ties as 'broker' between networks, regardless of other characteristics that may or may not be associated with this function (Burt, 1992: 27-30). A 'structural hole' refers to a network structure that is characterized by 'nonredundancy': when two people connect two networks that without their connection would not be connected. The connection between the networks is solely realized and maintained by their connection. Burt draws on Granovetter's idea but notes that

> A bridge is at once two things. It is a chasm spanned and the span itself. (...) The structural hole argument is about the chasm spanned. It is the latter that generates information benefits. Whether a relationship is strong or weak, it generates information benefits when it is a bridge over a structural hole. (Burt, 1992: 28).

In the following sections I work out this idea more in detail, and examine various aspects of relationship that may be associated with whether a network member functions as a broker. Following Burt and others, my first working hypothesis is that both strong and weak ties can 'broker' resource, because—following the idea of 'intersecting' networks—family, work, political association and leisure activities often do not overlap. My second working hypothesis is that weak ties may particularly facilitate the dissemination of information but when an effort is needed, for example, putting in a good word for someone or practising job interviews, you need stronger and durable ties. These hypotheses are worked out below.

4.4 The benefit of knowing brokers

For gaining access to information or a network, people benefit from having 'brokers' in their network—people that link to new networks and make information and resources accessible. The idea of 'brokers' is based on Burt's (1992, 2000) concept of brokerage, as explained above. Brokers themselves have a particularly advantageous position as they control ('broker') the flow of information: they learn about information first and can act on it before other people can, and they can decide whether or not to disseminate the information to other people (Burt, 1992: 13-15). By analogy to this idea, we can say that *knowing* brokers is also beneficial—that is, provided that brokers pass on the information and resources to you. We may find that the efforts of brokers to make resources accessible to someone vary with the type of connection between persons—I will return to this below. In this section, I briefly demonstrate how knowing brokers were helpful in finding a job, becoming involved in a social or political association, and finding a house. The findings confirm that both strong and weak ties can broker information.

Finding a job
One way to benefit from brokers is when they pass on information that they command by virtue of their membership in a (professional) network. Here are some examples from the in-depth interviews of how network members passed on information.

About ten years back, Carlo (b. 1971, information manager, married, one child, Blijdorp)[34] had finished his studies and he was not sure what do to next. His mother brought him along to a welfare organization where she was volunteering at the time. There Carlo met the manager of the organization, and she told him that there were vacancies in the welfare sector. She forwarded several vacancies to Carlo, Carlo applied for a job, got the job and worked there for eight years. In the meantime, Carlo has switched jobs a few times, but every once in a while Carlo bumps into her (she lives in the same neighbourhood) and sometimes he visits his old work place. They have a 'warm feeling' towards each other, but they are 'not friends'. However, even though Carlo has no idea where she is working now, he would not hesitate to approach her if he was looking for another job again.

Maarten (b. 1977, policy advisor, married, Blijdorp) got his first job as a policy advisor in the non-profit sector through a friend from university. When he graduated and was looking for a job, Maarten asked around among friends, and S gave him a tip about a vacancy for the job that S himself was leaving. Maarten applied and got the job. Maarten met S through the student union

---

34 All names are fictitious. See also Appendix C for information on the respondents.

and later S got involved with and married a housemate of Maarten. Once a year, Maarten and his former student friends, including S and his wife, meet up for a weekend trip, and otherwise he meets S at birthdays.

Els (b. 1969, social worker, living together, Blijdorp) learned about her current job through her sister, who works in the same sector as Els (welfare). Her sister works for a large welfare organization that had a vacancy but it was advertised internally; she knew Els was looking for a job and wanted to go back into social work, her original occupation, so she passed on the information to Els. Els applied and got the job.

Both intimate and less-intimate ties can act as brokers when they are able to connect people to an organization and pass on information. Carlo, Maarten and Els benefited from their ties because they passed on information that is valuable to them. That for Maarten and Els these ties were strong and intimate ties is irrelevant, because their network members had their own (professional) network that did not overlap with that of Maarten and Els (although using the information and getting a job at the same company will create some mutual professional connections).

In some cases, network members did more than just pass on information: hiring someone, putting in a good word, or help with writing a letter of application. For example, after Jannie (b. 1950, unemployed (formerly in drycleaner's), single, two adult children, Blijdorp) was divorced from her husband and lost her job at his drycleaning business, her brother hired her to work in his drycleaning business. Brokers can take on different roles—I discuss this in more detail below.

Both strong and weak ties can bridge networks and thus act as 'brokers'. This is supported by the survey data. Of the 83 network members that helped 76 Hillesluisians, Cool residents and Blijdorpers get their jobs, 28 per cent were described as friends, 24 per cent as acquaintances, and 18 per cent as colleagues—indicating that both weak and close ties are useful in helping one get a job.[35]

In the survey, respondents were asked whether they 'feel particularly close' to their network members. Compared with other ties (see Table 4.1), those who helped with a job were less often described as 'particularly close' relationships (19 per cent vs. 50 per cent; Cramer's V=.115; p=.000) which indeed supports the idea that brokers are more often weak ties (cf. Granovetter, 1973; Friedkin, 1980). However, as Granovetter also recognized, they were not exclusively weak ties. Put differently, compared with network members who offered more personal and practical forms of support, brokers are indeed

---

35 Another 11 per cent are 'other' connections, 10 per cent family or household members, 4 per cent neighbours and 2 per cent fellow-members of an organization. People with high-skilled jobs were relatively more often helped by a colleague; people with low and medium-skilled jobs more often by acquaintances.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of brokers and other network members of respondents

	Brokers helped with			Other network members
	Finding a job	Finding a house	Associational membership	
Tertiary education	85	80	87	74
Connection				
Family/household member	10	23	13	39
Colleague	18	6	3	4
Fellow club member	2	1	19	2
Friend	28	17	29	33
Acquaintance	24	31	21	4
Neighbour	4	6	9	17
Other connection	11	13	7	1
Characteristics relationship				
"Feel particularly close to"	19	22	35	51
Contact daily/weekly	41	30	63	63
Contact 2-weekly - monthly	17	21	27	28
Contact 3-monthly - yearly	42	49	10	10
N (network members)	83	78	101	2730

Note: Percentages do not add up due to rounding.

more often weak ties, but still about 40 per cent of the brokers are family members or friends and keep in touch daily or weekly.

Respondents were also asked to indicate how often they were in touch with each of their network members. When the strength of a tie is measured on the basis of the frequency of contact, 41 per cent of these ties were in touch on a daily or weekly basis and another 42 per cent had contact rarely: not more than three-monthly (see Table 4.1). These brokers were thus not necessarily ties that were weak in intensity. I will return to this below.

Finding a house

Buying a house means acquiring property, and thus can be seen as a resource. When someone helps you find the house, that person thus helps you acquire property. Furthermore, helping someone find a house lowers their search costs (Röper *et al.*, 2009: 40): people who use their network do not have to depend on a real estate agent or place an advertisement. This means that even having help finding a rental house lowers the costs.

Several people interviewed in this study got their house through a network member (79 respondents; 21 per cent). Of those in private rental housing, nearly 40 per cent got their house through a network member, compared with 21 per cent of owner-occupiers and 13 per cent of the people in social housing. That the percentage is lower for social renters is probably a reflection of the housing allocation system: people can apply for social housing through housing associations and have a house assigned based on their position in the waiting list or when there are urgent reasons for a priority treatment. The waiting lists are usually long, so network members are of less help here.

For most respondents who had help, someone else had found their house for them (37 per cent), or they knew the former residents (32 per cent). Another 22 per cent knew the property owner. Also for this kind of information exchange, brokers are both strong and weak ties (see Table 4.1). Most of the network members were acquaintances (31 per cent) and friends and family and household members are good for another 40 per cent (17 and 23 per cent respectively; Table 4.1). A minority of the respondents reported that they feel 'close' to these brokers (22 per cent), and with half of the brokers they had contact three-monthly or less frequently. This suggests that brokers who had helped with finding a house are indeed often weak ties, but, again, they are not exclusively weak ties.

For example, for Petra (b. 1977, legal counsel, married, Blijdorp), having a real estate agent for a friend, for example, is helpful, particularly when this friend knows you are looking for a new house:

> GE: A friend of yours found your house for you, she tipped you?
> We were living [elsewhere], not that big, and we were looking for something else, J was at the time a realtor and she told us that she knew someone that through her office sold property. (...) And at the time we had talked with her a few times about buying a new house, [about] how does it work, and then she said, "This guy is working on a property in Blijdorp, with garden, it might be something for you?" She called him, I went to take a look with him, and then we went through with it [the sale] immediately.

Petra had known her friend since university and had met her via another friend, S, they played hockey together, together with other friends they formed a team, and they had lived in the same student flat for a while. Her friend's husband helped Petra get her job. So not only is her friend a close friend, she also belongs to a densely-knit cluster of Petra's friends. Two of Petra's friends nevertheless had access to information that was valuable for Petra and acted as brokers in passing along that information. Again, that these ties are strong and that they are part of a dense network cluster is irrelevant—it is the resources that are available in Petra's network that makes her network useful.

Other ties that brokered information about housing were more the Granovetter-type of weak ties. Cees (b. 1947, director of trade company and pension fund, married, adult children, Blijdorp), who had been living in Blijdorp before he found his current house, heard that the former residents were selling their house 'through the grapevine':

> I think, in a roundabout way, we heard that they were leaving, so then we just rang the bell and said, "We'd like to... [buy the house]".
> GE: And how did this information get to you?
> Via the local network, people from the neighbourhood, but who exactly and how I don't

remember. (...) I think through my wife, I didn't hear about it, my wife told me and I went there [to the house]. My wife heard it somewhere via the daily shopping circuit.

GE: You knew her [former resident]...?

Vaguely, vaguely, hardly. Look my wife had a children's clothes fair, she did that with another lady from the neighbourhood, a fair in used children's clothes, once a month, and many mothers came there of course and that was always like chattering and calling and there of course we got many tips, as typical, it was not just about clothes, [talking was] about this and that and the other thing, schools, sports clubs, who knows what. I think that's how, because that yielded much [information].

Cees provides a typical story of how having a large and wide-ranging network yields information. It also shows how getting a hold on information can be a by-product of relationships that are formed for other purposes. I will return to this below.

Volunteering and associational membership

Another way of acquiring resources is through becoming actively involved in a social or political association. Active membership—whether on the board or as volunteer—as such provides people with a new network. Taking up a function on the board provides people with power to influence decisions that may have an impact on their daily life. Of those respondents who were members of an organization, 18 per cent (69 respondents) were actively involved in a social or political association. Nearly half of them (41 respondents, 59 per cent) had been asked to either take up a function or become a volunteer.[36]

These 41 people named 101 network members who had asked them, of which 29 per cent are friends, 21 per cent acquaintances and 19 per cent fellow members. Table 4.1 shows that these brokers were also less often described as 'particularly close' relationships (35 per cent, compared with 54 per cent of the other network members; Cramer's V=.116; .p=.003). There was no difference in the frequency of contact, and more than half (63 per cent) were in touch daily or weekly. Again, both strong and weak ties played a part in getting people an office in the organization.

Unfortunately I do not have much information about how and why people joined clubs and organizations in the first place; I only know who had asked them to take up office. This information is a bit distorted, as sometimes people had signed up for an office and were only then asked to take up a particular position. Here are some examples.

Liesbeth (b. 1973, married, two children, Blijdorp) is a self-employed coach in communication skills and when she had just started her business, she joined a professional organization that offers support and a platform for net-

---

36 Of those 41 respondents who were asked, most are people with high-skilled occupations (85 per cent).

working for beginning entrepreneurs. She responded to a call for board members and the departing president thereupon asked her to be secretary. This person is still in Liesbeth's professional network (he receives her newsletter and they bump into each other at business meetings), but she doesn't particularly like him so their relationship never evolved into an intimate tie.

Cor (b. 1929, retired (formerly in expedition), single, Hillesluis) moved to a seniors' apartment complex in Hillesluis in 1991, applied for a function in the seniors' committee, because he wanted to 'do something' after he had retired, and it was the president-to-be who thrust him into the secretary position, which function he has ever since. They saw each other regularly at meetings but this person remained a non-intimate setting-specific tie (i.e., not extended to other settings).

Other respondents were asked to get involved or take up a function because they fulfilled duties in other associations and in this way were in touch with several organizations:

GE: For this Workgroup Housing you were approached by a community worker?

Yes, because for *Opzoomeren* [a local initiative] we were in touch with the community centre. Then one thing leads to the other, because when they see you're actively involved they say like, "We're doing this and this, would you like to do this and that". Well and then they're pushing you to do other things, so then you're engaged in other groups.

– Wibbe (b. 1960, building inspector, single, adult children, Hillesluis)

GE: You were asked to become secretary by an employee of the association? Can you tell me how that happened?

Yes. We've known each other for a couple of years and I knew that N was working there [at the association] and we had been talking a bit about it. And at some point N approached me and said, "We're looking for a board member" and he had talked about it with the then director (...) and then I joined the board. (...)

GE: And you knew N from elsewhere?

We were doing [activities] together for another association in Rotterdam.

GE: Also voluntary?

That was also voluntary.

– Stefan (b. 1968, consultant, living together, Blijdorp)

Getting involved in associations—and thus being embedded in these networks—thus seems to increase the likelihood of being drawn into other networks (cf. Devine and Roberts 2002, in Devine and Roberts, 2003: 96). This is in line with what Granovetter (1995: 85; see above) noted about 'self-generating mobility' through professional networks: associational membership provides people with a network through which they can become even more involved. This pattern is also in line with the idea that 'always the same people' are involved in decision-making processes: once people are embedded in a net-

work, they have access to other networks (see e.g. Helmers *et al.*, 1975).

Sometimes people were asked to become involved when they were not yet 'in the circle'. For example, two of Claudia's (b. 1962, childcare, married, three children, Hillesluis) fellow-residents had asked her to become involved in organizing initiatives for her street (in Hillesluis), such as a barbeque or putting up a Christmas tree (*Opzoomeren*, see Chapter 5). Claudia had met these women in the neighbourhood, just by repeatedly bumping into them.

To summarize, both strong and weak ties can broker information and thus be valuable and useful for acquiring resources such as information about jobs, houses and associational membership and influence. Because personal networks overlap only partially (they 'intersect') and network members have their 'own' personal networks, people's relatives, friends and even household members have ties to unknown others ('second order ties', Boissevain, 1974) and thus can provide access to new information and resources. Table 4.1 shows an overview of the characteristics of brokers compared with other network members, as described above.

4.5 Useful connections: sociable and setting-specific ties

In the following two sections, I look into the characteristics of useful connections following the idea that not only the type of relationships matters for the exchange of resources, but also the setting in which relationships are embedded and exchanges of resource might take place. Whether people will act as brokers or not is not only dependent on the relationship, or whether the potential broker feels like passing on information or resources, but also on whether people ask potential brokers to pass on resources. In some situations, people will approach their network members and ask for information or ask them to put in a good word—in other words, they ask their network members to act as brokers for them. But they will ask only some people and not others, and my argument is that this consideration is not just dependent on whether people deem others to be useful ties or whether they trust people. Rather, people will consider whether it is appropriate according to the expectations about their relationships with person X and Z building on their longitudinal exchange relation. The setting in which relationships are embedded might facilitate the exchange of resources when this is what is defined as appropriate in this setting.

Another way of approaching the strong–weak dichotomy is to see whether particular connections are more likely to provide access to resources. Weak and strong ties are often conceptualized as acquaintances and colleagues on the one hand, and friends and family members on the other. The question that arises is: What kinds of connections prove 'useful' in brokering informa-

tion and resources? We have just seen that all kinds of connections had functioned as brokers: mostly friends and acquaintances for finding a job (together 52 per cent of brokers), mostly acquaintances and relatives for finding a house (54 per cent of brokers), and mostly friends and acquaintances for associational membership (50 per cent of brokers; see Table 4.1). These thus indicate both 'strong' and 'weak ties'. Furthermore, half of the brokers were other kinds of connections; a clear pattern of 'useful' versus 'useless' connections is hard to discover. Brokers are furthermore mostly 'not particularly close' network members, but on the other hand, brokers are often network members with whom people maintain frequent contact (daily or weekly).

These connections indicate the way in which people are connected and thus indicate whether relationships are maintained in a setting, and in which setting they are maintained. Relationships between family members, for example, indicate not merely that people are connected by blood or marriage, but rather that relationships are embedded in a 'family group' (Feld and Carter, 1998: 141). Colleagues are connected not just as people who have the same employer but also through engagement in the workplace or work-related activities (ibid.). This holds also for relationships described as 'neighbours' and 'club members'. Relationships between friends, in contrast, are not necessarily embedded in a setting, although they may involve activities in certain settings. Friendships in particular are relationships that are maintained for the sake of sociability (Allan, 2001, 2008; Pahl, 2000)—they are in this way not dependent on the setting and thus are not 'setting-specific'. Acquaintances may or may not be setting-specific, but we can imagine that irregularly or regularly meeting acquaintances will be related to some setting—whether birthdays of friends or particular shops or shopping streets. The label 'acquaintance' indicates that the relationship is loosely embedded in a setting; it does not indicate what kind of setting.

Provided that ties are embedded in a setting that facilitates regular interaction (Feld, 1981; Feld and Carter, 1998) and a routinized flow of information exchange (Lin, 2000), these setting-specific ties can be useful in brokering resources (Small, 2009). When ties are embedded in settings, the settings may provide people with a (joint) definition of the relationships—rules of relevancy (see Section 3.5)—based on which they can estimate what is acceptable and expected in a relationship (Feld and Carter, 1998: 140-141). For example, in the setting of the work place it would be acceptable and expected to ask for and offer work-related support.

Following this idea, we might find patterns in how people define their relationships that are associated with the labels that people use to describe their relationships. There may be valid reasons to distinguish intimate from non-intimate ties. Within intimate relationships, the boundaries of what is expected and accepted are very broad: people will not feel awkward very quickly and they accept behaviour that in other relationships would be regarded as 'out of

line'—these relationships can 'stretch' (Blokland and Noordhoff, 2008). Within non-intimate relationships, behaviour that exceeds expectations, placing too much demand on them, is more likely to 'break' the relationship instead (ibid.). Relationships about which we feel positive are more likely to survive negative experiences and bad feelings (Lawler, 2001).

My interest is in the variations in relationships that may or may not function as brokers between networks and facilitate the exchange of resources. This relates to Wellman and Wortley's (1990) argument that 'different folks' are mobilized for 'different strokes', and Flap and Völker's (2001) notion of 'goal specific social capital': a particular type of social capital, particular content of relationships and particular network structures or kinds of resource are beneficial for different goals.

One way to examine this is to look at how people talk about various relationships in their network. Some network members will do *anything* for you; you can *always* depend on them, no matter what the situation or time of the day. Best friends accept you as you are, in all aspects, you couldn't do anything wrong. These descriptions reveal that the boundaries of what is expected and accepted in a relationship are very broad. This is in contrast with people who are *just* neighbours, *merely* colleagues, and so on. People's descriptions of their relationships with others may offer manifest or sometimes subtle distinctions of the rules of relevancy.

I wanted to test this idea by asking the respondents, for each network member, whether they would consider asking them for help in the future in a number of situations. I asked them whether they would ask their network members for help if they were looking for a job or house, if they needed help with small tasks or when sick, if they wanted to borrow tools or groceries, and if they needed emotional support or advice. Asking people about hypothetical situations will logically deviate somewhat from what people will actually do, because people cannot foresee all the conditions that will influence their actions (see Völker, 1999, 2009). Asking people about future help is likely to show too optimistic expectations. In a comparison of expected and actual help, Völker (1999) found that actual support was lower than expected support.

I did not ask whether the respondents had anyone they could call upon in various situations. Instead, I asked, for each network member separately, whether the respondent thought he or she would mobilize this particular person in any of seven situations. I expected that people's answers would be patterned according to different kinds of relationships. These patterns may indicate 'rules of relevancy'. This matters not only because it might show that people do not mobilize their entire personal network when they need access to resources; it may also show that whether people would mobilize network members is not only dependent on the strength of the tie or the type of connection, but also on the setting in which people interact with their network members.

Table 4.2 Expected mobilization of respondents' network members in seven situations (percentages)

	Family member	Colleague	Club member	Friend	Acquaint-ance	Neighbour	Other	Significance (Cramer's V)
Job [a]	39	68	36	56	33	22	32	*.268
House	45	52	38	51	35	29	32	*.168
Tasks	65	21	19	60	24	39	14	*.304
Sick	54	9	0	51	26	55	4	*.261
Borrow	65	30	19	60	35	69	11	*.257
Talk	76	57	25	85	36	36	33	*.434
Opinion	75	52	31	77	31	31	37	*.409
N	386	44	11	440	78	185	25	

Note: Only respondents in Hillesluis and Blijdorp.

[a] Only respondents under age 62.

Shaded cells mark the connection that is most often expected to be mobilized, per situation of future help (compare horizontally).

*p<.001

Future mobilization

Table 4.2 shows the expected future help from different network members. We can read the table in two ways. First, we can compare by situation, and look at which connections are most likely to be mobilized when people are looking for a job, looking for a house, etc. (shaded cells). Colleagues and secondly friends are most often asked for help with finding a job (68 per cent of all colleague-relationships would be mobilized, 56 per cent of all friends). Only 22 per cent of neighbours would be mobilized in this situation. The same goes for help with finding a house. Family members are most likely to be asked for small tasks in and around the house (65 per cent of the family members would be asked to help, compared with, for example, 39 per cent of neighbours and 21 per cent of colleagues). For almost all situations, family members and friends score highest. Except for two: in the case that people are sick and need someone to pick up groceries ('sick') and for borrowing tools or groceries ('borrow'). In these two situations, 55 and 69 per cent of the neighbours would be mobilized. This corresponds with the findings of Völker (1999).

A second way of looking at Table 4.2 is to compare by connection and to look at what the particular connections would likely be mobilized for, and the 'breadth' of support for each of the connections. Many friends would be mobilized for all situations, although more for personal support (to talk about personal issues and take one's opinion seriously for important decisions) than for help with finding a job or house. Many family members would be asked for five of the seven situations. In terms of rules of relevancy, the boundaries of what is expected (and acceptable to ask) of these ties are broadest. Most colleagues are likely to be called upon for help with finding a job and personal support, but not for help when respondents need help with groceries when sick. Just a minority of the club members, acquaintances and other ties are expected to be mobilized for all situations. Apart from practical and ad hoc support, most neighbours are also not mobilized. Club members, acquaint-

ances, neighbours and other ties thus seem more 'goal specific' (Flap and Völker, 2001), and perhaps this is because they are more 'situation specific' (Allan, 1977, 1998b) in terms of what is expected.

The various connections do seem to be associated with ideas about what can be expected from particular network members, and ideas about the breadth of expectations. This means that when people are looking for a job, they may not use their entire personal network—not necessarily because they think that some network members will not be useful but because calling upon them would exceed the boundaries of how the relationship is defined. Put differently, people would feel awkward if they were to call upon some of their network members, while mobilizing others is regarded as appropriate. Note, however, that while people do not seem to mobilize most of their acquaintances in the future, acquaintances are among the network members who were most often reported for help with finding a house and second most often reported for help with finding a job and associational membership. This may suggest that help from acquaintances is more based on routine exchanges than on deliberately making an effort (see below). Help that is embedded in routine exchanges—for example, at work or meeting someone during daily activities—is perhaps not expected, but when interaction is embedded in routine activities, mobilization might not need deliberate action. The exchange of resources is then rather a by-product, as I will argue below.

Setting-specific connections
Allan (1977) argues that the difference in the number of friends of resource-poor and resource-rich men should be sought in their different definitions of what friendship is.[37] His argument is that friends of the former are more often 'situation specific'—they do not extend beyond the setting in which the friendship is maintained—while the friendships of the latter are more often extended to other settings. This would explain why people of a lower class position reported fewer friends, and would refute the idea that there are differences in 'sociability' (ibid.). These differences could be associated with the material deprivation of resource-poor families: their dwellings were not equipped for having visitors, and low incomes made it necessary to keep control over expenditures—including offering loans to network members. One way of doing this was to avoid become involved in situations of open-ended exchanges in which money was spent, for example in cafes (ibid.). In later papers, Allan suggests that these differences may have diminished, as the hous-

---

37 For adult Californians in 1977, Fischer (1982b: 304) did not find differences in the definition of 'friendship' associated with educational or income level. He concludes that the label 'friend' is a common and a residual label, applied for a wide variety of relationships. His study does however not necessarily falsify Allan's claim, because according to Allan, resource-poorer people would not label some of their network members as 'friends' and thus they would not be included in the comparison that Fischer carried out.

ing and material conditions of the poorest have improved and, more generally, the formation and maintenance of relationships has 'privatized' (Allan, 1998a, b; see also Blokland, 2003b). According to Allan (1998b: 689), there is no pre-determined female or male way of managing friendship, nor can there be a 'fixed working-, middle- or upper-class pattern'. At best, he claims, we can identify particular 'structural variables' that prove constraining or facilitative of the formation of relationships (ibid.).

The material circumstances of the resource-poor and resource-rich may still impact their relationships, and particularly what is exchanged. In their chapter, 'The Weakness of Weak Ties', Blokland and Noordhoff (2008) show how people in poverty avoid getting into reciprocal exchange relations, because they cannot afford it. Weak ties may then prove too weak, because if one party cannot meet the rules of reciprocity the relationship may break. Strong ties, on the other hand, can 'stretch' and may survive breaches of norms of reciprocity. Studies on women in poverty (Domínguez and Watkins, 2003; Curley, 2009) show that needy network members can be experienced as 'draining' because these women cannot afford to help out their network members. Material deprivation may thus still put a strain on the formation of relationships, and encourage resource-poor people not to become too much involved with people outside the regular encounters in specific settings (e.g. work, children's activities). Furthermore, resource-poor people may not have enough money to entertain people at home, or to spend time together during outdoor activities (seeing a movie, having dinner in a restaurant, arranging a babysitter).

These conditions may structure the formation of relationships in two ways. First, ties may break more easily once the shared setting falls away. This may explain why resource-poorer people have more geographically dense networks and hardly any friends living abroad (see Chapter 5). If ties are setting-specific, they are difficult to maintain without that setting: socializing is not based on the relationship itself but on meeting each other 'by chance' in shared settings (cf. Allan, 1977). Perhaps this difference holds particularly for relationships that are not friendships, which are, due to their lower level of intimacy and intensity, at greater risk of breaking (cf. Burt, 2002). This may also explain why the number of family members in networks is fairly equal between socioeconomic categories (see Chapter 2): ties with family members are less likely to break because the 'setting' is the family and this setting does not fall away that easily (unless there are serious arguments). All other relationships initially develop in a setting. This might further hinder the development of a large(r) network; this is discussed in Chapter 8.

A second way in which the formation of relationships may be dependent on material conditions is that some of the ties that are labelled 'acquaintances', 'neighbours' or 'colleagues' are more 'friend-like' than their label may indicate. Resource-poorer people may be more likely to maintain 'setting-specif-

Table 4.3 Expected mobilization of respondents' network members, by occupational skill level of respondent

	All respondents			Never worked/low-skilled workers			Medium-/high-skilled workers			Significance (t-test)
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N
Family member	384	4,17	2,05	85	4,38	2,50	286	4,10	1,92	ns
Colleague	43	2,95	1,88	7	2,43	1,51	36	3,06	1,94	
Club member	11	1,55	1,81	4	1,25	0,96	7	1,71	2,21	
Friend	431	4,45	1,95	56	4,68	1,88	345	4,32	1,95	ns
Acquaintance	78	2,29	2,05	25	3,04	2,41	46	1,83	1,73	* 2.229
Neighbour	183	3,02	1,98	43	3,67	2,04	140	2,81	1,93	* 2.522
Other	24	1,42	1,38	10	1,20	1,48	13	1,54	1,39	
All ties	1154	3,83	2,14	230	3,92	2,35	873	3,76	2,07	

Note: Shaded cells indicate significantly different score on scale.

*p<.05

ic' relationships that are comparable, in terms of the exchange of resources, to the 'friends' of resource-richer people. There may thus be a difference in labelling relationships, as Allan suggests. In that case, making a distinction between types of connections for indicating what relationships are useful or useless for accessing resources may be misguided, because it may obscure that resource-poor people draw on other types of connections than do resource-rich people.

Above I have taken future mobilization as indicator for the rules of relevancy. If there is indeed a difference in labelling relationships and rules of relevancy, then we would expect to see differences between resource-poorer and resource-richer people in their expectations about future help from their network members. For each network member, I computed a scale for future mobilization (ranging from zero to seven), and compared these through ANOVA tests among connections and t-tests among occupational categories. Table 4.3 shows the results. For some of the connections, the data is limited because of missing data.

On average, network members score 3.8 on the future mobilization scale. That means that they would be mobilized for nearly four out of seven items. Family members and, particularly friends, would be mobilized for more items than other connections, and this is not associated with occupational level. For both resource-poor and resource-rich respondents, friends and family members thus seem to indicate 'broad' repertoires of exchange relations: much can be asked from them. This is different for the other ties. Club members and 'other ties' are expected to be mobilized for on average 1.5 items; they are the most narrowly defined connections. This seems not to be associated with socioeconomic position: for both resource-rich and resource-poor respondents, these are narrowly defined relationships. The numbers are small, so this is merely indicative.

For acquaintances and neighbours, the number of ties is sufficient to compare the scales. On average, these connections would be mobilized for respectively 2.3 and 3 future help situations. However, respondents who have never worked and who have low-skilled jobs report that they would mobilize their

	Acquaintances		Neighbours	
	Resource-poor	Resource-rich	Resource-poor	Resource-rich
Job [a]	32	30	* 35	18
House	32	31	31	29
Tasks	32	16	44	37
Sick	** 48	14	51	58
Borrow	45	32	56	** 75
Talk	* 52	30	44	32
Opinion	39	22	** 43	25
N	31	49	84	150

Table 4.4 Expected mobilization of respondents acquaintances and neighbours (percentages)

Note: Only respondents in Hillesluis and Blijdorp.

[a] acquaintance: N=25/46; neighbours: N=43/140.

*p<.05; **p<.01

acquaintances and neighbours in more situations (3 and 3.7 respectively) than people with medium- and high-skilled jobs (1.8 and 2.8 respectively; see shaded cells). This difference is statistically significant. This might mean that resource-richer people are more selective in whom they would mobilize. But it might also confirm Allan's argument that for resource-poorer people those relationships that are 'setting-specific'—restricted to the setting in which people have met and see each other—are actually more similar in terms of socializing and resource exchange, compared with those relationships that resource-richer people would describe as friendships. Put differently, the relationships that resource-poorer people label 'acquaintances' and 'neighbours' may be, in terms of what is acceptable and expected, not be that narrowly defined as the label would suggest. This suggests, in line with Allan's argument, that resource-rich and resource-poor people may label their relationships differently, but that they also apply to different kinds of relationships and 'rules of relevancy'.

A closer look at what acquaintances and neighbours would be mobilized for (Table 4.4), according to respondents' expectations, shows that resource-poorer people's acquaintances are more often expected to be mobilized when people are sick and for talking about personal matters, compared with the acquaintances of resource-rich people. The neighbours of the former are more often expected to be mobilized for finding a job and considering their opinion about important decisions, compared with resource-rich people's neighbours. Resource-rich people's neighbours are more often expected to be mobilized for borrowing groceries or tools. This confirms that at least some acquaintances and neighbours of resource-poor respondents, although perhaps setting-specific, are more broadly defined in terms of potential exchange than the label would lead us to suspect. On the other hand, most acquaintances and neighbours, for both categories of respondents, are still not mobilized for most of the seven items.

To summarize, based on people's expectations about future mobilization of network members, we can discover patterns which confirm various 'rules of relevancy': definition of what relationships are about and ideas about what is 'appropriate', acceptable and expected within the boundaries of the rela-

tionship. Relationships that are labelled as 'family members' and 'friends' are very broadly defined; other labels indicate more narrowly defined relationships. However, these labels do not correspond one-on-one with whether ties are 'useful' for accessing resources. Most colleagues, for example, would be mobilized when people are looking for a job. This confirms that some relationships are 'goal specific' (Flap and Völker, 2001). It may also confirm that the embeddedness of relationships in certain settings makes possible the exchange of (certain) resources because this exchange is contingent on routine activities, for example, among co-workers. A second caveat regarding relationship labels as an indicator for access to resources is that the meaning of these labels seems to differ between resource-rich people and resource-poor people. These labels are thus particularly poor indicators if we want to understand differences in the quality of relationships and networks between resource-rich people and resource-poor people.

4.6 Brokering resources: routine activities and making an effort

The question we are addressing is whether some relationships are more useful in acquiring access to resources, and whether certain network members are more likely to broker resources. We have seen that both intimate and non-intimate ties broker resources (although most resources were brokered through non-intimate ties), and that labels such as 'friend' and 'acquaintance' may be poor indicators of whether network members are likely to broker resources. I have argued that not only the type of relationship matters, but also the setting in which the exchange of resource happens and in which relationships are embedded. Setting-specific ties—for example, ties in the workplace, fellow-residents and fellow club members—can be useful in brokering resources even when they are not extended to other settings or when people do not feel particularly close to each other. People tend to overestimate the extent to which they would mobilize people, but perhaps the exchange of resources is not always and necessarily dependent on deliberate mobilization. Furthermore, access to resources may not always be dependent on whether a tie is intimate or not.

Based on this, we can break down the dichotomy of weak versus strong ties into two other variables: first, whether ties are intimate or not (whether people maintain a 'close' relationships); and second, whether ties are embedded in a setting or not (e.g. the work place, an association, a community centre). The way in which resources can be exchanged is associated with these characteristics: network members with whom people maintain a close relationship will be more likely to make an effort to exchange resources, while network members with whom one maintains setting-specific relationships will

Figure 4.1: Exchange of resources by closeness and setting-embeddedness of relationships

		Relationship is embedded in setting	
		No	**Yes**
Relationship is close	**No**	Limited exchange	Exchange through routine activities
	Yes	Exchange through making an effort	Routine activities and making an effort both possible

be more likely to exchange resources in the course of routine activities. This is visualized in Figure 4.1.

When relationships are neither embedded in a setting, nor intimate, exchange of resources is not likely to happen. People may be connected by a (weak) tie but the exchange of resources requires that both make an effort that might exceed the boundaries of their relationship: one has to ask for something, the other has to provide it. Ties that are non-intimate are usually seen as 'weak' ties but people connected by weak ties may still maintain regular contact through routine activities in a shared setting (e.g. the work place). Characterizing these ties as 'setting-specific' provides insight into why and how 'weak' ties also act as brokers, while not intimately tied or deliberately mobilized: they do so because brokering access to resources is part of routine activities carried out within the setting. Intimate ties will be more likely to make an effort to exchange resources, in the event that the exchange does not happen in the course of everyday activities. Network members thus can be useful for acquiring resources in two ways: through routine activities and through making an effort. In both cases, the exchange of resources can be seen as a by-product (Coleman, 1990; Granovetter, 1995: 51; Blokland and Rae, 2008; Crossley, 2008) of forming relationships: in the first case because people are associated with a particular setting or activity; in the second case because people maintain a tie for sociable reasons.

Making an effort

Intimate ties are based on affectivity: people feel strongly about each other and socialize with each other for the sake of sociability. This makes it more likely that people are willing to make an effort to broker resources. For instance, brokers do not just pass on information about a job vacancy, but put in a good word for job-seekers. Unlike non-intimate ties, reciprocity need not be immediate and in exact proportion. Here are some examples of network members who made an effort to help someone get a job or a house.

Petra, whom I discussed above, found her job through a friend who was also working at a legal firm. Her friend did not just tell her about the job, but forwarded her resumé himself to the director. By doing so, he implicitly or explicitly (Petra did not know whether he had put in a good word for her) provided Petra with credentials.

Madu (b. 1978, creative therapist, married, one child, Hillesluis) works in a sector where jobs, according to her, are scarce and you need to be 'in the right networks' to get a job. Madu happened to be in the right networks. Through

voluntary work during her studies she met N, who became a close friend and who later hired Madu for her first work placement. During her studies, she was looking for a work placement, and she contacted an acquaintance, who in turn referred her to A. A did not hire her, but they liked each other and kept in touch. In the meantime, A and N coincidentally were working together, and N recommended that A hire Madu for her second work placement. Later A asked Madu to work for her temporarily, and eventually she stayed there.

When Mirjam (b. 1974, housewife, married, children, Blijdorp) and her husband were looking for their first house, it was difficult because they both were working part-time and they could not get a mortgage. Her father's sister was married to a 'very well-to-do' man—living in an expensive apartment, owned his own golf court—and he was '[in pompous tone:] known at the bank so with all his connections he just arranged a mortgage'.

Routine exchanges

It is not just that people with whom you rarely socialize are not motivated to help you; it is also that people might then not be aware that you need help, for instance, that you are looking for a job or 'in need' of a new network or influence. Mobilization of these ties is then mainly dependent on whether people approach their distant network members, which is in turn contingent on their definition of the relationship—is it appropriate to approach someone with this or that request when you rarely socialize with each other? Hence, weak ties require efforts from both parties, because bringing together need and resources does not happen in the course of daily or routine activities. This makes it less likely that non-intimate ties will become brokers.

However, the exchange of resources need not depend on mobilization. Particularly the exchange of information can happen through routine exchanges (Lin, 2000) that are part of routine activities.[38]

The workplace is a typical setting in which information about vacancies might be part of normal activities, although some work settings may be more facilitative than others (cf. Lin, 2000). You do not need particularly strong ties with colleagues to be included in the loop of information sharing, especially when it comes to work-related information, such as job vacancies. That is why, I suggest, nearly 70 per cent of the colleagues would be mobilized in future job searches (see Table 4.2).

The ways in which people are drawn into associational membership and board positions is an example of how setting-specific ties provide access to resources. Fellow club members are not necessarily intimate ties, but asking

---

38 Based on Lin's (2000: 792) observation that embeddedness in resource-rich networks goes together with 'routine flow of useful information' and that therefore members of these networks do not need to actively mobilize ties; see also Section 4.1.

people to join a new network is perfectly acceptable in the course of activities. Take for example Maarten, who found his job through a friend. Maarten is also involved in organizing services and activities for the church. The chair of the committee had approached him, not because he knew him personally, but because members of the church are all asked to fulfil some duties now and then.

Relationships facilitate the exchange of information when talking about all sorts of (personal) issues is a normal activity. This is why the intensity of ties may matter, in addition to or more than intimacy: the amount of time spent together and acquiring some knowledge about people's everyday life and needs. Consider a neighbour relationship in which two neighbours only make small talk when they coincidentally meet returning from work, hurrying to get to the dinner table, or making small talk in the elevator. In these instances we might never get to know much about each other's personal lives. We wouldn't know if our neighbour was looking for a job, for example.

Where neighbour relationships extended the typical neighbour-talk, people get to know about each other's personal life. This usually happened when there was some joint activity that created a setting in which people socialized with each other. This can be a particular neighbourhood setting, such as the community centre or meetings of the residents' association. In the setting of the micro-neighbourhood (adjacent dwellings), children can be a shared focus of activity, drawing parents of young children together. Parents might exchange information about good schools, child-care centres or extra-curricular activities. This means that neighbours can play a role in providing access to resources, even to job information. However, it may not happen very often as most direct neighbours maintain fairly superficial relationships and thus share little of their personal lives. The point is not (only) that many 'just neighbours' are not close enough ties, but that the contact moments are too irregular and superficial. Other than associations, children are not a 'shared' activity—it is more a similarity that may draw people together in more frequent interaction. In sum, neighbours can exchange resources, but the micro-neighbourhood is not in particular a setting that in itself facilitates the routine exchange of resources or information. Particular neighbourhood settings, such as child-care and community centres, may be more equipped for facilitating routine exchange of resources (see Small, 2009).

Finally, sometimes maintaining setting-specific ties meant that others were willing to make an effort, even though there was not a particularly intimate tie. Bernadette (b. 1957, unable to work (formerly middle management), living together, adult child, Blijdorp), for example, got her house through the mother of a former-classmate of her son. After her divorce, some twenty years ago, she wanted to move back to Blijdorp, where she grew up. At the time, she was volunteering for the school library at her son's school:

E was also volunteering, her daughter was in the same class as my son and she heard about it [that Bernadette wanted to move back to Blijdorp]. And at a particular moment she—because it was very difficult to move back here, it's difficult with income and I was alone with a child—and then she pushed a piece of paper in my hands. And I didn't know that her father owned all these premises. And then she said, "Just call, make an appointment, it's all taken care of". And then within a month I had this house. That's how I got it.

According to Bernadette, it was really a 'mother–mother contact'—they met at the schoolyard and at the school library, and their children played together. They were not friends, though; thus, the exchange seems to depend on affinity rather than affectivity.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined what kind of ties one needs to gain access to resources. Firstly, I have argued that the distinction between strong and weak ties may not be very useful. Following Burt (1992), access to resources is provided by brokers: people who form a bridge between two networks. Brokers can be both strong and weak ties because personal networks are usually intersecting rather than fully overlapping. This intersecting structure is what makes possible the phenomenon of bridging ties—ties that connect different networks.

Secondly, the mobilization of ties is not necessarily dependent on the strength—that is, intimacy—of the tie. Intimacy matters when network members have to make an effort to broker information or to mobilize ties. In this case, the 'rules of relevancy' matter: what is acceptable within the boundaries of a relationship? Weak ties may then prove too weak. Strength matters less when the exchange of resources happens in the course of routine activities—without people necessarily asking for help. Whether this occurs in turn relates to whether relationships are embedded in a particular setting—the extent to which people are involved in shared activities and, during these activities, disclose information (put simply: talk to each other about all sorts of things).

To conclude, it makes little sense to examine only weak or strong ties, or to take these characteristics or labels such as 'friend' or 'acquaintances' as indicators for the usefulness or resourcefulness of ties. However, we can identify some conditions that will increase the likelihood of being included in the circulation of resources. First, having a network, second, preferably of people who can act as brokers between networks, and third, with people who will share resources in the course of routine activities and/or who will want to make an effort to make resources accessible. Gaining access to resourc-

es further requires ties to resource-rich people (cf. the three basic elements of social capital, see Section 4.1). This is a necessary condition; the characteristics of the relationship itself are variable and related to the setting in which relationships are formed and maintained and, more importantly, the resources of those who need help. Therefore, in examining differences in the resourcefulness of personal networks, I focus on ties with resource-rich network members, regardless of the strength of the tie (weak/strong), or of the label that is attached to the tie (friends, acquaintances, etc.).

5 Sociospatial isolation and network poverty

This chapter and the next two chapters address the question whether and how spatial segregation affects the formation and resourcefulness of networks. In Chapter 3, I identified three ways in which neighbourhood composition is theoretically connected with the formation of relationships and networks. One mechanism is that of meeting opportunities: the composition of neighbourhoods provides and constrains opportunities to meet certain others. In a neighbourhood with predominantly resource-poor residents, the odds of meeting resource-rich people are smaller than in a neighbourhood with predominantly resource-rich residents. Living in a poverty-concentration neighbourhood may thus hamper the formation of relationships with resource-rich people, while living in a mixed or affluent neighbourhood may facilitate the formation of these relationships. Put differently, the neighbourhood may have a role in explaining 'network poverty' (a term of Perri 6, 1997).

As relationships do not spring from mere chance encounters, this is not just a matter of comparing networks. Rather, the question is whether the neighbourhood poses 'extra' barriers to forming resource-rich networks. This problem is often framed as the problem of 'neighbourhood effects': does living in a poverty-concentration neighbourhood have an 'independent' negative effect on people's lives? The question of how living in a poor neighbourhood affects network quality is a specification of the neighbourhood-effects problem. In this chapter, I tease out the conditions under which the neighbourhood composition may affect the quality of people's personal networks and their access to valuable resources.

5.1   The spatial aspect of social isolation

Poor people living in poor neighbourhoods would lack access to resources because, among other reasons, they live in socioeconomically segregated neighbourhoods, and therefore they would lack opportunities to improve their societal and economic status (labour market position, political voice, education and skills, etc.). This thesis goes back to Wilson's (1987, 1996) well-known study on African-American poor in Chicago neighbourhoods. Wilson's work has informed many American and European studies on sociospatial segregation and poverty (see Terpstra, 1996; Ellen and Turner, 1997; Elliott, 1999; Kintrea and Atkinson, 2001; Musterd and Ostendorf, 2001; Small and Newman, 2001; Sampson *et al.*, 2002; Small, 2007; Galster, 2007; Pinkster and Völker, 2009). More recently, Wacquant's (2008) *Urban Outcasts* has initiated a debate about the connection between spatial segregation and 'advanced marginality' (see City, 2007/2008), and City & Community (2008) had a symposium on 'The Ghetto' and, more broadly, research on poor neighbourhoods.

Many studies on poverty in neighbourhoods and its (potential) negative effects focus on the question of 'social isolation' (Wilson, 1987, 1996). In short,

the social isolation thesis claims that the absence of resource-richer people in high-poverty neighbourhoods makes it difficult for resource-poor people to form relationships with resource-richer people and this affects their options to improve their societal and economic status. Wilson's analysis thus indicates that the neighbourhood is a crucial cause of network inequality.

In more detail, Wilson's argument is that de-industrialization and 'up-scaling' of the labour market, suburbanization and declining welfare policies have negatively affected the 'social organization' of inner-city neighbourhoods. The outmigration of African-American working- and middle-class people—made possible only after institutional racism had ended and African-Americans had freedom (though still limited) in choosing where to live—resulted in a 'reduction in the economic, social, and political resources' (Wilson, 1996: 6). Social organization in Wilson's study refers to three dimensions: '(1) the prevalence, strength, and interdependence of social networks; (2) the extent of collective supervision that the residents exercise (…); and (3) the rate of resident participation in voluntary and formal organizations' (Wilson, 1996: 20, see also Wilson and Taub, 2007: 11-12). Neighbourhood services and formal institutions disappeared (Wilson, 1996: 20, 54) as well as informal work-support networks: informal job information networks but also car pools (ibid.: 24, 53). The outmigration of resource-richer people left the urban poor in 'social isolation': 'lack [of] contact or sustained interaction with institutions, families, and individuals that represent mainstream society' (ibid.: 64). While Wilson's thesis of isolation is thus broader—not just on interpersonal relationships but also on ties with institutions—I focus on the importance of personal networks. Personal networks have frequently been described as one of the mechanisms through which spatial segregation matters for socioeconomic inequality (see also Ellen and Turner, 1997; Elliott, 1999; Small and Newman, 2001; Sampson *et al.*, 2002; Galster, 2007).

The thesis of 'sociospatial isolation' is ultimately about the uneven access to valuable resources due to the lack of between-group ties (see Section 4.1). Whereas in the past 'social isolation' referred to small networks or lack of contacts of certain groups of people, since Wilson's use of the term 'social isolation', it refers to 'limited contacts with *certain* people, groups, or institutions' (Klinenberg, 2002a: 6, emphasis in original). In this way, it refers to exclusion from (representatives of) 'mainstream society' (ibid.: 24) rather than lack of contacts as such.

Furthermore, the studies of Wilson and Wacquant (2008b) demonstrate the importance of spatial segregation *on top of* social segregation—although sometimes these two aspects are confused (see Klinenberg, 2002a). In Chicago's South Side, the outmigration of working- and middle-class African-Americans resulted in the formation of 'hyperghettos': the 'sociospatial exacerbation (…) of racial and class exclusion' (Wacquant, 2004: 110; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989). In other words, the poorest African-Americans are exclud-

ed along lines of race, class and place. In his comparative study of 'advanced marginality', Wacquant (2008: 150-152) describes the 'disparate organizational ecologies' of the African-American hyperghetto in Chicago and the banlieues in Paris. Poor African-Americans live in 'autonomous centres of economic and cultural production', characterized not only by the concentration of poor residents but more so by group-specific organizations which grasp 'most of the everyday relations' and arrange that 'relations unfold essentially within the homogeneous social space of the ghetto' (ibid.). Many residents of Chicago's South Side rarely leave their neighbourhood and have little contact with people living elsewhere. Furthermore, according to Wacquant (2008: 101-102), the parallel institutional structure of Chicago's South Side is collapsing, as its population becomes more deprived and unable to uphold organizations. Where neighbourhoods are becoming depopulated and desolate places, and municipality and state do not invest in the economic infrastructure, this may also have an effect on the opportunity of forming a personal network within the neighbourhood. Services and institutions—such as 'mom-and-pop stores', hair shops and childcare centres—play an important role in facilitating interaction between residents and the flow of information about resources and jobs (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2008; Small, 2009). Running across the same people during daily routines may be a crucial factor in consolidating personal relationships. The neighbourhood thus does not function as a setting where people can form relationships—particularly not relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries.

This is different from the Paris banlieues, and more generally European high-poverty neighbourhoods, as Wacquant argues. According to Wacquant (2008), minority and marginalized groups in European cities face *residential* segregation rather than total segregation and exclusion. Chicago's South Side stands in contrast with other poor neighbourhoods in the US and poor areas in, for example, France and the Netherlands, as the latter are not geographically isolated, depopulated or desolate areas. The Paris banlieues are 'residential islands' which are still functional parts of the city. Wacquant (2008: 151) observes that 'the majority of the residents of the Quatre mille work and consume outside the estate; they have for immediate neighbours the owners of working-class or petty-bourgeois single homes; and they need only walk out of the project to enter into contact with other strata of the population'. Unfortunately, Wacquant offers little empirical evidence on this point, but his analysis indicates an important condition for sociospatial isolation: that the lives of those living in poor neighbourhoods are confined to the neighbourhood.

Teasing out the conditions for sociospatial isolation
In the introduction to this study, I discussed several reasons why the neighbourhood might not have much effect on inequality. One of these reasons is that, compared with some areas in the US, like Chicago, spatial segregation in

European cities is not as severe, and other factors such as the welfare state and the organization of the job market differ, too. These differences however do not make the thesis of sociospatial isolation irrelevant. The thesis is relevant because it presents a mechanism of how poverty concentration might reproduce network poverty and marginalization in general. The thesis is useful as a starting point to examine how networks may be affected by poverty concentration—without necessarily claiming similarities between neighbourhoods in Rotterdam and neighbourhoods in Chicago. What I want to do in this chapter is tease out the conditions for sociospatial isolation—conditions that may be met in Chicago's high-poverty areas but not in Dutch areas of poverty concentration.

A first condition is that the level of socioeconomic segregation must be substantial enough to have an effect on people's lives (i.c. their personal networks). According to Sako Musterd (2005: 339), in Dutch cities as well as other European cities 'the poor are not severely segregated from the rest of the population. Segregation levels are low, which implies the existence of many socially mixed neighbourhoods.' He concludes that the most affluent people are actually more separated from the rest (segregation index: 27) than the poorest people are (index: 21). Moreover, these indices have remained stable for over four decades (ibid.) and with the continuation of restructuring policies (housing diversification and state-led gentrification) it is not likely that segregation will dramatically increase in the near future (for a counterargument, see van Kempen and Priemus, 2002). Hillesluis is one of the poorest areas in Rotterdam (see Chapter 2), but there are some higher-educated and higher-earning residents and over half of the residents are employed.[39]

There are other conditions for 'neighbourhood effects' to arise, however. Isolation of the resource-poor in poor neighbourhoods is social and spatial. This means that their daily lives and their personal networks are largely confined to their neighbourhood. Imagine a Hillesluisian—or a Chicagoan from the South Side—who has a job in the city centre, has family living in Amsterdam where he grew up, and friends all over the city and country: to what extent would the neighbourhood composition have an effect on his network? An additional condition thus is that personal networks are situated in the neighbourhood. Regarding this condition, it is important to distinguish locally maintained relationships from locality-based relationships: for poverty concentration to have an effect on personal networks, it is necessary that people not merely maintain relationships in the neighbourhood but that they draw new relationships from the neighbourhood population. At least part of their network should thus initially be formed through neighbourhood set-

39   To compare: this is more or less similar to the level of unemployment in the Paris banlieues; while 84 per cent of the population in the district of Grand Boulevard, Chicago, are unemployed (Wacquant, 2008: 155-156).

tings. Family neighbours typically do not emerge from geographic proximity (although proximity may make family ties more intimate or intense), whereas 'just neighbours' are typically locality-based ties and often do not survive after one or the other moves to another neighbourhood. I will return to this distinction below.

Due to lack of income, the resource-poor may be confined to their neighbourhood for social and everyday activities. In that case, it is possible that their (local) networks are composed differently from the networks of their counterparts who live in socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods. People in poverty often lack money to join social or cultural clubs (Noordhoff, 2008), and people without a job lack contact with colleagues, which could limit their opportunities to expand their network beyond their household and family. Furthermore, if locality-based ties and setting-specific relationships such as with fellow-residents are relatively more important for resource-poor people, the neighbourhood composition may indeed constrain their access to resources. Locality-based ties may be more important because they are more readily available; setting-specific ties may be more important because they need not be maintained outside the setting and thus may require less financial investment (see Chapter 4). In sum, when networks include relatively many locality-based ties, the neighbourhood composition may have an effect.

Several Dutch studies, however, show that people living in poor neighbourhoods vary in the degree to which they rely solely on local ties, although these studies have not systematically examined people's personal networks. Engbersen (1990: Section 2.4), for example, finds that unemployed people in three neighbourhoods in Enschede, Amsterdam and Rotterdam not all had socially and geographically limited networks. A minority were socially isolated (the 'retreatists'), while many had close-knit (local) networks (the 'conformists' and 'ritualists') and still others (the 'enterprising' and 'calculating' unemployed) had quite extended networks of friends both within and outside the neighbourhood. Pinkster (2008b: 121) also concludes, based on her study on residents in a poor and mixed neighbourhood in The Hague, that 'there is inequality in the degree to which neighbourhood effects apply, not just between neighbourhoods but also within neighbourhoods'. Characteristics such as socioeconomic background, geographical origin and household composition come into play in understanding how neighbourhood matters for opportunities for employment and social mobility.

Resource-poor people are thus not a homogeneous group: some are steadily employed whereas others are long-term unemployed, and some have geographically bounded networks whereas others have extended networks of friends within as well as outside their neighbourhood. Before looking into the (inequality in) resources in people's networks we need to examine the localness of networks and the extent to which networks are locality-based.

5.2 The localness of personal networks

Examining variations in the localness of networks is particularly important because studies have shown that geographical dispersion of networks—and network localness—is related to socioeconomic position (e.g. Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982a; Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Mulder and Kalmijn, 2004). Network localness may further be related to age and life-course stages (Stueve and Gerson, 1977; Blokland, 2003b: 38-44). Parents with young children, for example, are known to maintain more relationships in their neighbourhood (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Karsten, 2003; Dawkins, 2006; Kleinhans *et al.*, 2007; Weller and Bruegel, 2009). In this section I compare network localness between the three residential categories: are Hillesluisians, living in a poverty-concentration area, spatially isolated in their personal relationships?

I measure network localness by adding up all network members living 'in the neighbourhood' and dividing these by the total number of network members. These are all sorts of connections (except household members, they are excluded): family members, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, neighbours, and so on. Respondents indicated themselves whether someone lived in the neighbourhood or not. Furthermore, network members that were reported only through the name-generating question 4 'Is there a neighbour you particularly trust?' are excluded, because it overestimates the proportion of local ties and neighbours (I examine these 'trusted neighbours' in detail in Chapter 6).[40]

Neighbours who were reported through other name-generating questions are included. Note that this measure of network localness says nothing about where these relationships are formed: network localness merely indicates those network members that live in the same neighbourhood as respondents. Local networks thus may include both locally maintained as well as locality-based (i.e., formed in neighbourhood settings) relationships. Network localness is thus a limited measure of how the neighbourhood itself matters for the personal networks; nevertheless it provides a first indication. Later on in this chapter I distinguish locally maintained ties from locality-based ties to dig deeper into the role of the neighbourhood for network formation.

Figure 5.1 shows that the personal networks of the three respondent categories vary for geographical dispersion. On average, the networks of respondents in Hillesluis are less geographically dispersed than those of respondents in Cool and Blijdorp. 22 per cent of Hillesluisians' network members live in Hillesluis, Rotterdam, compared with 16 per cent of Cool-residents' and 13 per cent of Blijdorpers' networks. Of the non-local networks, 40 per cent of

---

40 When 'trusted neighbours' are included, localness is 37 per cent (for Hillesluisians 46 per cent, cf. Pinkster, 2009).

Figure 5.1 Geographical dispersion of personal networks, by residential category
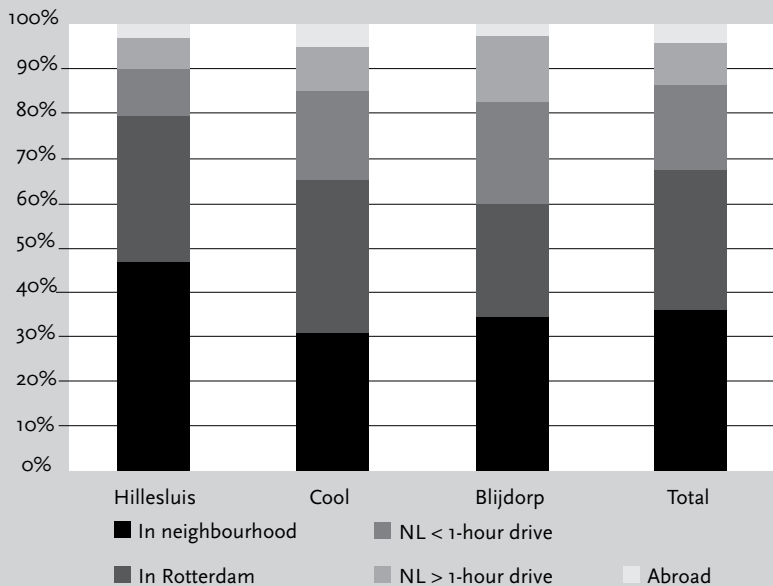
Hillesluisians' network members live in Rotterdam, which is about the same for Cool-residents (42 per cent). For Blijdorpers the percentage is much lower (28 per cent); they have a larger proportion of network members who live elsewhere in the Netherlands. The average proportion of network members abroad is about equal.[41]

These patterns and variations in geographical dispersion are associated with socioeconomic position, as we will see below.

The average localness of the networks is 17 per cent—one in six of people's network members live in their neighbourhood (see Table 5.1). People on average reported one local network member. We saw in Figure 5.1 that Hillesluisians reported on average relatively more local ties than Cool residents and Blijdorpers. However, when we examine the number of local ties we find that this difference is due not to a greater number of local ties, but rather to a smaller number of non-local ties: on average 2.6 for Hillesluisians compared with about 5.6 for Cool residents and Blijdorpers. Because respondents in Hillesluis reported signifantly fewer non-local ties the proportion of the local ties in their total network increases (cf. Pinkster, 2009). The difference in localness is further positively related to: lower occupational level, being unemployed, number of years living in the neighbourhood, age, being a woman, having children under 13 living at home, being a social housing tenant,

---

41 As about half of the Hillesluisian respondents are of ethnic minority origin, this finding challenges the view that they are in the first place oriented towards or attached to people in their homeland.

Table 5.1 Localness of personal network (mean and percentage)

	Total	Residential category			Occupational level	
		Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Never worked/ Low-skilled	Medium/ High-skilled
Number of ties (mean)	6.93	* 4.79	7.51	7.97	5.01	** 8.17
Number of local ties (mean)	1.01	1.04	1.02	0.94	1.21	* 0.88
Number of non-local ties (mean)	4.87	2.60	5.63	5.69		
% local ties in network (mean)	.17	* .21	.16	.13	.24	** .12
At least 1 local tie (% of respondents)	57	59	56	58	61	54
At least 1 non-local tie (% of respondents)	91	86	93	93	82	** 97
>17% local ties (% of respondents)	40	* 53	38	34	54	** 32
>50% local ties (% of respondents)	11	16	10	6	19	** 5
N	382	97	182	98		

*p<.05; **p<.001

and being of ethnic minority origin (all p<.05).[42]

Network localness can be measured in several other ways. First, for neighbourhood composition to have some role in the composition of networks, at least one tie should be a local tie. More than half (57 per cent) of the respondents reported a local tie and descriptive data show no variation between the three residential categories. Note that nearly half of the respondents thus did not report a local tie.[43]

Second, we may expect that neighbourhood composition is manifest most in networks of high localness. For high localness, I take above-average localness (17 per cent) as indicator. Comparing the three residential groups, Hillesluisians are significantly more likely to have above-average local networks (53 per cent, compared with 38 and 34 per cent of the Cool residents and Blijdorpers respectively, see Table 5.1).

A more radical measure of high localness would be to distinguish those respondents who have predominantly local networks: a network of which 50 per cent or more ties are local ties. Hillesluisians are significantly more likely to have a predominantly local network (16 per cent). Yet, of the total sample, only 39 respondents (10 per cent) reported a predominantly local network (7 of them reported exclusively local ties); that number is too small to perform a multivariate analysis. Furthermore, by far the majority of people reported at

42 There are several recent Dutch studies that report the number of neighbours in the network, but it is difficult to compare because of different questioning techniques and because these studies report on neighbours and not on (other) local ties. Völker (1999) reports that 17 per cent of the network members who offered support in a number of situations are neighbours. Based on data from the same dataset but about received and offered support, Völker and Flap (2007: 268) find that for those who reported a neighbour, two in six network members are neighbours. Based on another dataset, Völker *et al.* (2007) find that 19 per cent of the network members are neighbours; this study includes people's direct neighbours. Non-Dutch studies report 13-50 per cent local relationships and 6-19 per cent neighbours (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982a; Huckfeldt, 1983; Oliver, 1988; Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Briggs, 1998; Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999). Numerous other studies measure only local or neighbouring ties and give no insight into the proportion of local ties.

43 When 'trusted neighbours' are included, 86 per cent of the respondents reported a local tie. This percentage does not vary among the three residential categories.

least one non-local tie (on average 91 per cent).

As network localness is associated with characteristics such as socioeconomic status and household status, we need to include these simultaneously in the analysis in order to see whether network localness varies between residential groups 'independently' of individual variations (this is the principle of 'neighbourhood effect'). I first examine which respondents report at least one local tie (results in Table 5.2) and then which respondents have above-average network localness (results in Table 5.3).[44]

I carried out multivariate analyses in four steps of including clusters of variables: first, residential category (model 1); second, sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents (model 2); third, 'local status' (model 3); and fourth, all significant variables plus those variables that produce the best model (model 4).

Table 5.2 shows that there is no significant difference between the three residential categories for reporting at least one local network member (model 1). Having young children (aged 0–13 years) and neighbourhood choice for 'network reasons' are significantly associated with reporting at least one local tie (models 2 and 3). In the best model, which includes all significant variables plus residential category and occupational level, the association with having young children disappears, however. Respondents with high-skilled jobs are significantly less likely to report a local tie —which is in line with other studies. Furthermore, those respondents who chose the neighbourhood for 'network reasons' and those who use more local facilities are significantly more likely to report a local network member, compared with those who do not. These network reasons are being born and bred there and wanting to move near relatives or friends; neighbourhood use refers to visiting restaurants and bars and the local park frequently and attending activities of the residents' association (see Section 2.2). However, the variables explain only a small proportion of the variation in the dependent variable (Nagelkerke R^2 is just sufficient: .100). Other variables thus may play a more significant role in explaining variations in network localness than the ones included in this analysis.

Table 5.3 shows the results of who has an above-average proportion (i.e., above 17 per cent) of network members who live in the neighbourhood. Model 1 shows that variations between residential categories are initially significant: Hillesluisians are more likely to report above-average local network members. Model 2 shows that this indicator for localness is associated with occupational level: high-skilled workers are less likely to have above-average local networks. Model 3 shows that neighbourhood choice (for 'network reasons') and

---

44   Hillesluis is the 'reference category' as I am interested in whether people in Hillesluis have relatively fewer local or non-local ties compared with their counterparts in the two other neighbourhoods. Interpretation of 'reference category': the statistical association of living in Cool and Blijdorp with network localness is measured as compared with the association with living in Hillesluis.

Table 5.2 Logistic regression on reporting at least one local network member

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood								
Hillesluis (ref.)	.164						2.461	
Cool	.145	.907					.092	.911
Blijdorp	.012	.969					1.196	1.484
Sociodemographic features								
Female			1.918	1.362				
Paid job			.632	1.272				
Dutch			.031	1.050				
Single			.004	.986				
Age (50+)			1.803	1.012				
Occupational level								
Low-skilled (ref.)			4.951				9.014	
Medium-skilled			.180	1.144			.003	.982
High-skilled			2.772	.602			7.206	** .448
Children 0-13 years			5.079	* 1.932			2.017	1.483
Tenure								
Homeowner (ref.)					1.772	1.480		
Private tenant					1.644	1.235		
Social tenant					.736			
Local status								
Length of residence					.827	1.011		
Neighbourhood use					2.861	1.221	4.964	* 1.363
Neighbourhood choice					8.742	** 1.617	7.341	** 1.535
Constant	2.697	1.410	.966	.573	3.017	.624	.258	.873
-2 Log Likelihood		506.554		469.672		470.168		466.651
Nagelkerke R²		.001		.058		.058		.100
N		371		356		356		363

Notes: Household members and 'trusted neighbours' are not included in networks.
*p<.05; **p<.01

tenure (social renters) are significantly associated with network localness. Model 4, finally, includes all significant variables and the same variables as Model 4 in Table 5.2 for comparison. The results show that neighbourhood is no longer significant, whereas occupational level and neighbourhood choice remain significant. This suggests that initial variations between residential categories are actually due to variations in socioeconomic status and reasons for moving to or staying in the neighbourhood.

Use of neighbourhood facilities is however not related to above-average localness of the networks—whereas it is related to whether respondents have one local tie or none. Neighbourhood settings may thus matter for whether one reports one or more fellow-residents or not at all, but it does not seem to matter for the number of proportion of reported relationships with fellow-residents. This suggests that higher neighbourhood use does not yield a more extensive locality-based network. (Although encountering others

Table 5.3 Logistic regression analysis on above-average network localness (17 percent)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood								
Hillesluis (ref.)	7.942						2.658	
Cool	5.681	* 0.540					1.926	.650
Blijdorp	6.657	* 0.463					.008	1.035
Sociodemographic features								
Female			3.503	1.550				
Paid job			.081	.917				
Native Dutch			.812	.781				
Single			.515	.840				
Age			.056	1.002				
Children 0-12 years			1.689	1.461			2.216	1.519
Occupational level								
Low-skilled (ref.)			15.736				16.819	
Medium-skilled			.769	.765			1.864	.646
High-skilled			14.582	** .291			16.362	*** .254
Tenure								
Homeowner (ref.)					5.779		1.287	
Private tenant					2.054	1.574	1.214	1.455
Social tenant					5.628	* 1.840	.555	1.268
Local status								
Length of residence					.791	1.011		
Neighbourhood use					.074	1.033	2.192	1.232
Neighbourhood choice					17.568	*** 1.948	14.714	*** 1.855
Constant	0.269	1.114	.009	.945	20.263	.271	2.263	.581
-2 Log Likelihood		492.657		440.578		449.579		425.647
Nagelkerke R²		0.029		.143		.104		.201
N		371		356		356		359

Note: Low-skilled occupations include those who have never worked.
*p<.05; **p<.001

through services and institutions nevertheless may be important for maintaining more superficial ties with fellow-residents (Blokland, 2003b; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2008), but less for the more durable personal relationships that would be included in the personal network as measured through name generators).

Furthermore, that neighbourhood choice is consequently associated with network localness suggests that at least some of the local relationships are not formed through mere geographical proximity but that people maintain ties in the neighbourhood with people they already know. This may point to variations in the extent to which people maintain old ties rather than expanding their network beyond the core family network or childhood friends and acquaintances. I examine this proposition in detail below. Based on these analyses we can conclude that where people live does not matter for network localness, and that living in a poor neighbourhood (Hillesluis) in itself does

Table 5.4 Composition of personal networks, by high and low network localness

	Network localness		
	≥50%	<50%	Significance (t-test)
Number of local ties	3.6	2.6	* 2.612
Number of non-local ties	1.5	5.6	** 15.395
Number of relatives in local network	1.4	0.3	** 4.784
Number of neighbours in local network	1.3	1.5	ns
Proportion of family members in local network	0.38	0.11	** 4.353
Proportion of neighbours in local network	0.26	0.57	** 5.075
N	39	269	

*p<.05; **p<.001

not seem to result in a spatially isolated personal network.

Finally, we can examine more extreme forms of network localness: who are the people who reported mostly network members who live in their neigh-bourhood? Thirty-nine respondents reported predominantly local ties (local-ness ≥ 50 per cent). Of these 39 respondents, most live in Hillesluis (n=15) and Cool (n=18), most have a low socioeconomic status (72 per cent) and they are mostly women (74 per cent). Just a very small majority of them are of ethnic minority origin (56 per cent), unemployed (54 per cent) and have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 10 years (57 per cent). Further, they are slightly more often without young children (59 per cent). Descriptive analyses confirm that for them, high network localness has to do more with maintaining net-works in the neighbourhood than with drawing new ties from the neighbour-hood population. Their neighbourhood use is not higher but they did men-tion more of the network-reason. When we compare the networks of these 39 respondents with the networks of other respondents (Table 5.4), we find that they have slightly more local ties but considerable fewer non-local ties; a greater number and proportion of family members in their local network; and a greater proportion of neighbour-ties in the local network but not a great-er *number* of neighbours in the local network. This suggests that, for them, neighbours are not included in the networks as substitutes for other ties, but that they lack other relationships. Added up, their local family members and neighbour-ties make up more than 50 per cent of the total network.

To summarize, examining the localness of personal networks—the propor-tion of network members living in the same neighbourhood as respondent—casts first doubts on the thesis of sociospatial isolation and its consequences for network poverty: first, very few people, including few Hillesluisians, have completely, or predominantly, local networks and, second, network localness is associated with people's socioeconomic status and choice of the neighbourhood to maintain relationships, rather than with living in a poor neighbourhood (i.c. Hillesluis).

5.3 Network poverty

As noted above, Wilson's social isolation thesis is not just about lacking ties in general or lacking non-local ties—it is most importantly about lacking ties to resource-rich people. Wilson (1996: 65) explicates that the out-migration of resource-rich residents increased 'the social isolation of the remaining residents in these neighbourhoods from the more advantaged members of society': (married) people who are in a stable job and have some college education. Even unemployed African-Americans did not completely lack relationships but their ties did not help them get ahead:

> Social contacts were a useful means of gaining informal work to help make ends meet but far less often [were] successful in helping with steady employment; networks existed but largely lacked the capacity to help lift residents into the formal labor market. (ibid.).

According to this thesis, spatial isolation exacerbates social isolation when it is impossible to form ties with resource-rich people within the context of the neighbourhood. In other words, Wilson's argument is that the networks of the resource-poor do not contain the necessary valuable resources which they can transfer into opportunities to improve their socioeconomic status. They thus have plenty of ties for social support but lack social capital. Social isolation thus does not refer to people living alone or having small networks, but to people living isolated from 'mainstream society'. The poor in Stack's (1974) study, for example, had extended (local) networks they could call upon in times of need.

Drawing on studies on the support networks of working-class families, such as those of Young and Willmott (1957), Gans (1962) and Stack (1974), also others have argued that resource-poor people do not lack networks as such but that their networks merely help them '"get by" or cope' and cannot offer 'social leverage' (Briggs, 1998: 178; also Pinkster, 2007: 2589). Social networks of poor families are, then, a form of 'survival capital (…) important for obtaining additional income and goods and services, but of little importance for improving their societal position' (Komter *et al.*, 2000: 55-56, my translation). In fact, in this line of reasoning, the social networks of the poor are not 'capital' at all: they may support people in their daily needs or in times of crisis, but these forms of support cannot be invested in order to gain other resources such as economic (income, savings) or cultural (education, skills) capital. However, studies on working-class neighbourhoods and family networks did not in the first place aim to explore network potentials for social mobility or access to valuable resources. Whether the networks under examination were not able to offer any opportunities, or whether people would have secured better jobs if they were connected to resource-richer people, is difficult to tell

and remains an empirical question.[45]

The idea of 'survival networks' is also present in studies and debates on the constraining effects of living in 'ethnic concentration neighbourhoods' for people of non-Western background. These studies investigate to what extent living in such neighbourhoods would hamper interaction of minorities with the majority population, and whether this would restrict their opportunities to tap into the networks and resources of the latter (Esser, 1986; Phillips, 1998; Andersson, 1999; Musterd, 2003; Drever, 2004; Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Pinkster, 2007; Body-Gendrot, 2008; Wacquant, 2008b). As said, there might be a confusion of the factors of ethnic origin and socioeconomic status in this approach. On the other hand, debates about ethnic concentration neighbourhoods are not only about access to jobs and education, but also about 'socio-cultural integration'—learning mainstream norms and practices (see e.g. Drever, 2004; Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). This coincides with the idea of 'role-models' as a way in which resource-poor people (in mixed neighbourhoods) would be able to learn 'mainstream culture' and improve their status—Joseph *et al.* have labelled this the 'behavioural proposition' (Joseph *et al.*, 2007: 378; see also Wilson, 1996: 71-72; Kleinhans, 2004; Musterd *et al.*, 2005). However, although the significance of social networks for people's behaviour, ideas and perceptions is evident, there is no apparent reason to argue that there is an ethnic or racial aspect to 'cultural' integration. For example, similar viewpoints are common in other and earlier discussions about the lifestyles of the resource-poor (see Komter *et al.*, 2000: 68; Dalrymple, 2004; van den Brink, 2004). It can be argued, in line with the concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Lamont and Lareau, 1988), that behaving according to 'mainstream norms' is about acquiring and deploying resources rather than 'behaviour': these mainstream norms or what is learnt through (high-level) education and upbringing, through mingling in resource-rich networks and associational membership. Therefore, the argument of (lack of) socio-cultural integration may not be that distinct from the argument of (lack of) socioeconomic integration. The question remains, thus, whether resource-poor people—regardless of their ethnic origin—have access to resource-rich networks.

Network quality: resource-rich networks compared

The networks of Hillesluisians are not more local, but they may be of 'lower quality': they may lack ties to resource-rich people. Further, people with net-

---

45   Stack (1974: 27-28), for example, is interested in how African-Americans develop 'an adaptive strategy to cope with poverty and racism' and examines the systems of exchanging goods and support in order to get by on a day to day basis. Willmot and Young (1957) do describe the process of searching for a job through family and local ties and actually find that these networks provide information on better jobs (i.e., better pay, more comfortable work).

works of high localness may have fewer resourceful ties because they may, relatively, have fewer relationships that are not formed within the setting of the neighbourhood.

Reversing the 'neighbourhood effect' argument we may expect that resource-rich people living in affluent neighbourhoods benefit from it, because they have (even more) opportunities to form relationships with people rich in resources. This argument is rarely put forward as an empirical question, but it matters for understanding how networks are unequally formed. If concentration of affluence benefits affluent residents, inequality in networks may become more pronounced. Therefore, we will look into the network quality of the three residential groups—focusing on the difference first, between resource-poor Hillesluisians and Cool residents, and second, between resource-rich Blijdorpers and Cool residents.

The extent to which people have 'resource-rich' network members can be measured by the extent to which people reported resource-rich network members. In Chapter 4, I explained why higher-educated network members can be regarded as resource-rich: because of the association of cultural capital with economic capital and resource-rich networks, the level of education of network members is a good proxy for resourcefulness. 'Higher-educated' network members are defined as those network members who have had education after secondary school.

In order to say something about the significance of neighbourhood composition for network quality, it is necessary to examine local and non-local networks separately: do Hillesluisians have fewer higher-educated network members overall, especially in their local network, or rather in their non-local network? It may be expected that 'compositional' effects of the neighbourhood will manifest themselves mostly or most clearly (or perhaps exclusively) in the local networks. Differences between non-local networks would point at causes outside the neighbourhood, for example, differences in associational membership or occupational level or sector.

Table 5.5 first shows some descriptive data: the number of higher-educated ties varies between the three residential categories and between resource-poor and resource-rich respondents. Differences are particularly notable for the non-local networks: Hillesluisians and resource-poorer respondents reported significantly fewer higher-educated ties. Blijdorpers, geographically surrounded by mainly higher-educated residents, reported significantly more higher-educated local ties, but this is also, again, related to socioeconomic position. Note further that, on average, resource-poor respondents are not completely deprived of higher-educated network members.

A linear regression analysis on the number of higher-educated ties (results shown in Table 5.6) shows that, next to the total number of ties and respondent's level of education, other differences are associated with network quality. Hillesluis is reference category for the neighbourhood variable, as in the

Table 5.5 Number and proportion of higher-educated ties in personal network

	Total	Neighbourhood			Occupational level	
		Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Never worked/ low-skilled	Medium- /high-skilled
Number						
Total network	* 5.58	3.19	5.65	7.78	* 2.76	7.37
Local network	1.66	1.28	1.33	* 2.51	* 1.09	2.00
Non-local network	4.21	* 2.27	4.54	5.30	* 1.99	5.41
Proportion						
Total network	0.52	0.62	0.82	0.65	0.46	0.76
Local network	0.42	0.58	0.80	0.60	0.43	0.71
Non-local network	0.67	0.66	0.86	0.72	0.55	0.81

*$p<.001$

first instance we want to compare the networks of Hillesluisians with those of Cool residents and Blijdorpers. People of native Dutch and Western origin reported more higher-educated ties, compared with people of non-Western origin. Furthermore, the higher the proportion of local ties in the network, the lower the number of higher-educated ties. This relationship holds only for the number of higher-educated ties in the local network, however. I have suggested that the association between network localness and neighbourhood choice may point at limited expansion of the network beyond old ties. Unfortunately, we cannot separate locally maintained ties from locally formed ties here. That localness matters for resourcefulness of networks thus may suggests that people who do not expand their network beyond local ties, have less resource-rich networks. It may also suggest that people who are more inclined to draw relationships from the neighbourhood population, are less likely to expand their network in other settings and thus less likely to meet higher-educated people. In any case, it does not matter where they live: residential category is not significant for explaining the number of higher-educated ties in the local network.

Finally, turning to the non-local networks, we see that Cool residents reported fewer higher-educated ties than did Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers. Further analysis (results not shown) shows that this holds only for resource-rich respondents. Resource-rich Cool residents are on average lower educated (Chapter 7 compares the resource-rich in Cool and Blijdorp in more detail), but the difference holds when education is included in the analysis. This suggests that resource-rich Cool residents differ in where they form relationships, or perhaps in the relationships that they maintain outside the neighbourhood, but it would be hard to imagine how this is related to the neighbourhood composition in itself. Here, the answer apparently lies in other settings where they are less inclined to meet higher-educated people.

Minimal access to resources

It can be said that for access to valuable resources, one would need just one tie that offers this access. In other words, people without at least one higher-educated tie are most deprived—in network terms—, compared with those who have one, three, or even ten higher-educated ties. Snijders and van der Gaag (1999; van der Gaag and Snijders, 2004: 206) argue that 'the most impor-

Table 5.6 Linear regression in number of higher-educated ties in personal networks

	Total network	Local network	Non-local network
	Beta	Beta	Beta
Neighbourhood			
Hillesluis (ref.)			
Cool	-.058	-.096	*** -.104
Blijdorp	.025	.128	-.031
Sociodemographic features			
Female	-.002	-.033	-.002
Native Dutch	** .093	* .135	.014
Single	.011	-.013	.015
Age	.047	.071	.017
Socioeconomic status			
Paid job	.036	.087	.024
Level of education	*** .209	*** .257	*** .136
Network characteristics			
Network size	*** .741	*** .526	*** .883
Network localness (%)	** -.080	* -.125	-.005
R² (adjusted)	.802	.397	.873
N	351	273	324

Note: Household members excluded from dependent variable, from network size and network localness.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

tant difference in the value of social resources will often be having access to at least one alter giving access to a certain resources, and no alter at all; the difference between the value of one and more alters providing the same resource will often be much smaller'.[46]

Now, we do not know whether network members provide access to the same kinds of resources, but if we assume for the moment that all higher-educated network members will be able to provide access to a variety of resources, as they at least will have some knowledge about how to gain access, if they lack access themselves, then a resource-poorer person will be helped if he or she knows just one such person.

Table 5.7 contrasts those respondents who have at least one higher-educated tie with those who have none. By far most people report a network member with tertiary education: 87, 91 and 98 per cent of Hillesluisians, Cool residents and Blijdorpers respectively, and 82 and 98 per cent of the resource-poorer and resource-richer respondents. These percentages are much lower for Hillesluisians and Cool residents, and resource-poorer respondents, when we compare the local networks. One-third of the resource-poor respondents report only lower-educated network members; one-fourth of them report only lower-educated ties in their non-local network.

Who are the people that lack resourceful ties? The results of the logistic regression analyses on reporting at least one higher-educated tie are pre-

---

46 'Alter' is social network analysis terminology for 'network member'.

Table 5.7 Respondents reporting at least one higher-educated network member (percentages)

	Total	Residential category			Occupational level	
		Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Never worked/ low-skilled	Medium-/high-skilled
Total network	92	87	91	* 98	82	*** 98
Local network	79	69	74	*** 95	66	*** 87
Non-local network	89	82	86	** 99	75	*** 96

Note: Residential category: total network: Cramer's V=.144; p=.022; local: Cramer's V=.254; p=.000; non-local: Cramer's V=.202; p=.001. Occupational level: total network: Cramer's V=.281; p=.000; local: Cramer's V=.251; p=.000; non-local: Cramer's V=.309; p=.000.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

sented in Table 5.8. From left to right, the columns show the results for total, non-local, local and neighbour networks respectively. All models include network size, and for all except for a higher-educated neighbour, network size is positively associated with reporting a higher-educated network member. For the total networks, high-skilled workers and singles are more likely to report a higher-educated network member. For reporting a local higher-educated tie, being native Dutch, single and employed are positively associated. Furthermore, for reporting a higher-educated tie in one's non-local network, occupational level is positively associated, and living in Cool negatively. This reflects the results of the linear regression analyses on the number of higher-educated ties. Compared with Cool residents (not shown in Table), Blijdorpers are more likely to report a local and non-local higher-educated tie. Finally, high-skilled workers and Blijdorpers are more likely to report a higher-educated neighbour—compared with both Cool residents and Hillesluisians. This confirms my earlier suggestion that living in an affluent neighbourhood may benefit its residents and provide them more access to resources. For none of the other measures is living in Hillesluis negatively and independently associated with reporting a higher-educated network member.

To summarize, people who live in Hillesluis (lower-class neighbourhood) are not less likely to report a higher-educated network member than people who live in Cool (class-mixed neighbourhood). This study thus cannot confirm the thesis that living in a poor neighbourhood (Hillesluis) results in sociospatial isolation and network poverty. Resource-poorer people do have fewer higher-educated network members, and they are less likely to report at least one higher-educated network member, but this is not associated with whether they live in a poverty-concentration or socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood. On the other hand, living in an affluent neighbourhood (Blijdorp) seems to be beneficial in terms of network quality. For the resource-rich, living in a mixed or affluent neighbourhood thus seems to matter. This suggests that living in a wealthy neighbourhood yields (even more) access to resources, but living in a poor neighbourhood does not diminish one's access to resources.[47]

47 For Blijdorpers this goes at least for resource-rich residents, as the dataset does not include enough resource-poor Blijdorpers to compare their networks with those of resource-poor Hillesluisians and Cool residents.

Table 5.8 Logistic regression on respondents with at least one higher-educated tie

	Total network		Local network		Non-local network		Neighbour network	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood								
Hillesluis (ref)	3.959		5.691		7.982		5.726	
Cool	2.577	0.490	0.234	0.835	4.715	* 0.387	0.023	1.069
Blijdorp	0.277	1.591	3.499	3.451	1.430	3.790	4.771	* 5.272
Sociodemographic features								
Native Dutch	2.825	2.027	5.780	* 2.455			2.765	2.008
Single	7.848	** 3.543	4.485	* 2.081	3.075	2.062		
Paid job			6.283	* 2.510				
Occupational level								
Low-skilled (ref)	5.645		1.804		6.530		6.894	
Medium-skilled	2.778	2.511	1.513	1.695	3.121	2.711	3.807	2.562
High-skilled	3.927	* 3.906	0.964	1.650	4.443	* 4.333	5.200	* 3.394
Network characteristics								
Network size	13.612	*** 1.457	8.514	** 1.409	20.051	*** 1.914	2.267	1.213
Constant	1.506	0.540	5.709	0.258	1.212	0.603	2.532	0.447
Nagelkerke R^2		0.324		0.259		0.450		0.283
-2 Log Likelihood		172.731		234.386		161.261		173.881
N		355		278		337		185

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

5.4 Distinguishing locally maintained ties and locality-based ties

In the remainder of the chapter, I further examine whether local relationships are actually formed in the setting of the neighbourhood, or rather maintained there. Put differently, to what extent do people draw relationships from their neighbourhood, and/or maintain relationships that they formed in other settings? High network localness is often understood as reflecting people's 'orientation' towards the neighbourhood or lack of activities 'outside' the neighbourhood. It is however a misconception to think of local networks as the 'core' of networks and to see non-local networks as the expansion of networks, as though networks are organized around the neighbourhood. Rather, family members—as the 'setting' in which people grow up—form the core of a network, which is later in life expanded through friendships, study mates, colleagues and (often) one's own household (partner and children). The neighbourhood is a site where existing relationships can be maintained—for example, family ties and friendships—and new network members can be added to the personal network—for example, neighbours. Furthermore, as we have seen in Section 5.2, the localness of networks has everything to do with the geographical dispersal of networks and, in particular, the extent to which people move away from family members and childhood friends, for instance

after finishing school or when searching for a new job, and the extent to which people maintain distant ties.

The idea that social isolation is associated with spatial isolation seems to have led to another misunderstanding, namely that local networks of people in poor neighbourhoods are resource-poor networks, while, the other way around, ties to people outside the neighbourhood will provide access to resources and opportunities to move up. Consider, for example, Ellen and Turner's (1997: 840) explanation of the significance of personal networks for neighbourhood effects:

> The importance of these neighborhood-based networks depends on a person's connection to networks *outside* the neighborhood boundaries. Individuals who have strong family, friendship, or collegial networks that extend *beyond* the community in which they live are less likely to be influenced by their immediate surroundings. (emphases added).[48]

In this line of reasoning local networks are regarded as, somehow, inherently different from non-local networks. Furthermore, the quality of the network seems to be equated with whether the network is inside or outside the neighbourhood. However, while it is arguable that people with networks of family members, friends and colleagues will be less constrained by their neighbourhood, this would also hold when these 'strong family, friendship or collegial networks' were located in the neighbourhood. In other words, it is not about having either local networks or non-local networks that determines whether people have access to resources; the question is whether people have resource-rich ties in their personal network and the extent to which they draw on the (resource-poor) neighbourhood population to form new ties. Those who live in poor neighbourhoods and who form relationships predominantly with fellow-residents will likely be affected most by neighbourhood composition. Hence, in order to understand the role of the neighbourhood for acquiring resourceful ties it is essential to understand how and for whom the neighbourhood plays a role in the formation of new relationships. Neighbours are not necessarily at the centre of poor people's networks (Briggs, 1997: 215; Klinenberg, 2002a: 28).

Studies on social isolation, however, rarely reflect on how the neighbourhood plays a role in the formation of ties—people in poor neighbourhoods are assumed to have networks of relative high localness and these networks are then implicitly assumed to be formed in the neighbourhood. Most studies on neighbourhood effects of network quality do not include a measure of net-

---

48 See also Briggs (1998: 189): 'bridges to leverage—ties outside the neighborhood, and, in general, to people of higher socioeconomic status and different racial/ethnic groups', although he later concludes that researchers wrongly 'attribute to low-income people an extreme degree of network localism and local dependence that probably exists nowhere but in language-isolated ethnic enclaves' (209).

work localness (see e.g. Fernandez and Harris, 1992; Tigges *et al.*, 1998; Small, 2007), although some do acknowledge the importance of geographical dispersion and the need to distinguish local from non-local networks.

One of the few studies that distinguishes local from non-local ties is the study of Elliot (1999). He examines how less-educated people in poor neighbourhoods search for and find a job. Elliot (1999: 201) notes that 'job networks can extend beyond the neighbourhood boundaries' and therefore distinguishes 'neighbour' from 'non-neighbour' job contacts. Although it is not entirely clear, the analysis suggests that Elliot allowed for family, friends, acquaintances and other ties to be either local or non-local ties. Residents in high-poverty neighbourhoods (poverty rate 40 per cent or higher) are significantly more likely to acquire their job via a neighbour. Apparently, people living in neighbourhoods with high-poverty rates draw new ties from their neighbourhood—this is relevant indeed, if we want to understand how the neighbourhood composition plays a role in accessing resources.

Another exception is the study by Fenne Pinkster (2008b). In her comparison of residents of a low-income and mixed-income neighbourhood, Pinkster does include the localness of networks in her analysis. Her findings suggest that it is not the localness of networks as such, but whether people maintain ties next to ties with family members. Similar to this study, Pinkster finds that the number of local ties is similar among respondents, while the number of non-local ties differs. She further finds that residents of the low-income neighbourhood have fewer non-local ties, but they also have fewer non-family ties—which suggests that non-local ties are also non-family ties. Pinkster includes the localness of networks in her analysis on network quality, and finds that the number of non-local contacts is not significant, whereas the number of non-family contacts is positively associated with network quality: people with more non-family contacts have a more socioeconomically diverse network (which is Pinkster's indicator for a resource-rich network). This suggests that the quality of the network increases when non-family ties are included in the network. These findings suggest that the expansion of networks beyond family ties matters for job opportunities, rather than having non-local ties. This hypothesis seems confirmed by findings based on qualitative data on residents in the same low-income neighbourhood. Pinkster concludes that job information flows through, and is constrained by, the family networks that are maintained in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood thus plays a role, to be sure, but whether the neighbourhood composition in itself has an effect on network composition is still questionable.

In the final two sections of this chapter, I examine both locally maintained relationships and locality-based relationships in order to understand how the neighbourhood may matter for both kinds of relationships. My aim is not so much to show which one of these ties is more important for access to resources, but rather to show the variety in the formation of relationships

that are often taken together in the category 'local network' or, confusingly so, 'neighbours'. Local ties are not necessarily locality-based ties; nor are they necessarily of the 'neighbour' kind. A local tie is a relationship with someone in the neighbourhood (family members, friends, colleagues, club associates, neighbours, etc.) and includes two types of ties. First, locally maintained ties which are relationships that were not initially formed in the neighbourhood but are maintained in it, such as ties with family members, friends and colleagues who (happen to) live in the same neighbourhood. Second, locality-based ties which are relationships formed in the neighbourhood, such as with fellow-residents who live in adjacent dwellings (micro-neighbourhood) or fellow-residents whom one would meet via neighbourhood settings such as community centres. 'Neighbour', finally, is a label that refers to a particular kind of relationship with a fellow-resident (see Chapters 4 and 6).

5.5 Maintaining relationships: local friends and family neighbours

What sort of relationships do people have in their neighbourhood? While labels such as family members, friends, colleagues, and so on may say little about the actual relationship, they are an indication for the setting in which they are maintained and formed (see Chapter 4). In addition to neighbours (on average 34 per cent of the local ties), local networks consist of friends (on average 32 per cent), family members (19 per cent), and acquaintances, colleagues, club associates and other ties (which together make up 15 per cent of the local network).[49]

Figure 5.2 shows that the local networks of Hillesluisians include relatively more family members and fewer friends.[50] These differences are related to socioeconomic position: people with lower-skilled jobs report relatively more 'family neighbours' (cf. Logan and Spitze, 1994) whereas people with high-skilled jobs report more friends in their local network (see Figure 5.3). The composition of local networks further varies between men and women (the latter have more family members and fewer 'other' ties) and between people of native Dutch and non-Western origin (the latter have more family members and neighbours and fewer friends and 'other' ties).

Furthermore, half of the Blijdorpers, 44 per cent of the Hillesluisians, and 40 per cent of the Cool residents said they already knew someone in the neighbourhood before they moved in. This suggests that not all local ties are

---

49 Ties generated solely through name generator 4 ('Is there a neighbour you particularly trust?') are excluded to avoid an overrepresentation of neighbours in the network). Neighbours that were generated through (also) other name generators are included.

50 The differences are not significant on the .05 level.

Figure 5.2 Composition of local network, by residential category
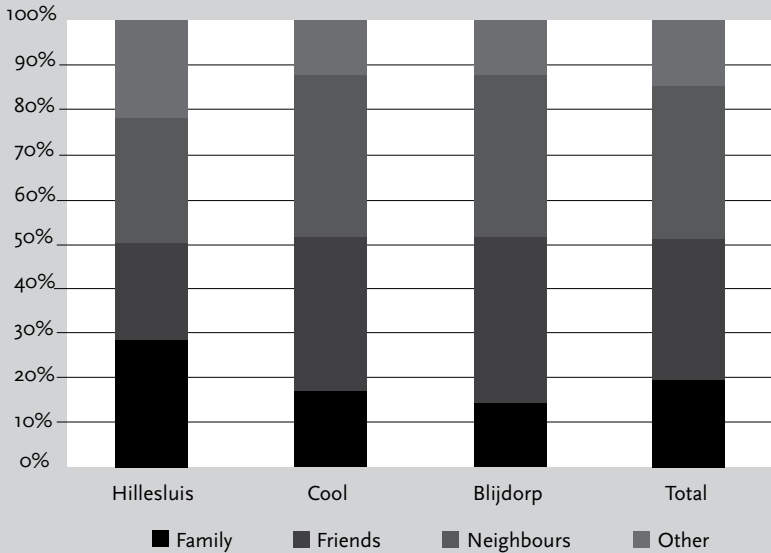
formed in a neighbourhood setting. Secondly, the network data shows that, of those who have at least one local tie (57 per cent of the respondents, see above), one-third have a local family member, and half have a local friend. Hillesluisians are more likely to report a local family member (52 per cent, compared with about 29 per cent of the Blijdorpers and Cool residents), while Blijdorpers are more likely to report a local friend (70 per cent, compared with 43 per cent of the Hillesluisians and Cool residents). These variations are associated with variations in occupational level. Furthermore, people who mentioned any of the 'network reasons' (born and bred, near relatives or friends) as reason for moving into their neighbourhood are more likely to have a family member living in their neighbourhood, and we saw earlier that Hillesluisians on average more often said they moved to Hillesluis to be near family members. For local friends, women are more likely to report such a network member, particularly when they live in Cool or Hillesluis. Male and female Blijdorpers are equally likely to report a local friendship. Blijdorpers and people with higher-skilled occupations are more likely to report a local friend.

For friendships we cannot really tell whether they are formed in the neighbourhood or not but for family ties we can say with certainty that they are not formed *because* of the neighbourhood—they are in the first place formed through blood-relation (or adoption) and marriage. Geographical proximity may matter for the continuation of family ties. However, people vary very little in the number of family members included in their personal network (see chapter 2.3), indicating a relatively stable 'core' of the network that is not associated with socioeconomic status (see further Chapter 8). This suggests that people with local family members do not necessarily socialize with a greater number of family members, but they may socialize more frequently with family members.

The data supports this. People are in touch with family members who live

Figure 5.3 Composition of local network, by occupational level of respondent
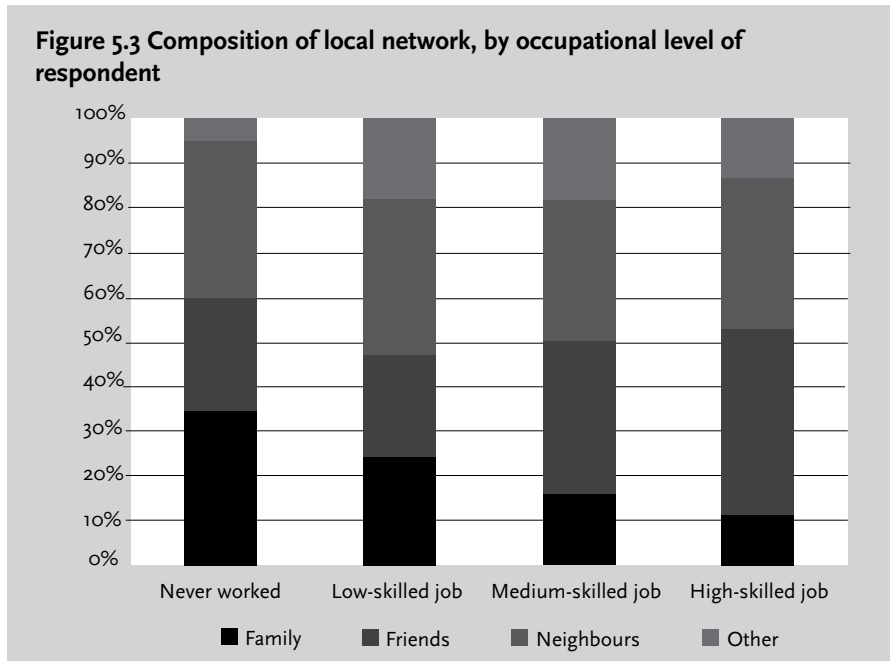
nearby more frequently than with family members who live farther away: they have contact on (almost) a daily basis more often, and visited and had dinner together in the last three months more often (see Table 5.9). Geographical proximity is however not associated with feeling close to family members—to the contrary, people reported feeling close more often when it concerned family members who live farther away (cf. Fischer, 1982a). This suggests that it is the convenience of living nearby that structures contact rather than particularly close feelings towards each other. For example, Pahl (2005) writes about family members who maintain 'friend-like' relationships. If geographical proximity was an indication of friend-like relationships, we would expect that people felt 'close' more often to proximate family members; but that is not the case. Further, resource-poorer respondents tend to maintain contact with their family members more often than resource-richer respondents, even if these family members live farther away.

When people choose to stay near family members (although not always necessarily in the same neighbourhood), the composition of their local networks is not entirely affected by the neighbourhood's composition. The same goes for people who are born and bred in their neighbourhood and who know fellow-residents from growing up there. Although childhood-relationships might also survive when people move away, it is important to recognize that the localness of networks and consequently the extent to which the neighbourhood composition in itself matters for people's networks, is strongly related to people's geographic mobility, which in turn is related to people's socioeconomic status.

For people of higher socioeconomic status, local networks consist for more than one-third of friends. The in-depth interviews indicate that these are not all neighbours who became friends. With many of the local friends, people maintained (almost) daily contact. For having dinner, visiting and outdoor

Table 5.9 Frequency and type of contact with family members, by place of residence of family member (percentages)

	Place of residence of family member				
	Local	Rotterdam	Netherlands	Abroad	Average
Frequency					
(Almost) daily	*** 83	* 51	*** 32	*** 22	44
Weekly	5	19	25	11	19
2-weekly/monthly	10	24	36	38	29
3-monthly/less	3	6	8	29	8
Type of contact					
Feel close to	* 58	64	70	* 81	67
Visit	* 91	* 89	85	*** 40	84
Dinner	** 83	68	** 75	*** 25	70
Outdoor	35	38	** 42	*** 13	38
N (family members)	117	254	398	63	832
Contact (almost) daily [1]					
Resource-poor respondents	85	*** 62	*** 46	50	
Resource-rich respondents	80	35	28	16	

Notes: Significance compared to average. [1] Significance compared to resource-rich respondents
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

activities, there is particularly a difference between friendships with network members who live in the Netherlands (whether in the neighbourhood, Rotterdam or elsewhere) and those who live abroad (Table 5.10). But also for those friends who live abroad, nearly half said they visited, had dinner, or went on outdoor activities together in the last three months. These are all (but one) friendships that resource-richer people maintain (respondents with medium- and high-skilled jobs). Resource-poorer people reported significantly fewer friends who live in the Netherlands or abroad, and they do not compensate for that by forming more local or nearby friendships.

A common assumption in studies on sociospatial isolation and neighbourhood effects is that local ties are more important for people of lower socioeconomic status due to limited resources to travel. The idea that they form a greater *number* of friendships with people in the neighbourhood or adjacent areas is not supported by these data. The data does suggest that for resource-poorer people it may be more difficult to maintain relationships with people who live farther away. Several Blijdorpers, particularly people with well-paid jobs, had friends living abroad, whom they managed to see every once in a while, for example, by combining a visit with holidays. Dominique's (b. 1970, contract settler, single, Blijdorp) friend N, whom she has known since secondary school, lives abroad. They attended professional training together, after which they both went to different colleges and ended up living in different cities. Eventually N went to Indonesia to start up a business, got married and travelled around the world:

… then she went to Jakarta to start a ballet school (…) Then she met her husband there and from Jakarta they went to Chile, then Hong Kong, then Copenhagen, now Singapore,

Table 5.10 Frequency and type of contact with friends, by place of residence of friends (percentages)

| | Place of residence of friends | | | | |
	Local	Rotterdam	Netherlands	Abroad	Average
Frequency					
(Almost) daily	*** 58	*** 41	*** 19	*** 10	34
Weekly	18	19	20	12	19
2-weekly/monthly	21	34	45	44	37
3-monthly/less	4	6	16	34	11
Type of contact					
Feel close to	57	* 49	* 59	50	54
Visit	* 90	** 87	80	*** 52	83
Dinner	68	63	62	*** 36	62
Outdoor	58	* 62	55	* 44	58
N (friends)	135	392	343	50	920
Number of friends (total)					
Resource-poor respondents	41	73	39	1	154
Resource-rich respondents	95	321	304	49	769

Note: Significance compared to average.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

so yes...

GE: And in the meantime [you] kept in touch...

Yes, yes, I've also been [visiting them], only I haven't been to Singapore yet, but otherwise, also, you go where they go, plan your holidays around it. When I go to Australia or New Zealand, I can easily arrange a stop-over there.

This is obviously more difficult for people with a low income. Kristel (b. 1977, homecare worker, married, two children, Hillesluis) is originally from The Hague and has friends living there:

They live in The Hague. So well then you're dealing with bridging that [distance]. But for birthdays we're always together, and during summers. At the moment we don't have a car, so sometimes they come here for a cuppa. And when we have a car then we go there again. Just now and then.

Maintaining friends at long distance can also be difficult for less-mobile people. Rosita (b. 1959, unemployed, former administrative worker, single, adlut children, Hillesluis) met her friend, N, who lives next door, via her sister. N likes to go shopping in the city centre, but Rosita cannot join her because of back pain. That they live close by may be an important factor in maintaining their relationship. They call each other every day, go shopping, make food for each other and have fun together. Rosita and her friend however did not meet through the neighbourhood: they met via Rosita's sister.

Bernadette was also limited in mobility due to health problems. She had lost many childhood friends after her divorce and while she was sick. She had formed new friendships with two women who she met in the neighbourhood.

One of them—her 'buddy'—she met through walking the dogs and it is she whom Bernadette calls when she has a bad patch and needs a ride.

Dominique—flying around the world to see her friends—also experienced how sickness could put a strain on relationships. When she broke her leg, she stayed at home most of the time, went to work by taxi, walked on crutches, and hardly maintained a social life for a year. One of her best friends ('just friends' now) she saw every week, but as their contact evolved largely around going out, the relationship withered away because, among other things, she could not join them anymore.

Geographical proximity can thus also consolidate friendships and relationships. Several Blijdorpers discovered that they were living in the same neighbourhood as some of the people they already knew from university, work or via friends. Carlo, for example, was reunited with the woman who became his wife, whom he knew from college, when they met at the Albert Heijn (supermarket) and discovered that they both lived in Blijdorp. One of his acquaintances, whom he met at a former workplace, also lives in Blijdorp, plus a close friend, also from a former workplace, whose daughter is a school friend of Carlo's daughter.

Madu, who lives in a privately-owned complex at the border of Hillesluis, told that one of her friends moved into her housing complex and that two other friends were planning to move into her street, after they had visited her and discovered that it was a nice place to live.

These people thus choose to move to the same neighbourhood—but not always deliberately or knowingly: sometimes they just 'bumped into each other'. This has also been observed in studies on gentrifiers in London (Butler and Robson, 2003a: 130; Butler and Lees, 2006: 482).

A distinction of a 'locally-fixed' category of resource-poor people versus a 'mobile' category of resource-rich people (see e.g. Bauman, 1998) is thus not entirely justified. Resource-richer people may however be more likely to maintain both proximate and distance relationships whereas resource-poorer people have difficulty maintaining distant ties.

To conclude, the distinction between network members who coincidentally live in the same neighbourhood, relationships that are maintained in the neighbourhood, and those that are formed in the neighbourhood is important for understanding the extent to which the neighbourhood composition affects networks and how the neighbourhood matters as a context for maintaining ties. Neighbourhoods not only shape networks, but networks shape the neighbourhood population and, consequently, people's local networks. Some people thus moved to, or stayed in, the neighbourhood to be near family or friends, whereas others did not choose to do so but found themselves living near friends and acquaintances because they apparently had chosen the same neighbourhood to live in, which had the effect of consolidating their relationship.

This links to the debate about selection effects, that is concerned with patterns of people with certain characteristics (which are difficult to measure in surveys) moving into certain neighbourhoods. In neighbourhood effect studies, the selection effect often refers to poor people moving into the most deprived places because they have no alternative. In the Dutch housing market, the poorest have limited choice to move around—depending on the allocation system of social rental housing—but they do have freedom in choosing a city and, often, a neighbourhood. The selection effect may also apply to certain segments of the resource-rich class settling in certain urban neighbourhoods. I will address this question again, from a different viewpoint, in Chapter 7. In any case we have to consider that selection effects are not just inconvenient for studying how neighbourhoods matter for individual lives; to the contrary, they shape networks and thus matter for understanding how neighbourhood matters (cf. Sampson and Sharkey, 2008).

5.6 Locality-based ties: neighbourhood associations and sharing spaces

In this final section, I briefly look into locality-based ties—relationships formed in neighbourhood settings—and the way in which different neighbourhoods may structure the formation of locality-based ties in different ways. Neighbourhood settings generate new ties in two ways: through geographical proximity—living next door or close to each other—and through organizations based in the neighbourhood. This goes back to Feld's (1981; Feld and Carter, 1998) concept of 'foci of activity' (see Chapter 3). Settings may structure the formation of relationships when they function as foci and in one way or the other structure ('constrain') interaction between people. Settings work as 'foci' only when people are there at the same time. Being in a neighbourhood as such, doing shopping in the local grocery or picking up your children at school, does not force people to interact with each other, although it may increase opportunities to interact with other people. We can consider the 'micro-neighbourhood' (adjacent dwellings, see Kusenbach, 2008) as a focus of activity, and certain organizational settings that draw particularly residents, such as community centres and residents' associations, although they may structure interaction in different ways, as I will suggest below.

Neighbourhood organizations
Mario Small's (2004, 2009) studies suggest that variations in the presence of neighbourhood institutions may play a key role in understanding variations in networks and access to valuable resources. The many facilities in the poor Boston neighbourhood of Villa Victoria, for example, made it possible for res-

idents to do all their shopping in the neighbourhood, and they never needed to go elsewhere to acquire goods and services (Small, 2004). In his study on child-care centres, Small (2009) concluded that the mothers in the poorest neighbourhoods benefited most from taking their children there, because organizations allocated more resources to the centres in the poorest neighbourhoods, based on the idea that these centres had the neediest clients. Childcare centres have a role in brokering resources between organizations and residents, and in this way, parents benefit from facilities. Facilities thus may facilitate the formation and maintenance of relationships among fellow-residents as well as brokering resources.

Variations in neighbourhood facilities in Dutch neighbourhoods, and the role they have in the formation of networks, deserve attention. For example, poor neighbourhoods in the Netherlands often have one or more community centres, which serve predominantly the poor population in these neighbourhoods. Children can pay sports at minimum costs, and their parents can attend computer lessons, for example. Hillesluis has three community centres and two platforms for residents to meet: the residents' organization and a roundtable initiative (*Hand in Hand*). Affluent neighbourhoods often lack these kinds of facilities, which makes sense because the residents will often be able to afford to attend sports clubs and educational courses at higher costs, but it also means that neighbourhoods structure locality-based ties differently. Blijdorp has a residents' organization but no community centre. Cool also has a residents' organization (attendance 13 per cent of the survey respondents) and one community centre (unfortunately the survey does not provide data on meeting people in this location).

We saw earlier (Section 5.2) that neighbourhood use is associated with whether respondents reported one local tie or none, but it is not associated with above-average network localness. Visiting neighbourhood settings may thus make the difference between developing a local relationship or none at all, but it does not seem to tie people to an extensive network of fellow-residents. One explanation for this finding is that neighbourhood settings may generate 'setting-specific' ties—relationships that do not extend outside the organization (Small, 2009). While these may be valuable and resourceful ties, they might not appear on the network lists of the people we interviewed.

Table 5.11 shows that in all three neighbourhoods, very few residents attend activities and meetings. The Kopblok in Hillesluis is visited by nearly half of the Hillesluisians, probably because it is a multifunctional centre where people can also get advice about finances, education and health. The majority of those who attend activities say that they usually or always meet people they know. In this way, at least for part of Hillesluis's population, these organizations thus facilitate the formation of, probably setting-specific, relationships between residents. The community centre in Cool probably also facilitates the formation and maintenance of setting-specific relationships.

Table 5.11 Neighbourhood settings and meeting people (percentages)

	Community centres			Residents' organizations		
	Hillesluis	Hillesluis	Hillesluis	Hillesluis	Hillesluis	Blijdorp
	Stereo	Kopblok	Ravennest	Residents' organization BOH	Hand in Hand round table	Residents' organization BOB
Attend activities?						
Never	81	55	88	78	94	71
Yes	19	45	12	22	6	29
Meet people you know?						
Never	12	27	0	14	0	3
Sometimes	24	12	30	10	0	14
Usually/always	65	61	70	76	100	83

The question remains whether it facilitates the formation of ties between the resource-rich and resource-poor residents of Cool; this study unfortunately cannot answer this question.

Sharing spaces: neighbouring, homeowners' associations and *Opzoomeren*
Physical proximity of fellow-residents will only structure interaction when people spend time, at the same time, in and around their dwelling. For geographical proximity to generate relationships, we would thus expect a certain degree of synchronization of daily routines (Völker and Flap, 2007: 230): leaving for and coming home from work at around the same time, for example. Interaction among fellow-residents may also vary depending on the weather and the season of the year. The in-depth interviews were carried out in wintertime and the beginning of springtime, and respondents frequently referred to the weather as a reason for not chatting too much with their neighbours: everybody's hurrying to get inside.

Another variable that may structure encounters and relationships between fellow-residents is the way in which residents organize themselves. Most residents in Blijdorp, and affluent residents in general living in apartments, will be involved in homeowner's associations (HA), whose purpose it is to collect money for and regulate maintenance on the collectively-owned building. These associations are required by law, and when people buy an apartment, they automatically become a member (although not everyone attends meetings and sometimes these associations are 'silent'). Many Blijdorpers attended meetings of their HA, and while their neighbours did not immediately all become their best friends, the regular meetings and shared commitments do structure interactions and force people to get to know each other better. Through meetings—related to a joint interest—the exchange of information may occur as a by-product of assemblies. In Chapter 4, I argued that the exchange of resources does not necessarily depend on closeness of a relationship, but also on whether people are involved in joint (routine) activities. In the course of activities that relate to the setting, people may get to know (about) each other and tell each other things that may be helpful. Regular meetings did not seem to transform 'just neighbours' into friends, but it does

seem to make the exchange of resources more likely.

Here is one example. Dominique, secretary for her HA, told me the following about her relationship with the chair of the HA and their interaction through meetings:

> GE: Can you tell something about your relationship with E?
> Well, my relationship with him is not different from with other neighbours, except that we come around each other's homes for the HA. Further… privately we don't see each other. It's not that we go to the movies or the pub together, or that he comes over for dinner. Purely for the HA. (…) When we have a [HA] meeting it's always enjoyable [*gezellig*]. Then we have a wine, a beer, and we talk about the one and the other thing, and not just about the HA. It's not that it's purely for business, I mean, you know things about him [E], you know his girlfriend. It's, of course when you're in a board like that, we have been in touch very often, that you talk to each other every week, that you come around each other's homes to talk things through. Well you come in people's homes so then you get to know someone. That's different than the lady neighbour who says "good morning" downstairs and where you've never been inside [her house].

Dominique says that her relationship with E is not any different from relationships with other neighbours. He remains 'just a neighbour' whom she would consider asking for help with odd jobs, borrow tools from, and even ask help with groceries when she's sick, but she would not consider him as someone to confide in, or ask for help with finding a job or house. Nevertheless, they see each other very regularly, share things about their lives, and, as Dominique admits, socialize with each other in ways that she would not with other neighbours. In such interactions, the exchange of resources becomes more likely.

People living in social housing are not involved in such associations. To get people together, residents of poor and multi-ethnic neighbourhoods (which often goes together) are often stimulated to participate in community initiatives. Project *Opzoomeren*, for example, aims to facilitate social relations between residents (Duyvendak and Van der Graaf, 2001). Opzoomeren aims to stimulate meeting co-residents combined with cleaning or improving the physical environment, or organizing activities for the children, and joining the organization is voluntary. Several Hillesluisians were or had been actively involved in Opzoomeren: organizing activities for residents in their (part of the) street. While these projects deliberately intend to structure interaction between fellow-residents, engagement in community projects is of course not mandatory and very few people are actually involved. Furthermore, these activities are much less regular. In this way, it is not likely that they bring people together in the same way as HAs do.

What is more important—and that also applies to interaction between residents of adjacent buildings that is not mediated by associations—is that

they stimulate interaction between people who are usually rather similar for socio-economic position. By far most locality-based ties develop within micro-neighbourhoods (Kusenbach, 2008). It is particularly on this scale that people are familiar with each other's daily routines and that frequent chance encounters happen (ibid.: 233), thus facilitating the formation of (setting-specific) relationships. It is also here that 'proactive neighbouring' might occur and friendships may develop, whereas this is less likely to happen within larger areas such as street blocks or entire neighbourhoods (ibid.: 232). However, micro-neighbourhoods are usually fairly homogeneous for socioeconomic status because buildings rarely include both owner-occupied dwellings and rental dwellings. Associations such as Opzoomeren and HAs reinforce interaction between similar fellow-residents: for Hillesluisians, most likely resource-poorer residents, and for Blijdorpers, most-likely resource-richer residents. Like other neighbourhood settings, they thus tend to draw together similar sorts of people. If micro-neighbourhoods in mixed neighbourhoods are also socioeconomically homogeneous, the opportunities to encounter and interact with people from different backgrounds may thus remain limited. So while the type of dwellings may be similar among neighbourhoods, different forms of tenure may result in differences in the extent to which fellow-residents interact and maintain relationships with each other.

5.7 Conclusion

Returning to the two conditions for spatial segregation to have an impact on the formation and quality of networks, we can draw the following conclusions. First, the research results suggest that the level of sociospatial segregation is not sufficient for structuring meeting opportunities between the resource-rich and the resource-poor. I did not find any evidence that living in Hillesluis—in a relative sense a deprived neighbourhood—has a role in causing network poverty. Second, if we consider that respondents reported on average one local network member, and that on average half of the local networks are relationships that are not formed in neighbourhood settings, then the role of neighbourhood composition in causing network poverty can only be limited. Very few relationships are formed in neighbourhood settings with fellow-residents.

Considering neighbourhood composition as statistically shaping meeting opportunities thus falls short of explaining why some people, in poor neighbourhoods as well as elsewhere, suffer from network poverty. In order to gain more insight into how the neighbourhood matters for networks, we need to look more closely into different neighbourhood and organizational settings and the way in which these settings structure encounters and relationships. Furthermore, by not including the localness and origin of networks we

might overestimate the effect of neighbourhood composition. The distinction between network members that happen to live in the same neighbourhood, relationships that are maintained in the neighbourhood, and those that are formed in the neighbourhood, is important for understanding the extent to which the neighbourhood composition affects networks and how the neighbourhood as a context for maintaining ties matters. In the next chapter I look more closely into locality-based ties.

6 Relationships with fellow-residents
Diversity, ethnicity, otherness

In Chapter 5, I concluded that merely a small part of the local network consists of locality-based ties: relationships with fellow-residents formed in neighbourhood settings. I concluded that the socioeconomic composition of neighbourhoods is not associated with opportunities to meet resource-rich people and, in turn, with the resourcefulness of personal networks. In this chapter, I shift the focus to locality-based ties in micro-neighbourhoods (adjacent and opposite dwellings) and variations in the extent to which people form such ties. The setting of the micro-neighbourhood is one of the (many) settings in which people can form new relationships and expand their network. The focus in this chapter is not on meeting opportunities that are structured through the composition of the micro-neighbourhood (as in Chapter 5), but on how the micro-neighbourhood as meaningful place plays a role in whether and how relationships are formed. I consider two aspects of relationship formation: first, settings are meaningful places and in this way may structure the formation of relationships through offering a frame of reference for categorization and identification (based on the idea that setting and identification are intertwined, see Section 3.4); and second, settings may co-shape the boundaries of relationships (based on the idea of 'rules of relevancy', see Section 3.5).

First, the presence of many fellow-residents who are, in the perception of residents, different in their way of life, behaviour and norms, may result in a feeling of not 'fitting in' or discomfort with this diversity, which in turn may result in withdrawal from interaction with fellow-residents. Another way in which the neighbourhood as meaningful place may affect locality-based ties, is because the (perceived) negative reputation of the neighbourhood might 'rub off', so to say, on fellow-residents, resulting in disidentification with fellow-residents and withdrawal. Because (micro-)neighbourhoods differ in their level of diversity and reputation, these variations may, partly, explain network inequality, as some people will not (be able to) capitalize on an opportunity to expand their network. The neighbourhood-as-meaningful-place may, for some, fail to function as a setting for forming new relationships.

Whether the neighbourhood has such impacts on the formation of relationships will also depend on the kinds of relationships people maintain and form in the micro-neighbourhood—this is the second aspect that I will address in this chapter—and therefore these two aspects are considered in combination.

I connect the question of the formation of locality-based relationships to literature on the possible negative effects of ethnic diversity, framed by some as 'discomfort', 'disorganization' and 'stigmatization', which suggests that people living in poor and multi-ethnic neighbourhoods are generally less inclined to form neighbour-ties at all, or that their neighbour-ties are of lesser quality. As poor neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (and elsewhere) are often

also multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, this would mean that (resource-poor) people who live in poor neighbourhoods are hindered in their possibilities to form new relationships in the context of their neighbourhood, and thus not able to capitalize on an opportunity to expand their personal network.

There is much literature about (assumed) contentious relations in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, but these tend to emphasize interethnic interaction and relationships (e.g. Back, 1993; Sigelman *et al.*, 1996; Amin, 2002; Blokland, 2003a; Smets, 2006; Smets and den Uyl, 2008). My interest is rather in the formation of locality-based relationships as such, regardless of whether they are inter- or intraethnic. As I argued in the Introduction, from a resource-perspective, there is no reason a priori to value interethnic relationships above intra-ethnic relationships when it comes to access to resources. My interest is in whether the diverse composition of the setting makes it more difficult for people to form relationships that go beyond mere interdependence (i.e., co-existence without interaction, see Blokland, 2003b: 80, and below). However, as Hillesluisians are considerably more likely to have people from other ethnic backgrounds as direct neighbours than Cool residents and Blijdorpers, a large part of this chapter is about dealing with 'ethnic-others'. Experiencing difficulties in dealing with ethnic-others as direct neighbours is not necessarily the same as experiencing discomfort with ethnic diversity or stigma in general, however. This latter is the central problematic in this chapter.

Below I will elaborate on the different types of locality-based relationships that people may form. Much scholarly attention is paid to ethnic diversity; in this chapter, I examine how this is different from other forms of diversity. In Hillesluis, ethnic diversity is particularly apparent—both in a statistical sense and in the perception of residents—, while Blijdorp is rather homogeneous in this respect (see Chapter 2). Hillesluis is also more diverse for age and household, although this seems more at the foreground in Blijdorpers' perceptions of their neighbourhood's diversity (see Chapter 7). Cool takes a middle position: less ethnically diverse than Hillesluis, and more diverse than Blijdorp; and most homogeneous in terms of age and household (more people younger than 35 than in Blijdorp, more singles and couples without children than in Hillesluis). I first discuss how different forms of 'diversity', and the interpretation of diversity, might affect the formation of relationships.

6.1 The neighbourhood as meaningful place: diversity and stigma

In Section 3.4, I discussed how settings are not just (numerical) assemblies of people but that settings themselves are imbued with meaning, because people interpret their environment and the people in it. For example, Sampson (2009) finds that perceptions of disorder in Chicago neighbourhoods are much

more related to the racial composition of neighbourhoods than to actual disorder. In a similar vein, Permentier and colleagues (2008) show that the reputations of neighbourhoods in Utrecht (the fourth largest city in the Netherlands) are based more on the socioeconomic and ethnic composition than on the physical and functional characteristics of the neighbourhoods.

The composition and meaning of a setting has a role in how people position themselves vis-à-vis others. Places are not only social markers that distinguish segments of people (as I discuss in Chapter 7); distinctions emerge also within neighbourhoods (see e.g. Elias and Scotson, 1965; May, 1996; Blokland, 2003a; Butler, 2003; Watt, 2006; Noordhoff, 2008). Processes of boundary making may emerge even when there are no clear differences in terms of ethnicity, socioeconomic position or status—as Elias and Scotson (1965) demonstrated in *The Established and the Outsiders*. Often, however, boundary making is associated with existing categories in other settings (the idea of 'borrowing', Tilly, 2004). For example, the presence and influx of certain residential categories in neighbourhoods is interpreted in close association with the status of these categories in society, and, the status of these categories can be reproduced through relationships that take place in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods then play a role in processes of categorization and social identification—and *dis*identification (de Swaan, 1997). Disidentification can be understood as active discarding of any communality and the process of distancing from others. In this way, disidentification is not the opposite of identification, nor is it ignorance or indifference (ibid.: 106)—it is actively drawing boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Disidentification can only occur when people are aware of each other and when there is conflict—in reality (over resources) or in people's perception (see Blokland, 2003a).

Recently, Robert Putnam (2007) has (re)focused attention to this question with his paper on ethnoracial diversity and trust. Putnam argues that ethnic heterogeneity in neighbourhoods has a devastating effect on personal relationships (and on trust, volunteering, political participation and various other indications of Putnam's conceptualization of social capital). Using a US-wide survey on various forms of social and political engagement, he found that people who live in ethnically diverse areas reported fewer close friends and fewer confidants (ibid.: 150).[51] People living in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods did not only report fewer interethnic friends and confidants but also fewer intraethnic ties, for all ethnoracial categories (ibid.: 147-148). Putnam concludes that ethnic heterogeneity counters all forms of social (and political) involvement, which results from the fact that 'many Americans today are uncomfortable with diversity' (ibid.: 158). This feeling of discomfort would

---

51 The US Social Capital Community Benchmark does not distinguish between local and non-local network members so these are relationships with people who could live anywhere.

be, next to poverty, crime and other notorious factors, a cause of withdrawal from social involvement.

Putnam's paper has triggered many others to repeat his analysis for other countries (e.g. for Europe, Great Britain and the Netherlands, see Gesthuizen *et al*., 2008; Lancee and Dronkers, 2008; Letki, 2008). Problematic for this comparison is that similar data is hard to come by. Lancee and Dronkers (2008), for example, construct measures of trust in neighbours and interethnic trust. Their paper is interesting not in the first place for its replication of Putnam but for its original measure that the authors label as 'trust'. Lancee and Dronkers construct their measure of 'trust in neighbours' based on measuring how often people had contact with their direct neighbours and how they value the 'quality of contact' with these neighbours (based on questions in the Dutch SVPA survey of 1998). They find that people with direct neighbours of different ethnic origin are less likely to socialize with their neighbours and are more likely to value their contact with neighbours negatively. Lancee and Dronkers (ibid.: 9) conclude that part of the effect of neighbourhood diversity is mediated through having an ethnic-other neighbour. This is interesting because it draws attention to the direct encounters with ethnic-others rather than general feelings of discomfort. The question remains, of course, how having neighbours of a different ethnic origin influences interaction between neighbours.

Putnam's (2007) thesis of discomfort poses further questions. First, there is in this thesis no real sense of what neighbourhoods mean for people's daily lives and personal relationships. At the same time, by emphasizing the role of the neighbourhood's diversity, Putnam's thesis presumes that the neighbourhood has a significant role in with whom people socialize and how people get things done together. Moreover, a focus on ethnic diversity as such obscures the meaning and interpretation of diversity. As I discussed in Chapter 3, how diversity is interpreted, and whether it is valued positively or negatively, depends on the historical process of the neighbourhood and the categories that make up the diverse population. It matters whether diversity increases through the influx of non-Western minorities into an all-white, resource-rich neighbourhood (usually interpreted by policy makers as a 'downward spiral', probably also because people of non-Western origin are disproportionally resource-poor), or whether diversity increases through the influx of white, resource-rich people in a multi-ethnic poor neighbourhood (usually encouraged by policy makers). That these interpretations vary has everything to do with the status of population categories in society, but this status then plays a role in interpreting the status of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood as setting thus has a meaning in itself, which may then affect locality-based ties. How would this process work?

The idea of 'territorial stigmatization' emphasizes how the stigma—the

negative reputation[52] —of places works through in relationships between residents (and between residents and outsiders). Wacquant (2008b: 183) describes how territorial stigmatization of Chicago's deprived neighbourhoods and the Paris banlieues 'stimulate practices of internal social differentiation and distancing that work to decrease interpersonal trust and undercut local solidarity'. Residents devalue their neighbourhood in order to stress their own moral worth through strategies such as mutual avoidance and scapegoating. Residents thus dissociate from their neighbourhood and its residents by stressing that they do not belong there (ibid.: 184). The status of the neighbourhood—its place in the stratification of places—is thus important, not just its diversity (cf. Blokland, 2007). In his study on people in poverty, Noordhoff (2008: Chapter 5) finds that by drawing boundaries between 'morally superior and inferior behaviour', between the deserving and undeserving poor, and between kind and unkind persons, residents tried to avoid the stigma of belonging to the morally unworthy and undeserving category of residents (ibid.: 126). By doing so, they dissociate from others which then (further) 'undermines local solidarities, cultivates differences, and all this eventuates in few productive ties to get ahead' (ibid.: 129-30). By dissociating from other residents, the setting of the neighbourhood no longer functions as a setting where people form relationships; rather, they withdraw from others.

This argument seems very similar to Putnam's discomfort thesis, but it goes further in theorizing how the status of categories of residents might reflect in locality-based relations. The claim that some, often people of non-Western ethnic origin, are undeserving of welfare support reveals a direct association with how people experience their and others' place in a changing society. In other words, the making of boundaries happens in relation to pre-existing ideas about others (Tajfel, 1982; Wimmer, 2007). Is it the diversity—the variation of people—, then, or is it the meaning and interpretation of 'otherness' of certain categories of people? The notion of territorial stigmatization would not predict that people in gentrifying neighbourhoods would withdraw from socializing with their neighbours, nor that people in Blijdorp—diverse for age categories—would withdraw from neighbouring. If we abstract a bit from territorial stigma, this process is linked to what Charles Tilly has described as 'borrowing': the transplantation of categorical boundaries to other settings. May (2004) and Blokland (2007) have put this idea to work in order to show how and with whom people draw boundaries in their neighbourhood.

Writings on the problem of ethnic diversity can be traced back to Chicago-school studies on 'social disorganization'. Criminologists Clifford Shaw

---

52　The reputation of a neighbourhood can be internal and external (Permentier *et al.*, 2008). Territorial stigma refers in the first place to the external reputation; Wacquant describes how external reputations become internal reputations. In this chapter, I focus on internal reputation, which thus is connected to (perceptions of) the external reputation.

and Henry McKay (1969) tried to explain variations in the prevalence of delin-
quents in neighbourhoods, and their key insight is that ethnic heterogene-
ity, low socioeconomic status, and high residential mobility correlate with
crime and disorder. While their theory is about understanding varying levels
of crime and collective action, the mechanism points to differences in the for-
mation and maintenance of neighbourhood (local as well as locality-based)
relationships. Shaw and McKay theorized that these three structural factors
prohibit the formation of 'informal' ties (i.e., acquaintances, friends and kin)
in the neighbourhood and as a result residents would not be able to maintain
informal social control nor to realize goals for the benefit of the neighbour-
hood as a whole—hence, neighbourhoods would become 'socially disorgan-
ized' (see also Bursik, 1988; Sampson and Groves, 1989)[53].

According to Shaw and McKay (1969), people living in multi-ethnic neigh-
bourhoods would encounter difficulties in communicating with each other:
they speak different languages, they aspire to different goals, and they may
have divergent ideas about values and the interpretation and approach of
problems. Furthermore, residential instability in these neighbourhoods would
hamper the formation and maintenance of personal relationships among co-
residents. These barriers would then make it hard for people to mobilize oth-
ers—and their resources—for informal social control.

Dutch criminologists van Wilsem, Wittebrood and de Graaf (2006) have tak-
en heterogeneity more broadly and suggest that also socioeconomic hetero-
geneity also can negatively impact locality-based ties. In their study on levels
of crime in socioeconomically changing neighbourhoods (between 1994 and
1998) in the Netherlands, van Wilsem and colleagues hypothesize that, next
to the influx of ethnic minorities, the influx of higher income groups (through
restructuring and gentrification) could also result in 'disorganization', sup-
posedly because of increased 'social distance' between old and new residents
(ibid.: 227-8).[54]

The notion of social disorganization is firmly connected to the ecological
tradition that imagines neighbourhoods as local communities. Simply put,
neighbourhoods would be 'organized' when the residents have ties to each
other and live in harmony together. The idea of disorganization refers to an

---

53 Unfortunately, most studies that aimed to test the social disorganization thesis have assumed rather than
demonstrated the intermediate role of local ties; the few that did measure local ties (e.g. Sampson and Groves,
1989; Bellair, 1997; Lowenkamp *et al.*, 2003) omitted to control for individual variations and thus cannot say
much about neighbourhood composition as an independent effect. Sampson and Groves (1989) found that eth-
nic heterogeneity is not correlated to the average level of reporting local friends, which would partly refute Shaw
and McKay's theory. However, it is arguable that the level of reporting local friends does not capture all local and
locality-based ties.

54 Note that van Wilsem *et al.* (2006) did not—in the tradition of Chicago School studies—measure local
contacts directly but only correlations between neighbourhood composition and levels of crime. Based on their
analyses they conclude that it is residential instability which mediated the increased level of crime, not income or
ethnic heterogeneity (ibid.: 242).

ideal of 'cohesion'—ties, association, commitment—which in the conceptuali-zation of Shaw and McKay cannot exist in an ethnically heterogeneous neigh-bourhood. The idea that neighbourhoods are essentially stable entities has been criticized, and the idea that the geographical neighbourhood constitutes a community can be called outdated (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Blokland, 2003b). In addition, the thesis of disorganization suffers from the same short-coming as Putnam's thesis of discomfort to the extent that the thesis is dis-connected from constructed categories such as 'the poor', 'immigrants', 'poor neighbourhoods' and 'problem places'. It is not just that ethnic minorities are seen as problematic because they speak a foreign language or have a different way of life; it is also the idea of ethnic concentration in neighbourhoods that is regarded as problematic by residents and policy makers.

Having said that, the study of Shaw and McKay is interesting because it also acknowledges the everyday troubles and practical barriers, next to gen-eral feelings of discomfort, in dealing with ethnic-others. Seen in this way, diversity (also) poses practical difficulties that people have to deal with and overcome in order to form relationships. This notion seems somewhat lost in the strong emphasis on symbolic boundaries, perceptions and feelings of discomfort. Yet, in the following, we will see that the practice of 'neighbour-ing' is hardly affected by the multi-ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Rather, the data suggest that it is the transformation of 'just neighbours' into more intimate locality-based ties that may be, for some, problematic. Put dif-ferently, divergent backgrounds and lifestyles become a barrier for relation-ships to change from transactions (exchange of goods and services) and attachments (good neighbouring) into bonds (affective relationships).

6.2   Perceptions of diversity

What do residents think of their neighbourhood and its diversity and prob-lems? We can take feelings of satisfaction and safety as indicators for resi-dents' experience of problems in their neighbourhood, which is related to the image of the neighbourhood. Hillesluisians are less satisfied with their neigh-bourhood, and, on average, they feel more unsafe. Of the Hillesluis popula-tion, 64 per cent of the residents are satisfied with their neighbourhood com-pared with 78 per cent of the Cool residents and 91 per cent of the Blijdorp-ers.[55]

The survey data show that more Hillesluisians feel 'not so safe' or not safe at all' (20 per cent) when they are at home, compared with residents of Cool

---

55   Source: BIRD, 2002 (Cool), 2006 (Hillesluis, Blijdorp). In 2006, 87 per cent of the Cool residents felt satis-fied. The average for Rotterdam is 79 per cent.

and Blijdorpers (8 and 2 per cent respectively).[56] Most people feel safe when walking on the streets during the day, but there are considerable differences in feeling safe walking around at night: significantly more Hillesluisians feel unsafe (55 per cent) compared with Cool residents (39 per cent) and Blijdorpers (13 per cent).[57]

However, registered crime levels are not higher in Hillesluis (they are much higher in Cool, which is associated with its function as entertainment district). While registered crime is not necessarily a correct measure of real levels of crime, the discrepancy in feelings of safety and crime levels supports the idea that the neighbourhood population itself may have a role in feelings of safety (cf. Sampson, 2009). Unfamiliarity with the presence of diverse ethnic categories may create or exacerbate feelings of insecurity (see Merry, 1981; Blokland, 2008: 139ff), as well as the presence of youths in public places—even if they are just there, people may associate them with trouble. Furthermore, it may be the image of the neighbourhood as a problem place that is reflected in less satisfaction and feelings of insecurity.

Residents' perceptions of their neighbourhood's diversity vary, too. As the statistics in Chapter 2 show, the three neighbourhoods differ in composition for socioeconomic and ethnic categories, for age and for types of households. We asked respondents whether they thought that fellow-residents in general had a similar or different 'lifestyle', compared with their own lifestyle.[58] We also asked this question about the people they *knew* in the neighbourhood: would they consider them to be alike or different in terms of lifestyle? Table 6.1 shows the respondents' answers. While the composition of Cool and Hillesluis differs, respondents in these two neighbourhoods are just as likely to say that they think other residents have a 'different lifestyle' compared with their way of living. A minority of the Hillesluisians and Cool residents think that most other residents have a lifestyle similar to theirs (14 and 12 per cent respectively), while half of the Blijdorpers think so. Blijdorpers are also slightly more likely to say that some residents are like them and others not, whereas most Hillesluisians and Cool residents think that most people have a lifestyle different from theirs. The difference between Hillesluisians and Cool residents is not statistically significant, while the response of the two categories versus Blijdorpers is quite strongly and significantly different

Considerably more respondents are likely to say that most people they know in the neighbourhood have the same lifestyle as they themselves have. Of course, as we have seen, many people had one or a few family members,

---

56 Cramer's V=.220, p<.001.

57 Cramer's V=.316, p<.001.

58 Question wording: 'If you consider the general lifestyle of people in this neighbourhood, do you think most people are just like you, or different from you? And if you consider the people you know in the neighbourhood, do you think most people are just like you, or different from you?'.

Table 6.1 Respondents' perceptions of lifestyle of (known) fellow-residents

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	Significance (Cramer's V)
Lifestyle of most fellow-residents is:				
Pretty much like me	14	12	49	* .452
Some like me, some different from me	20	29	36	
Quite different from me	58	52	11	
Don't know	8	7	4	
Lifestyle of most fellow-residents I know is:				
Pretty much like me	51	43	66	* .249
Some like me, some different from me	10	16	21	
Quite different from me	33	27	11	
Don't know	6	13	2	
N	97	187	98	

Note: Significant differences only between Blijdorpers and other respondents.

*p<.001

friends or other connections in the neighbourhood, so their responses will likely not only concern neighbours. In any case, Blijdorpers are still more likely to say that the lifestyle of people they know in their neighbourhood is similar to their lifestyle (two-thirds think so). Hillesluisians and Cool residents are more likely to say that the people they know are different from them (one-third think so). Again, only the difference between Hillesluisians and Cool residents versus Blijdorpers is statistically significant.

This suggests that the perception of people that their fellow-residents are similar in their way of life is not based on ethnic composition alone. Put differently, the perception that fellow-residents are not 'people like us' does not increase one-on-one with increasing ethnic diversity. It is likely that categorizations based on socioeconomic status, age, household and the like play a role, too. These possible lines of division are also at play in Blijdorp, where still one-third of the interviewees think that fellow-residents they know are not like them in their lifestyle.

Some people think that the people they know in their neighbourhood are more like them than the neighbourhood's population in general. This might mean two things. First, people might feel that fellow-residents they know are similar in lifestyle because, following the homophily principle (see Chapter 3), people tend to socialize with people who are similar to them more often than with people who are very different from them. They might become friendly more often with fellow-residents who are in some way like them. The survey data provide some support for this. We asked interviewees whether they thought that their network members belonged to the same class and to the same ethnic group as themselves (following-up on a question about their own class position and membership of an ethnic group, if any).[59]

The survey data shows that of all neighbour-relationships, on average 77

---

59   The question wording for class was: 'Some people divide society into different classes, such as upper class, middle class and working class. If I were to ask you to make such a classification, what is in your opinion your place in such a class scheme?'. For ethnic group the question was: 'Some people feel they belong to a certain ethnic, racial or national group. If I would ask you to describe your self in such terms, how do you see yourself?'.

per cent are considered to belong to the same 'class' as interviewees. There is no difference between the neighbour ties of Hillesluisians, Cool residents and Blijdorpers—they thus perceive similarity between themselves and their neighbours to the same degree. This holds also for perceived ethnic similarity: for 64 per cent of the neighbour ties, interviewees said that they belong to the same ethnic group, and again there are no considerable differences between the three residential groups.[60] Now, class and ethnic group are merely indicative of lifestyle, but at least these figures show that people consider most of the neighbours they know to be, to a certain respect, similar to them.

However, and this is the second interpretation of the difference in perception of the general population and known fellow-residents, it is possible that once people get to know some of their fellow-residents they then come to believe that they are (more) alike. Initial ideas about differences might disappear once people spend some time together and gain some knowledge, however little, about how people live their lives. This would be in line with Allport's contact theory that holds that prejudice towards ethnic (or racial) others would decrease through 'intergroup contact' (see Pettigrew, 1998). My interest is not in prejudice as such, but prejudice is closely connected to perceptions of difference and disidentification. The contact theory is informative in that it offers conditions under which relationships might develop despite (initial) hesitance towards socializing with others. Moreover, the contact theory tells us that not just the relationship matters but also the setting in which contact occurs. In addition to Allport's four key conditions (equal group status, common goals, cooperation, and support of authorities, law or custom), Pettigrew (1998: 76) adds a fifth condition, namely the 'friendship potential': the contact situation must provide the opportunity to become friends. This does not mean that people have to be friends in order for their prejudices to disappear, but the setting in which people meet must at a minimum offer that opportunity. According to Pettigrew (ibid.), Allport's four conditions provide settings that encourage the formation of friendships, that is, settings in which people have 'close interaction' and 'extensive and repeated contact'. The question is whether the setting of the micro-neighbourhood has 'friendship potential'. The lack of this potential may be crucial for understanding how perceptions of differences and boundary making play a role in the formation of locality-based relationships that go beyond mere co-existence. Living next to each other does provide an opportunity to form locality-based relationships and friendships, but this does not necessarily mean that the setting as such is conducive to the formation of friendships in the way that Pettigrew describes.

---

60   This also suggests that the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods has little or no effect on whether locality-based ties are intra- or interethnic.

The question is how this relates to practices of neighbouring and the formation of locality-based ties in various forms. Are residents of Hillesluis less likely to form relationships with fellow-residents because they are more likely to perceive differences? Or perhaps because they perceive others as reproducing the stigma of the neighbourhood and therefore dissociating from fellow-residents all together? Or, put differently, does the micro-neighbourhood have a 'friendship potential' that encourages people to overcome pre-existing ideas about differences?

6.3   Different forms of locality-based ties

In order to understand how factors such as diversity and stigma may influence the formation of locality-based ties, we need to know, first, what kinds of ties locality-based ties are. Many studies on neighbours and neighbouring emphasize the general pattern of neighbours as non-intimate ties without paying much attention to the variation in locality-based ties (but see e.g. Blokland, 2003b; Kusenbach, 2008). Locality-based ties are not necessarily neighbours, however, but come in different shapes and intensities (Blokland, 2003b: 80ff). Relationships formed in the neighbourhood and relationships characterized by an exchange pattern that we call 'neighbouring' are often regarded as the same thing while they are in fact two different aspects of relationships in their origin, and their pattern of interaction and exchange.

Studies on neighbours and neighbouring usually confirm that most, thus not all, neighbours-relations are non-intimate and that some neighbours develop close relationships. For example, in a re-analysis of Wellman's data on the personal networks of Toronto residents, Plickert and colleagues (2007) find that neighbours reciprocate 'minor services' such as small household tasks as well as 'major services' such as babysitting. Minor services, according to the authors, involve less emotional support and are low in time and monetary costs and often require physical presence—and can thus be done by 'just neighbours'—while major services require 'major commitment of time, effort and sometimes skill' (ibid.: 415) and will thus more likely be exchanged through more intimate relationships. Studies by Völker (1999; 2007; 2009) on the neighbour-ties of Dutch people confirm that neighbours are mostly called upon for borrowing of tools or daily necessities and help with small household jobs. People also expect to call upon their neighbours in these situations (Völker, 1999). They exchange keys and visit each other quite regularly. The number of neighbours in the personal networks is in this study positively related to whether people had actually needed help with small household jobs and borrowing, but also in the case of needing help with filling out forms, advice about a major change in life, and depression. For some people, neighbours are included in their 'core discussion network'—the people whom

they talk to about personal matters (Völker, 2009). Some neighbours also play a role in providing childcare (Völker and Flap, 2007: 270).

These studies confirm that locality-based relationships come in different forms. Blokland describes four types of relations that are grounded in different orientations towards others (rational versus non-rational, and instrumental versus sociable; Blokland, 2003b: 66):

- interdependence (non-rational and instrumental abstract relations, e.g. client–service providers);
- transactions (rational and instrumental, e.g. employer–employee);
- attachments (rational and sociable, e.g. between members of a church); and
- bonds (non-rational and sociable, e.g. friendships).

Neighbour relations exist in all four forms (Blokland, 2003b: 80-85): physical proximity without relationships constitutes interdependence; frequent exchange of small services constitute transactions; greeting and chatting following from valuing 'good neighbouring' constitutes attachment; and locality-based relationships that turn into friendships constitute bonds. Many of the locality-based ties that are formed in the setting of the micro-neighbourhood are attachments: non-intimate ties described as 'just neighbours', characterized by a 'neighbouring' relation, and based on affinity rather than affectivity. A (minor) share of the locality-based ties develop into relationships that involve more frequent exchanges; transactions, based on exchange of services and favours, that are not necessarily 'friendship-like', or relationships that are more intimate—bonds, based on affectivity, friendship-like, where exchange is a by-product.

The differences between the four forms are often gradual (Blokland, 2003b: 81) and there is but a thin line between attachments and transactions on the one hand, and transactions and bonds on the other, and many neighbour relations shift back and forth between these forms as they develop. For example, the exchange of small favours is often the extension of norms of good neighbourship. Reciprocity is one of these norms (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986). Consider, for example, Dominique's relationship with her neighbour. Dominique, living in Blijdorp, had broken her leg three years ago and one of her neighbours, an elderly woman, came by to see how she was coping and invited her over for coffee. When Dominique's neighbour had to have a leg operation herself, Dominique went over to ask whether she needed any groceries and, because she could not lift her bicycle to her own apartment, offered to store it in Dominique's garage. As a favour in return, Dominique's neighbour takes care of her cat when she is away on holiday. Dominique explains: 'Suddenly we were in touch more, she invited me over for coffee, well, and then you invite her back. Not that it happens every week or month, sometimes I don't see her for weeks and sometimes I bump in to her.' For Dominique this exchange of favours was particularly based on the norm of reciprocity—

her neighbour had helped her so now she had to return the favour—while respecting each other's privacy (another norm of good neighbouring; Abrams, 1986). (For the other party in this relationship, asking Dominique's help might be based more on need than good neighbouring; the basis of a relationship need not be similar for all parties.)

The distinction between relationships as transactions or as bonds similarly is not always clear, because these differences need not translate into different patterns of exchange. In other words, judging by the exchange of services, relationships may seem more alike than judging by their orientation (instrumental versus sociable). Maureen (b. 1971, unemployed, Hillesluis), for example, exchanged minor and major services with her neighbours upstairs. Maureen is a single stay-at-home mother (her husband had passed away several years ago) of six children (9 to 19 years old). Her neighbours help her lift heavy things and with 'many small things'. Her children would do their homework upstairs and when they were younger, they would stay there during lunch breaks. Maureen in turn had recently helped her neighbours wallpaper their kitchen, and now that her neighbours' had no access to the Internet they would come to her place to use her computer. Maureen stressed that her neighbours were very different from her in terms of traditions (marrying off their children, limited contact with Dutch people), parenting (not letting the children play at the playground unsupervised) and cuisine (Maureen's neighbours could not appreciate the food that Maureen would sometimes bring them). While their frequent interaction may indicate otherwise, Maureen did not seem particularly fond of her neighbours—their exchanges were not based on friendship but rather, it seems, on mutual need. Maureen did not report her neighbours as 'trusted neighbours', but as people who had helped with small tasks in the previous three months.

Carlo described one of his trusted neighbours as a 'pretty good friend', as he and his wife had developed 'heartfelt' relationships with a neighbouring couple. Their daughters were in the same year at school and they played together, they had invited their neighbours for New Year's Eve, visited on each other's birthdays, and Carlo thought it possible that soon they would regularly have 'game evenings'. Their relationship seemed to be moving more into the direction of a bond (based on affectivity) than merely transaction or good neighbouring, while the frequency of exchange and visits is hardly different from Maureen's neighbour relationship.

In the following, I examine whether perceptions of neighbourhood diversity—that many fellow-residents are not 'people like us'—and perceptions of neighbourhood stigma impact the formation of the various locality-based ties.

6.4 Trusted neighbours and neighbouring

We will now take a closer look at those locality-based relationships that interviewees reported as 'neighbours' and 'trusted neighbours', and variations in reporting such a network member, as well as variations in the characteristics of the relationships. Locality-based ties were included as network members in two ways. First, a proportion of the network members that were generated through the eighteen name-generating questions were described as 'neighbours' (as opposed to family members, friends, colleagues etc.). Second, the survey questionnaire included a separate question about neighbours: interviewees were asked whether there is a neighbour they 'particularly trust'. I will further call these network members 'trusted neighbours' to distinguish them from neighbours who were reported through other name-generating questions. We did not want to know about just any fellow-resident with whom people would sometimes chat or with whom they are familiar by face; instead we wanted to learn about those neighbours that people feel (a little bit) more close to and who would more likely play a role in the exchange of support, goods or other resources. In Blokland's terminology of four relationships, we wanted to capture those neighbour-relationships that are not mere interdependencies but rather attachments, transactions and bonds. In still other words, we did not want to capture those ties that are really 'absent ties' (Granovetter, 1973: 1361 note):

> ties without substantial significance, such as a 'nodding' relationship between people living on the same street, or the 'tie' to the vendor from whom one customarily buys a morning newspaper. That two people 'know' each other by name need not move their relation out of this category if their interaction is negligible.

We wanted to capture both 'weak' and 'strong' ties (see Chapter 4 on the meaning of strong and weak ties).

On average, 59 per cent of the interviewees reported at least one neighbour as a member of their network (i.e., generated through one of eighteen name generators). Blijdorpers are slightly more likely to report a neighbour, but this difference is not statistically significant (see Table 6.2). The difference becomes significant once we look at who reported at least two neighbours. Blijdorpers are almost twice as likely to report two or more neighbours than Hillesluisians are. Table 6.2 further splits the neighbours into 'trusted neighbours' and 'other neighbours'. We see differences particularly for reporting trusted neighbours. Cool residents are least likely to report one or more trusted neighbours (56 per cent did so), and significantly less likely to do so compared with Blijdorpers (73 per cent). Blijdorpers are more likely to report two or three trusted neighbours, compared with Hillesluisians and Cool residents. There is no significant difference in the reporting of at least one other neighbour.

Table 6.2 Reporting (trusted) neighbours, by residential category (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Neighbour [all]				
At least one	55	57	66	59
At least two	(V=.221) ** 25	(V=.128) * 33	46	34
Trusted neighbour				
At least one	64	(V=.171) ** 56	73	62
At least two	(V=.188) ** 33	(V=.229) *** 28	52	35
At least three	18	(V=.151) * 13	25	17
Other neighbour				
At least one	32	30	39	33
N	97	197	97	381

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 [All significant differences only compared to Blijdorpers]

Table 6.3 Number of (trusted) neighbours, by residential category of respondents who reported at least one (trusted) neighbour)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Neighbour [all]				
Mean number	1.85	2.35	2.22	2.19
S.D.	1.20	1.78	1.24	1.52
Range	1-9	1-7	1-9	1-6
N	53	103	65	221
Trusted neighbour [ng4]				
Mean number	2.02	1.95	2.37	2.09
S.D.	1.26	1.28	1.30	1.29
Range	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6
N	62	104	71	237
Other neighbour				
Mean number	.74	1.10	.81	.93
S.D.	.81	1.71	.92	1.33
Range	0-4	0-9	0-4	0-9
N	53	100	64	217

Those interviewees who reported at least one neighbour mentioned on average 2.19 neighbours (Table 6.3). Hillesluisians on average reported fewer neighbours than Cool residents and Blijdorpers, and, in line with the patterns presented above, Blijdorpers reported more trusted neighbours compared with Hillesluisians and Cool residents. Cool residents named more other neighbours.

With a logistic regression analysis, we can further examine what factors are associated with whether and how many neighbours interviewees reported and control for individual variables. The results are shown in Table 6.4. I analysed who reported at least one and at least two trusted neighbours, and who reported at least one other neighbour (i.e., not also a trusted neighbour). The bottom line is that Hillesluisians are just as likely to report neighbours as network members as are Cool residents and Blijdorpers. The only difference that is associated with the neighbourhood concerns Blijdorpers compared with

Cool residents: the latter are less likely to report two or more trusted neighbours. Furthermore, people with young children (aged 0 to 13 years) are more likely to report one or more trusted neighbours, in all three neighbourhoods. When we look at who reported two or more neighbours, we see that age matters (people older than 34 reported trusted neighbours more often).[61]

Unemployed people, who may spend more time in the neighbourhood, are not more likely to mention a neighbour, and neither are people who have been living in their neighbourhood for a long time. This indicates that neighbouring is not dependent on the time spent at home or the time needed to get to know each other. We should also keep in mind that getting to know co-residents also depends on residential stability: the length of residence of other residents (cf. Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sampson, 1988). Residential mobility in Cool is slightly higher than in the other neighbourhoods, which might be reflected in the lower number of trusted neighbours for Cool residents, but this effect cannot be substantiated with the survey data.[62] Furthermore, homeownership did not matter, which indicates that neighbouring is not dependent on one's investment in the neighbourhood.

To summarize, the data do not confirm the thesis that ethnic diversity hampers the formation of locality-based ties as such. There is merely weak evidence that the combination of ethnic and socioeconomic diversity hampers socializing between fellow-residents, as Cool residents are indeed less likely to report two or more neighbours, compared with Blijdorpers. But this might also have to do with the slightly higher level of residential mobility— people moving in and out of the neighbourhood—in Cool. Moreover, the analytic power of both regression models is rather weak (for reporting one trusted neighbour and one other neighbour the Nagelkerke R^2 is below 0.1). This suggests that neighbouring is not closely associated with sociodemographic variations and that other factors come into play. For example, the value of 'good neighbouring' (see above) might be more important for the formation of neighbour relationships.

What kind of relationships are (trusted) neighbours?
Up to this point, I have only discussed the prevalence and number of locality-based ties, but these relationships also vary for intimacy and patterns of exchange. Not all trusted neighbours were actually 'neighbours' and reporting a 'trusted' neighbour did not mean the same thing for everyone. For each network member we asked interviewees how they would describe their rela-

---

61   These results are the same when the analysis includes only those who reported at least one trusted neighbour.

62   In 2007, the share of movers to and from Hillesluis was 11 and 15 per cent of the neighbourhood population; these statistics are 13 and 14 per cent for Blijdorp. In 2002, the share of movers to and from Cool was equal at 17 per cent of the population. For Rotterdam in total: 12 and 13 per cent.

	1 trusted neighbour		2 trusted neighbours		1 other neighbour	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood						
Hillesluis (ref.)	3.785		6.812		1.813	
Cool	1.118	0.733	0.348	0.837	0.209	1.15
Blijdorp	0.532	1.325	2.977	±** 1.897	1.688	1.648
Socioeconomic status						
Female	0.008	1.021	0.504	1.185	1.883	1.404
Paid job	0.415	1.233	1.835	1.577	0.328	0.829
Native Dutch	0.021	1.043	0.639	0.784	1.885	0.651
Single	0.357	1.160	0.797	0.796	0.248	0.877
Age	2.518	1.016	7.757	** 1.030	4.672	* 1.023
Medium-/high-skilled	0.412	1.214	0.119	1.112	0.429	0.815
Children 0-13 year	7.143	** 2.333	0.332	1.188	5.678	* 2.045
Owner-occupant	0.063	1.076	0.465	1.219	0.418	1.215
Years in dwelling	3.356	1.031	1.179	1.016	0.372	0.991
Constant	2.738	0.363	14.761	*** 0.082	6.849	** 0.185
-2 Log Likelihood	443.378		434.294		414.102	
Nagelkerke R²	0.096		0.117		0.09	
N	356		356		344	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, [± compared to Cool]

tionship with this person. By far the majority of 'trusted neighbours' were described as 'neighbours': on average 75 per cent were described as such (see Table 6.5). On average 13 per cent of the trusted neighbours were described as friends, 6 per cent were described as household and family members, and another 6 per cent as club members, colleagues, acquaintances and otherwise connected people. The trusted neighbours of Hillesluisians are slightly less likely to be described as 'neighbours' (65 per cent) and more likely to be described as household and family members (11 per cent), and as 'otherwise connected' (9 per cent). Blijdorpers' trusted neighbours were slightly more often described as friends, while the trusted neighbours of Cool residents were most often described as neighbours. Note that, as I have described in Chapter 4, these labels are crude descriptions and merely indicative for how people have met and what is and could be exchanged in the relationship. For example, people might have met as neighbours and later become friends or colleagues. The in-depth interviews suggest that the label 'neighbour' was sometimes used for network members who were really seen as friends and were also more 'friend-like' in practice. These statistics thus might slightly underestimate the number of non-neighbour connections.

We gain more insight into the relationship with 'trusted neighbours' through people's answers to the follow-up question: 'What do you mean by "trust"?'. Table 6.6 summarizes interviewees' answers. I ordered them into four broad categories: neighbouring, close relationship, babysitting, and other answers. The latter category includes responses such as: 'I know this person would not harm me' and 'my neighbour is a nice person'.

Table 6.5 Trusted neighbours and type of connections (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Household and family	11	8	1	6
Friend	15	8	19	13
Neighbour	65	81	74	75
Other	9	3	6	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (ties)	125	201	168	494

Table 6.6 Meaning of trust in neighbours (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Neighbouring	53	70	63	63
Close relationship	28	17	21	21
Babysitting	10	7	14	10
Other	10	6	1	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Mentions key	39	52	63	52
N (respondents)	61	95	71	227

Note: Missing not included in total; "missing key" overlaps with other categories; "neigh-bouring" refers to "has key (permanent or during holidays)", "takes care of mail", "watches the house during holidays", "borrows food and tools" and "helps in case of emergency".

Most interviewees (63 per cent) referred to what we might see as 'typical' neighbouring exchanges, such as help in case of emergency, taking care of the mail, plants and pets during holidays, exchange of keys, and borrowing things. Half of the people mentioned 'keys': either neighbours held on to the key permanently or people would give a key during holidays or when other-wise convenient. Hillesluisians were a bit less likely to exchange keys, which may indicate that for them the exchange of keys is less a matter-of-course action than it was for many Blijdorpers. The exchange of small favours and calling on others in case of emergency (sometimes as a 'last resort') confirm the practicality of having neighbours: they are right next door so asking them to take care of plants and mail during holidays is particularly convenient, especially when one's family does not live nearby. Giving someone the key to your house indeed requires a certain level of 'trust' in someone, but it does not necessarily involve liking each other's company or spending a lot of time together.

About one in five interviewees indicated that they were quite close to their trusted neighbours (Table 6.6). For some, this was a family member, while others described their neighbours as friends and even 'best friends'. One woman described her relationship with her neighbour as 'like sisters'. Trust could mean sharing personal problems, telling each other 'everything', doing things together and visiting each other. For these people, neighbours are not just convenient for practical matters but they are an active relationship in their personal network. This applies also to those who said that they could

or would leave their children with their neighbours (if needed) or that their neighbours would babysit their children. When we consider all neighbour relations, 17 per cent of the relationships were described as 'close' (that is, interviewees said they 'feel particularly close' to these neighbours). With 29 per cent of the neighbours, people had had dinner in the last three months, and with 15 per cent of the neighbours people had spent time together during an activity outside the home.

The in-depth interviews confirmed that whether people reported one or more 'trusted neighbours' said little about the closeness of these relationships. Riet (b. 1946, retired (former shop assistant), married, adult children, Hillesluis), for example, a Dutch woman living in Hillesluis, named four trusted neighbours, including her son who lived next door. When I talked to Riet for the second time, she explained that her relationship with two of these neighbours had cooled down as she had discovered that they had racist sentiments. Being married to a Turk (with whom she had two children) and feeling Turkish herself (she self-identified as having a Turkish ethnicity), this had put a strain on their relationship. One of her neighbours was now supporting Geert Wilders (a populist right-wing politician), and the other sometimes would complain about 'too many foreigners here' and the nuisance that they would cause in the street. In addition they had had troubles about a new fence; it was when the neighbour did not lift a finger with erecting the new fence that Riet and her husband noticed that their neighbour 'was not the person who we though he was'. Yet, when I asked her whether she would still report them as 'neighbours who I particularly trust' she said, 'No, no, I would say the same [people]'. Subsequently she said that she would add another 'trusted neighbour': an old classmate of her son, a Turkish man, had moved in with his family just nearby and she had become close with his wife. They had had 'troubles' with which Riet had helped them, and Riet teaches their children to do fancywork and helps out with homework. While Riet is wary of calling her this woman a friend—'I don't have [female] friends, really like, real friends, it's just a neighbour, whom I like very much, if I put it that way'— her relationship with this new neighbour is obviously very different and more intimate than with her other 'trusted neighbours'.

The in-depth interviews further confirmed that 'trusted neighbours' were mostly neighbours with whom people shared a little bit more than greeting and the occasional, incidental chat. In the interviews I asked people about their direct neighbours, those that had not been reported as trusted neighbours. Some of them also maintained transactions, while others are better described as attachments: relationships were maintained because people valued good neighbourly relationships but they usually comprised of little more than greeting each other and chatting. Jeffrey (b. 1975, refuse collection, single, child, Hillesluis), for example, did not report any trusted neighbours although he chatted regularly with his neighbours. When I asked him

whether he would consider leaving his child with them in case he had to go somewhere unexpectedly, he said: 'Well I could, they do keep an eye on us, and we on them, but that's about it. (...) [We maintain] normal social contacts, right, helping each other out a bit, right, watch the car, they watch my stuff'. Some of the direct neighbours were 'interdependencies' rather than relationships. Jeffrey's other neighbours had just moved in, and while their children played together, Jeffrey had not spoken with his new neighbours yet because they had not introduced themselves to him. Their relationship thus remained a 'knowing-of-each-other's-presence' relation, which is not a personal relationship but rather interdependence (Blokland, 2003b: 80).

To summarize, for some respondents, their direct neighbours are little more than interdependencies: people know of one another but that is about it. Most neighbours who were mentioned as network members, but also many non-reported direct neighbours, are attachments, with the potential of becoming transactions. People greet each other and chat on occasion. Attachments are based on affinity and in the case of neighbour relations this is often related to norms of 'good neighbouring' (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986; Blokland, 2003b: 81). This means respecting privacy as well as offering help when asked for. When neighbours exchange small services, exchange spare keys and borrow stuff from each other, attachments can (temporarily) transform into transactions. For some neighbour-ties these transactions are merely incidental, as when a neighbour forgets to buy eggs or locks himself out of the house. Such incidental exchanges are contingent on the norms of good neighbouring. Routine exchanges such as babysitting, and services that require some commitment and time, may exceed the norms of good neighbouring. For some people these exchanges are needed to get by in everyday life (transactions), for others these exchanges are based on affectivity (bonds). In the latter case, the exchange of services becomes a by-product of the in-itself-valued relationship.

Neighbour relations that are attachments (good neighbouring) are mostly 'reactive' (Kusenbach, 2008) in that neighbours respond to requests for help, but usually would not offer help without being asked—perhaps because one might run the risk of being accused of nosiness, but also because people are not always aware of other people's needs). Neighbour relations that have developed into (routine, everyday) transactions and bonds are usually 'proactive' (ibid.) in that people look out for each other and offer help when they think it is needed—and they can do so because they are familiar with each other's daily routines and needs (cf. latent–manifest neighbouring, Abrams and Bulmer, 1986: 22).

More than just neighbours: parents and neighbouring
Most neighbour relations are characterized by typical practices of neighbouring. Sometimes neighbouring involved more than exchanging greetings and

Table 6.7 Meaning of trust in neighbours, according to parents (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Neighbouring	42	43	41	42
Close relationship	29	29	14	23
Babysitting	29	29	46	35
N (respondents)	17	21	22	60

returning favours, and friendships or friend-like relationships developed. Often the basis for this relationship was having young children. In this section, I focus on the parents in the study and their practices of neighbouring. I focus on parents with children under 13 because at this age, children still go to primary school, which is often located in the neighbourhood, and they are still at an age that they will need a babysitter. Children are also, compared with older children, more locally oriented in making friends and playing. So from a perspective of the life world of children, as well as the convenience for parents to be able to call on the help of people nearby, it is to be expected that parents with young children are more involved in neighbour-relationships—which we saw is the case for the people in this study. Having children may form a common interest on the basis of which a more intimate or more frequent relationship can develop. Both may facilitate the exchange of resources, either because people are willing to make an effort to help someone, or because exchanges are part of routine activities (see Chapter 4).

Of the 89 parents with young children, 73 per cent reported a trusted neighbour and 69 per cent reported a neighbour through one of the 18 name-generating questions. Compared with the practices of neighbouring for all interviewees, parents are more likely to call on their neighbours when they need a babysitter, and they more often maintain a more intimate relationship (Table 6.7, compare with Table 6.6). One in three parents said that (one of) their trusted neighbours babysits their child(ren), and nearly one in four discusses personal issues or said that they had a close relationship with their trusted neighbour. This supports the idea that particularly having young children draws neighbours together and allows the development of 'just neighbour' relationships into closer relationships.

Tables 6.8 and 6.9 show the differences in reporting (trusted) neighbours and the number of (trusted) neighbours that parents reported as network members. Fewer Hillesluisian parents reported one or more neighbours as network members (44 per cent), compared with Cool parents (74 per cent) and Blijdorp parents (89 per cent). Thus, not even half of the parents in Hillesluis reported a neighbour, while nearly all parents in Blijdorp and a majority of the Cool parents did. Hillesluisians reported fewer trusted neighbours (although the difference is not significant). They also reported fewer neighbours in general than did Cool residents and Blijdorpers. Because of the small number of parents in the study, we should be cautious about interpreting statistical differences. However, the difference is the more remarkable considering the numbers of parents in the neighbourhood. A total of 40 per cent of the Hillesluisian households are single parents and couples with children, compared with 14 and 17 per cent of the households in Cool and Blijdorp respec-

Table 6.8 Parents reporting (trusted) neighbours (percentages)

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All	Significance (Cramer's V)
1 neighbour [all]	44	71	89	69	** .342
1 trusted neighbour [ng4]	59	77	82	73	Ns
1 other neighbour	31	51	50	45	Ns
N	27	35	27	89	

Note: Significance for Hillesluis compared to Cool and Blijdorp.
**p<.01

Table 6.9 Number of (trusted) neighbours reported by parents

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All	N
Neighbours [all]	1.92	3.28	2.17	2.57	61
Trusted neighbour [ng4]	1.94	2.33	2.27	2.22	65
Other neighbours	1.13	2.83	1.38	2.00	39

Note: Only those with at least one neighbour included.

tively (see Section 2.2). From a statistical viewpoint—that is, that meeting opportunities increase as the numerical presence of certain groups increases—we would expect that Hillesluisian parents would form relationships with neighbouring parents at least as often as parents would in Cool and Blijdorp, not less often. The difference in neighbouring, particularly between Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers, suggests that there is something worth examining in more detail.

Cross tabulations show that single parents (n=11) are less likely to report a neighbour compared with couples (50 vs. 73 per cent) and they reported fewer neighbours (1.73 vs 2.31). Parents with high-skilled jobs were also more likely to report a (trusted) neighbour (89 per cent, compared with 52 to 68 per cent of the other parents), but this statistic is probably correlated with neighbourhood (as many Blijdorpers have high-skilled jobs). There is no difference between employed and unemployed parents, or between parents of Dutch and non-Western origin. Because of the small number of parents in the sample (89) it is not possible to include all individual-level variables in a multivariate analysis, so I included only neighbourhood and job skill level as a proxy for socioeconomic status. The results are shown in Table 6.10 and confirm that parents in Hillesluis are significantly less likely to report one or more neighbours. They are however not less likely to report a trusted neighbour.

This difference might be explained in several ways. Firstly, it might be related to feelings of safety. Hillesluisians in general are more likely to feel unsafe at home and during the nighttime.[63] Parents in unsafe neighbourhoods may adopt certain parenting strategies, such as limiting interaction with neighbours whom they think have deviant lifestyles (Jarrett, 1997; Pinkster, 2008b).

---

63 Parents are not more likely to feel unsafe than other residents.

Table 6.10 Logistic regression analysis on parents reporting (trusted) neighbour

	1 neighbour		1 trusted neighbour	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Hillesluis (ref.)	8.273		2.742	
Cool	4.664	* 3.255	2.353	2.385
Blijdorp	6.089	* 7.162	1.215	2.241
Resource-rich [1]	1.007	1.767	.694	1.642
Constant	1.005	.632	.154	1.195
-2 Log Likelihood	96.781		99.289	
Nagelkerke R²	.205		.071	
N	89		89	

[1] Medium- and high-skilled occupation.
*p<.05

We would expect that parents' own feelings of safety are associated with how they assess the safety of their child or children. However, when 'feeling safe' is added to the analysis, neighbourhood remains the only significantly variable associated with whether one reported a neighbour as a network member (analysis not shown).

A second explanation may be that parents in Hillesluis are not less likely to be involved in neighbouring as such—based on attachment and (limited) transaction—but that they are less likely to transform their just-neighbour relations into bonds—ties based on affectivity. In contrast to attachments and transactions, bonds are not based on values (e.g. of good neighbouring) or need but on (mutual) appreciation of the relationship itself.

Jeffrey, for example, feels that living in Hillesluis is not conducive to developing 'sociable' relationships with fellow-residents. Above I briefly discussed Jeffrey's relationships with his neighbours, which can be described as attachment (chatting, keeping an eye on each other) and interdependency (never talk to each other, although his child plays with the neighbour's children). I asked Jeffrey whether he thought he 'fits' in the neighbourhood. On the one hand, he said, he feels at home because he grew up around the area. But on the other hand, considering the ways in which people in Hillesluis live their lives, Jeffrey feels he does not fit in. Jeffrey contrasted Hillesluis with Vreewijk, the adjacent neighbourhood where he grew up and which is known as a peaceful 'village' in the city,[64] and Hillesluis came off worst. For Jeffrey, Hillesluis just did not fit in with his imagined future and his aspirations ('standards and aims'). He would rather move to Vreewijk:

> That's the opposite of Hillesluis, right here [points outside the window], there's just this bridge that separates the neighbourhoods, right. They are two different worlds.

---

64 Vreewijk is a 'garden village', planned as a village with many terraced houses and green spaces. Despite the many old dwellings and its official status as one of the 40 problem areas (appointed by the Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration), Vreewijk is one of the most popular areas in Rotterdam. Part of Vreewijk is designated as protected cityscape. Its image is one of a tightly-knit but also closed community.

GE: What's so different there, compared with [Hillesluis]?

Well, you know, when I grew up there for example, you could count the non-Dutch minorities [*allochtonen*] on your hand, on your fingers, and you still can, that I think has something to do with it.

GE: How does that make it a different neighbourhood?

Well, that makes it more suitable, I think that the middle-class people live there, and well, people who work, let's put it that way, you know, social interaction, normal things, you know, and you just don't have that here in the street.

GE: Are there many people in Hillesluis who don't work?

Well it's not particularly about not working, but social interaction here in the street is just zero, you know, you don't talk to each other and hello and wave and that's it, you know. And that's with single family dwellings, you have more neighbour interactions, more sociable [*gezellig*], more social, these kinds of things, and in this neighbourhood [Hillesluis] you just don't have that, with apartments.

(Hillesluisian, male, 33, single-parent of one child)

For Jeffrey, living in Hillesluis matters not particularly for neighbouring—interaction with 'just neighbours'—but, in his perception and experience, it matters for a deeper involvement with fellow-residents—beyond 'hi and bye'. Hillesluisians are not the kinds of people, according to Jeffrey, who maintain 'sociable' relationships with each other, and he points to several factors as explanation: the proportion of ethnic minorities, whether people work or not, and the types of dwellings. Ideas about the negative effects of the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood show through Jeffrey's explanation, and he sees this negative image confirmed in his (absent) relation with his new neighbours, who had not even introduced themselves to him.

The question is whether it is this negative image of the neighbourhood itself that plays a role in the formation of locality-based relationship, or whether it has more to do with people's everyday experiences and encounters with fellow-residents (which may then confirm the negative image). My argument, worked out below, is that a general and negative image of the neighbourhood in itself not structure—that is, hinder or stimulate—interaction between fellow-residents. Rather, interaction is structured by everyday encounters and practices, which may or may not, confirm or shape general beliefs about the neighbourhood. Interaction is furthermore structured by the setting in which these encounters take place, and in particular the way in which the setting itself generates 'rules of relevancy'—(unwritten) norms about what is expected and acceptable within the boundaries of relationships (see Section 3.5 and Chapter 4). The micro-neighbourhood is not a neutral space in which interaction takes place; rather it is a setting in which neighbours work out a balance between proximity and privacy, and as such the micro-neighbourhood involves certain 'guidelines' for interaction among people. I work out this argument in the remainder of this chapter.

6.5   Reading ethnicity as 'otherness'

To summarize, I have shown that Hillesluisians, Cool residents and Blijdorpers are equally likely to (not) report neighbours and trusted neighbours as network members. This suggests that, in general, discomfort with diversity and dissociation due to neighbourhood stigma is not directly associated with the formation of locality-based ties. If they were, we would have found that Hillesluisians, and perhaps Cool residents, are less likely to form locality-based ties. For parents of young children, however, living in Hillesluis is associated with including fewer neighbours in the personal network. I have shown that most locality-based network members are—following Blokland's (2003b) distinction of four types of relationships—transactions and attachments rather than bonds, and that the transformation of attachment or transaction into bonds is more likely to happen when fellow-residents have something in common such as young children.

In contrast to relationships based on attachment, relationships based on affectivity are ultimately based on sameness and reciprocity. Relationships based on affectivity exist because people like each other and like to socialize with each other. Graham Allan (1998b, 2008) and Ray Pahl (2000; 2005) have emphasized that friendship, unlike many relationships that are labelled as kinship, colleagueship and neighbouring, is a chosen relationship. (Note that ties with kin can be friendship-like: it is the content of the relationship that matters, not necessarily the connection.) Most relationships emerge from a shared focus of activity (Feld, 1981; Feld and Carter, 1998) and when this initial focus, or the setting in which the activity took place, falls away, the relationships that survive are maintained for the sake of sociability. People then may create new foci of activity such as hobbies or sports (Feld and Carter, 1998), which requires some similarity in interests, either in the new activity or in each other. In this situation, sameness becomes more important (cf. studies on homophily that found that homophily is more prevalent for ties that are more intimate, see Mollenhorst *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, we can conclude, the formation of bonds requires a certain level of equality, reciprocity and 'sameness'. Yet the experience of 'sameness' may be what is missing in many encounters between fellow-residents in such multi-ethnic neighbourhoods as Hillesluis. The assessment that fellow-residents are 'different' or 'not like me' may form a barrier for locality-based ties to develop from interdependencies or just neighbours into bonds.

Here is an example. Claudia regretted that she was the only Dutch person in her street (in Hillesluis), and while she now and then socialized with her neighbours, she wishes she had more interaction. About two years ago, at the time of the first interview, she was involved in *Opzoomeren* (an initiative through which residents can apply for financial support to organize activities for the street, e.g. clean the porches, a barbeque or a Christmas tree). That

did not work out well, in part because other residents were too busy, in part because non-Dutch residents had difficultly understanding what it was all about:

> Well, I'm the only Dutchwoman [in this street], and well if you have to do everything by yourself, and that just doesn't work. And also many [people] here in the street work, and also, use of language is different, but that doesn't mean that they are not nice neighbours. Because two years ago we had a Turkish foster child and that was really appreciated by the [Turkish] neighbours, that we did that, so we got food and yes that was really nice. And that's, in any case if there's something, like last year during football then the neighbours are also watching and then it's like "Tea?" Then you get a cup of tea and that's just really nice, really nice.

So while the temporarily-shared focus (Claudia's Turkish foster child) transformed, temporarily, the relationship with her next-door neighbours, she still regretted that she was not able to form more intimate ties with her fellow-residents. She thinks she is very different from her next-door neighbours, as they are hardly ever at home because they all work while she is always at home (she takes care of foster children, she thus works at home), and she likes to sit in her garden while her neighbours did not. According to Claudia, this was also related to their 'different cultures': 'I think so, it's not that they are not nice or anything, but I think that that somehow matters'. Although she still feels that Hillesluis is 'my neighbourhood'—she has been living there for 28 years—she wants to move away, because she does not like all the 'foreign shops', that there is not a normal clothes shop, only 'Pakistani stores'.

She tells that at the schoolyard everyone sorts out into groups, there's a 'Turkish group, a Moroccan group, a Hindustani group, and they all speak their own language. And then I said, "Can't you just speak Dutch? I feel like a foreigner in my own country when you're all speaking your own language."'. But then they would say that they were not talking about her, they were not gossiping about her, and then they would laugh and give Claudia a hug. But that's not the point, she says, she just doesn't like it. They all know her and greet her and, Claudia stresses, it's not that they are not nice people. The neighbourhood just is not as it used to be. 'Before, if you said you were living at the Beijerlandselaan [the central shopping street], people would say "wow". But now it's nothing anymore.'. Claudia adds that her son is not at all concerned about the neighbourhood and people talking different languages; he grew up in Hillesluis and he 'doesn't know any better'.

I discuss Claudia's perceptions about how the neighbourhood has changed and her struggles with people from 'different cultures' in some detail, because it may have become the typical story of an 'original' resident (a term of Reijndorp, 2004)—native Dutch, established in the neighbourhood, and who has seen the transformation of the area into a 'coloured' neighbourhood. If

anyone would be 'uncomfortable' with diversity, it would be these 'originals'. But although Claudia no longer feels 'at home' she is anything but withdrawing from socializing with her fellow-residents. She is making an effort to get in touch with people—by addressing people on the schoolyard, by organizing street events—yet she feels her efforts are a dead end. Ironically, it is these efforts that are not returned which confirms her feeling that she does not really belong in Hillesluis anymore. In addition, her encounters, as well as her observation that all the shops have changed, reinforce her idea that she is different from her fellow-residents—differences that she interprets as 'cultural' differences.

Sign-reading operations in Hillesluis: ethnicity as lifestyle
The idea that people of different ethnic origin have a different 'culture' and thus a different way of life was a recurrent theme in the interviews with Hillesluisians.[65] People rely on all sorts of cues—bodily appearance, clothes, speech, posture—to decipher what to think of others and to assess whether they are 'people like us' or not. Bourdieu (1984: 243) speaks about 'sign-reading operations' through which people assess whether there is a 'match' between tastes and lifestyle (I discuss this idea more in detail in Chapter 7). Through people's sign-reading, ethnicity—or ethnic *appearance*, as sometimes people know little more than that—can become an essential aspect of who other people are—in the perception of the people who do the sign-reading, that is. When I asked people to describe their direct neighbours, the following kinds of descriptions were typical for Hillesluisians:

> GE: Can you tell me something about your direct neighbours?
> A bit, a bit. Below (...) elderly couple from East Turkey, they are only here in wintertime, in the summer they go to Turkey (...) Across from them, I don't know them, I only know that they always have shoes in front of the door. Next to me a Cape-Verdean girl, she's afraid of mice, so I already went mice-hunting there. Nice girl, works in a clothing shop. Above me a Moroccan [man], seen him twice, only know he has horrible aftershave. Across the hall, Moroccan girl, headscarf, but sociable, now and then a chat.
> – Hendrik (b. 1949, unemployed (formerly a teacher, doorkeeper, factory worker), single, Hillesluis)
> GE: There are six apartments here? Who lives upstairs?
> There lives [someone] from Kosovo, across the hall lives a Turkish family, downstairs a Cape-Verdean man, also alone, sometimes a girlfriend visits, downstairs, here [across the hall] that's my friend, and me, that's it.

65　I rarely discussed ethnicity with Blijdorpers because their network members and neighbours were mostly Dutch, like they are. Sometimes we talked about an originally-Asian friend or Indonesian neighbour, but usually interviewees stressed that they were 'really Dutch'—which confirms that ethnicity is constructed and in practice comes in play particularly when it concerns people of African, Caribbean and Middle-Eastern origin.

– Umaima (b. 1969, unemployed (formerly administrative worker), single, children, Hille-sluis)

Particularly when people did not know their neighbours that well and thus had to rely on visible cues to describe and categorize them, ethnic origin became a salient feature of fellow-residents. Ethnicity was almost always mentioned in describing fellow-residents. Blijdorpers mostly had only Dutch neighbours. This is a description of Maarten's direct neighbours, of whom none were in his personal network:

> GE: And the neighbours next to you [what do they look like]?
> Next [door], a couple the same age as me and my partner, and above them a couple about five years older, and below a woman, she is, I think, about six years older than I am (…) and opposite her lives an elderly woman
> – Maarten

Maarten relies on age, gender and household composition to assess his neighbours, Hendrik and Umaima rely on the same features plus ethnicity. Apparently, the ethnic origin or appearance adds information that is useful for deciphering who these persons are and whether people can identify with them or not. When talking about people from other ethnic origins, they were often described as having a different 'culture'. The way that people talked about this culture suggests that people interpreted ethnic origin as culture and assumed, rather than knew from personal experience, that people would therefore be different from them in their way of life. This confirms Tajfel's (1982) observation that categorization is based also on 'pre-existing' notions about others.

In the in-depth interviews, I asked people whether and how they thought they were different from their network members and direct neighbours (as far as these were not reported as network members). I did not ask about features associated with ethnic origin directly, but let people talk about whatever feature they thought was different. When people talked about people of different ethnic origin, they nearly always mentioned it and brought up difference in culture. When I asked people what this difference in 'culture' meant, some people had difficulty explaining this to me, and sometimes their answers suggest that referring to 'culture' was based more on general assumptions about ethnicity and nationalities.

For example, Rosita—born and bred in the Antilles—has Pakistani, Turkish and Dutch neighbours. I asked her about her Turkish neighbours, and she thought they were not similar in any aspect, so I asked her whether she thought that they were very different from each other:

> Yes, I suppose so … Because they have a different culture … I too have a different culture,

so it could be that that is different ...
GE: And can you see that they have a different culture?
Yes, clothes. The woman has a headscarf. ... Because I know of Turkish people that they
have a different culture, so that's how I can tell.
GE: Do you know any other Turkish people?
No, only from here in the neighbourhood, but [I do] not know [them] really well.

About her Dutch neighbours she says:

I do think they are different. Because I... I think because I am Antillean. Different culture.
So there's always difference, if you have another culture. That's what I think. With respect
to food, they usually eat potatoes, I [eat] rice. Sometimes baked or boiled potatoes but
usually rice. So that difference is there.

What is interesting in this and also the next conversation, is that other peo-
ple's ethnic origin is presumed to be associated with culture—Rosita just
knows it is. With Wibbe, born and bred in Rotterdam, I talked about a commu-
nity worker with whom he had been in touch about neighbourhood matters.
I asked whether Wibbe thought they were different in any respect and he re-
sponded that there was 'of course' a difference in culture. When I asked what
that meant, he said that this community worker was a 'foreign man'—from
Morocco or Turkey, Wibbe was not sure about this—because his appearance
was 'foreign'. According to Wibbe, that meant that he 'could have, or *has*, real-
ly, a different cultural background'. In their interaction he was 'just like any-
one else' so Wibbe had not noticed much about the community worker's cul-
ture or 'identity'. He thought that the man might be a Muslim, but then real-
ized that he would sometimes have a beer 'so then it can't really be a Mus-
lim'. Once Wibbe considered in detail what it was, this different culture, he re-
alized he did not really know. (He stressed that 'it is not a prejudice because I
don't judge [others], so then it can't be a prejudice'.)

Wibbe's struggle with what culture meant and how he knew that the com-
munity worker must have a different culture, nicely shows how people auto-
matically think that people from another ethnic origin are different without
necessarily knowing much about the other and his or her way of life. Differ-
ences were automatically framed in terms of 'culture', which was related to
people's different ethnic background and which dominated over other differ-
ences such as age, generation, lifestyle and socioeconomic status.

Intergroup versus interpersonal interaction: age, household, ethnicity
Relations in the setting of the micro-neighbourhood are usually interdepend-
encies, attachments and transactions rather than bonds. They interviews sug-
gest that they often are 'intergroup' rather than 'interpersonal' interactions,
which are according to Tajfel (1982) 'two hypothetical extremes of a continu-

um of social interaction':

> the 'interpersonal extreme' is defined as 'interaction between two or more individuals which is very largely determined by their individual characteristics and the nature of the personal relations between them'; and the 'intergroup extreme' defined as 'interactions which are largely determined by group memberships of the participants and very little—if at all—by their personal relations or individual characteristics' (Tajfel, 1982: 13).

In interpersonal interaction, people assess the other in terms of individual characteristics, and such features as character, interests and values come to the foreground and in this way say more about the person than his or her membership of categories such as gender and ethnic origin. In 'intergroup' or rather 'intercategorical' interaction, the characteristics of the category to which one is assigned remain at the foreground. Tajfel (ibid.: 15) further suggests that the emphasis on one's categorical membership can 'overwhelm the unfolding of interpersonal relations'. This in itself is not particularly worrisome. The sorting and shifting based on age and household composition, for example, are helpful in developing intimate relationships between people who match in life-course stage and concerns, and thus likely match in interests and activities. It is, however, worrisome when the sorting and shifting is based on ethnic origin because people automatically associate ethnic origin— or 'foreignness'—with 'culture' and, subsequently, with way of life, values, interests, and so on. The Dutch Council for Social Development (RMO, 2005: 49) argues that in the public perception, ethnicity and lifestyle are often wrongly seen as synonymous, while there is 'no a priori reason for people to expect that people who are different in respect to ethnicity, are different from each other in respect to lifestyle' (ibid., my translation).

Particularly in settings that lack joint activities (contrary to such settings as the workplace or associations) through which people can get to know more about others, people have to rely on what they observe in order to categorize others and assess whether others are 'people like us'. Blokland (2008: 141) writes:

> 'Reading' others who we do not really know in public spaces depends on coded information—in present times mainly coded along ethnic lines. [Native] Dutch people often quickly know how to assess each other's lifestyle based on 'reading' subcultural marks. Turkish-Dutch people also know that. Across ethnic boundaries, the subtleties in lifestyles are less easy directly recognized. When people do not feel at home that is not because people prefer alike people and that in the studied neighbourhoods all 'sorts of people' are mixed up. It is merely that the lack of frames to interpret the cultural codes of others on the street. (my translation, emphasis in original).

In other words, ethnicity does not necessarily constitute a particular lifestyle,

but as people have difficulty interpreting variations in lifestyles in combination with differences in ethnic origin, people tend to assume that ethnic-others must have a different lifestyle and differ in practices. In a setting where all people are similar, it is reasonable for people to assume that they must all have similar norms and manners (Blokland, 2008: 141).

The point is not that Blijdorpers think that their neighbours are necessarily similar to them because they are also 'white' and thus, as the interpretation probably goes, raised in the Netherlands. Blijdorpers draw boundaries based on age and household composition and thus infer that some people have a different way of life. Age is a marker for generation and in many occasions this reflects in different practices—whether real or in the perception of others. Dominique has two elderly neighbours, sisters, who live upstairs, and she describes how she thinks they are similar to and different from her:

> [We] both [suffer] health problems. We can really go on about that. [But] no, that's not really something that... What we have in common is that her grandchildren went to the same primary school as I did, well that's of course rather unique. But otherwise, no. She doesn't go outside, you know. Her world is very small. She watches all the soap operas and those kinds of shows.
> GE: And how are you different, you think?
> Well, another generation.
> GE: Can you notice that in your interaction?
> Yes. Well, look, these are rather noisy houses. I always think, you hear people walking and sometimes music, where people live you're bound to hear that but for them [the two elderly neighbours] that is awful, they think it's horrible that they have to hear all this. I think, well, tomorrow it's you, the day after [it's] me, well that's just how it is, it's not an old people's home of course. They find that difficult sometimes.

The two elderly neighbours would also like to see the stairs and front doors being kept clean more often, but for Dominique that is not necessary, because 'in the old days they cleaned everything twice a week, every housewife cleaned her own doors. That just doesn't happen [now]. People work nowadays. [...] For them it's not what it used to be, but that's just the times'. In this example, the difference in age is interpreted as difference in lifestyle because Dominique knows or assumes that her neighbours do very different everyday things and think differently about things.

Blijdorper Stefan lives together with his boyfriend, and has neighbours of various ages—a couple in their late-fifties, no children; a couple in their late-sixties, maybe seventies; and downstairs a young couple, thirty-something, with two kids. Stefan did not think the people downstairs were similar in their lifestyle, because 'well, [with] two kids you know, I think they go to bed around seven o'clock at night, really really early'. For Stefan, the fact that his neighbours have children makes the difference, and it probably does as he

still regularly goes out at night and never plans anything.[66]

For Hillesluisians, these differences of course also played a role. However, next to these differences, ethnic or foreign origin is interpreted as a marker for lifestyle, but whereas age and household composition are often fairly accurate markers of similarities and differences in lifestyle, ethnic origin is not necessarily. For parents in Blijdorp, similarity in lifestyle is inferred from similarity in life-course stage, which is relatively easy to interpret, given their similarity in ethnic origin (i.e., born and bred in the Netherlands). Similarity in lifestyle is less obvious when parents are ethnic-others: similarity in life-course stage is not enough to infer similarities in lifestyle when differences in ethnic origin are 'read' as differences in lifestyle. Ethnic diversity thus means an extra 'marker' of difference to interpret and to overcome for parents in Hillesluis—this may be reflected in variations in reporting locality-based ties between Hillesluis parents and parents in Cool and Blijdorp.

Consider, for example, how Maureen and Kristel thought about their neighbours. Their children seemed the 'focus of activity' for socializing with their neighbours and thus they spend quite some time with them. However, ethnic origin and the different 'culture' remained dominant in describing similarities and differences. Maureen, a single mother of six (see also above), was quite close in terms of exchanging favours with her (Pakistani) neighbours but described cultural differences which also had to do with parenting. Maureen (born and raised in Cape-Verde) thought the children should play in the park or at the playground, and not in front of the door where there was not enough space. Her neighbours, however, would not let their children go out to play unsupervised and would rather have their children playing in front of the house. As I noted above, this relationship did not seem very satisfying for Maureen.

Another Hillesluisian mother, Kristel, was also quite close to her neighbour (who had moved away between the first and second interview)—they talked about personal things and went together with the children to the lake in the summertime. Before she moved away, Kristel (born and bred in the Netherlands) considered her to be a friend, yet she did not think they had anything in common:

> GE: Are there any things you have common you think?
> Not really no. She is Hungarian and she has very different norms and values than I have.

---

66   Stefan tells that one of his best friends has children and that their lives are very different because his friend plans everything, while Stefan does not even know what he will do this weekend. Other single and childless respondents who had friends with children also talked about how things had changed, that they could not visit or go out spontaneously anymore, and they saw each other less often. The friendship survived probably because they were formed before this major life event, but when friends had children this had a great impact on friendships, which shows that this can be considered as a difference in 'lifestyle', at least as it comes to everyday practices.

GE: Can you give an example?

I'm [in favour] with the children of peace and quiet, order and good and healthy eating, eating on time, in bed on time. And with her it was that, in the afternoon they would have a hot meal at one o'clock, and at six o'clock again [a] hot [meal]. And then the little one went to bed at seven o'clock, at other times at nine. For them that's normal because they're used to it in Hungary, but with us it's peace and order.

So while Kristel and Maureen spend quite some time with their respective neighbours, supporting one another with parenting through activities with the children and babysitting each other's children, there remained differences that needed to be overcome and these differences were attributed to 'culture'. There is a danger that ethnicity, read as culture, then becomes an all-encompassing cause for differences in practices. Maureen and Kristel's descriptions of their neighbours pose the question—which cannot be answered here because I did not interview the respondents' network members—whether these are really differences in 'culture' or rather differences in parenting strategies which are 'misread' as cultural differences.

The dominance of ethnicity as a marker may obscure other markers—and that is not necessarily or in the first place because people do not want to see these other markers but because unfamiliarity with the 'subcultural codes' of people of non-Dutch ethnic origin makes it difficult for people to read the 'subtleties in lifestyles' (Blokland, 2008: 141). In this way, the ethnic diversity of a neighbourhood may pose barriers for residents to get over initial hesitations and to get beyond groping and assessing similarities and differences. In this way, some people indeed are uncomfortable with diversity and otherness because in their perception it is the different ethnic origin and other traditions, values and way of life that hinders the formation of relationships. All differences, whether they are in fact more about lifestyle than about ethnic origin, are reduced to cultural differences.

The barrier is, however, I suggest, not only in ethnic diversity in itself but also in the type of setting and the associated 'rules of relevancy' that structure setting-specific relationships.

6.6 The bright side and downside of neighbouring

To recapitulate, the survey data show that the neighbourhood is a significant variable only for parents' locality-based relationships. This suggests that neighbourhood diversity and stigma matters not so much for neighbouring relations but it may matter for the transformation of 'just neighbours' into more intimate ties. Put differently, characteristics of the neighbourhood such as its diversity and stigma may have an impact on affectivity (bonds) as the

basis for a relationship, but not on affinity (attachment) as the basis.

Above I discussed 'friendship potential' as a condition for the contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998). Essentially the contact theory is about the transformation of 'intercategorical' interaction into 'interpersonal' interaction: once people interact with each other, get to know each other, they can set aside their prejudices because they learn that there is more to the person than his or her categorical features. A person becomes a 'self-contained entity' rather than a member of a category (Tajfel, 1982: 3). I raised the question as to whether the micro-neighbourhood is a setting that meets the condition of the 'friendship potential'. Friendships between fellow-residents and direct neighbours do develop, but often locality-based relations are based on attachment rather than affectivity. Few people would expect or desire to form friendships or close ties with their neighbours—in this sense the setting of the micro-neighbourhood as such may not meet the condition of friendship potential. The 'rules of relevancy'—the boundaries of what is expected and acceptable in relationships (see Chapter 4)—are such that neighbours respect each other's privacy and 'don't get in each other's hair' (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986). For most people, the micro-neighbourhood generates relationships that involve balancing proximity and privacy—this is what is usually meant by 'neighbouring' and 'just neighbour' relations. Greetings, brief chats and exchanging small services are what is expected and constitute most neighbour relations; involvement in each other's private business is not.

The downside of this lack of 'friendship potential' and the specific 'rules of relevancy' based on balancing proximity and privacy is that the transformation of intercategorical into interpersonal interaction is difficult even though people may interact with their neighbours frequently. Perceived—and actual—differences in lifestyle in turn make the transformation of 'just neighbourship' into relationships that go beyond 'hi and bye' more difficult. They remain more superficial in terms of exchange of resources.

The survey data supports this hypothesis. A closer examination of neighbour relations shows that, according to the interviewees, most neighbours belong to the same ethnic group and same class category as the interviewees (respectively 64 and 77 per cent of the neighbour-ties). We asked respondents whether they saw themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic, racial or national group (open-ended question), and how they would classify themselves in a class scheme (e.g. working class, middle class, upper class). Subsequently we asked them, for each of their network members, whether they belonged to the same ethnic, racial or national group and whether they had a similar class position—in the respondent's own perception. According to the respondents, by far the majority of their neighbours are similar in these respects.

Perceptions of difference may matter for people's access to resources. Respondents report that they feel close to neighbours more often when

these neighbours belong to the same ethnic group and particularly the same class category.[67] When respondents think their neighbours belong to a different ethnic group, they are less likely to have visited each other in the preceding three months and less likely to have had dinner together (see Table 6.11). When respondents said their neighbours belonged to a different class category, they less often said they 'feel close' to this neighbour, and are less likely to have visited, to have had dinner together or to carry out outdoor activities together. When people spend less time together, the opportunity decreases that they will exchange information or resources as by-product of their relationship or that the other is willing to make an effort to help (see Chapter 4). Perceptions of difference thus matter for the extent to which people can capitalize on opportunities to expand their network—form new relationships— and for the extent to which people have access to resources.

The patterns shown in Table 6.11 further suggest that it is not just (perceived) ethnic differences but also differences in (perceived) socioeconomic status that play a role in the perception of others as having a different 'culture'. People might interpret differences in terms of 'culture' while it really is about socioeconomic differences or milieu and upbringing (I discuss these differences in detail in Chapter 7). It might also demonstrate that people have no idea how to categorize others in terms of class when they are not of their 'own' ethnic category, and thus categorize all people from different ethnic backgrounds as occupying a different position in the class scheme.

Whether actual differences related to ethnic origin or 'culture' are at play, I cannot tell. In some cases actual differences will probably exist. In any case, perceived differences and dissatisfaction with relationships are framed— by the interviewees themselves—as resulting from cultural differences. In this way, we can understand why residents of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods feel less 'at home' in their neighbourhood or less satisfied with interactions among neighbours. The likelihood that people will have ethnic-other neighbours is evidently greater in mixed neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, the extent to which people withdraw from engaging with their neighbours should not be exaggerated. That is, the bright side of the generation of superficial relationships in the setting of micro-neighbourhoods—due to the balancing of privacy and proximity—is that the formation of locality-based relationships based on attachment, rather than affectivity, seems unaffected by perceptions of differences. When there is no need or wish to get involved with each other beyond greeting, chatting and small

---

67   One may argue that respondents perceive others as different because they do not socialize with them, and thus translate distance in everyday life into difference in class category. Recall that these neighbours are all network members—they were reported through the various name-generating questions and thus in some way have provided interviewees with support (either as being a 'trusted neighbour' or otherwise). Within this category of locality-based ties, variations in joint activities are associated with perceptions of difference.

Table 6.11 Type of contact with neighbours, by respondents' categorization as "same" or "different" ethnic group and class category (percentages)

	Same	Different	Significance (Cramer's V)
Ethnic group			
Feel close	17	15	
Visit at home	66	35	*** .289
Dinner together	35	20	** .163
Outdoor activity	16	13	
Class category			
Feel close	18	8	** .123
Visit at home	60	39	*** .178
Dinner together	34	12	*** .198
Outdoor activity	17	9	* .099
N (network members)			486

Note: Time frame for visits, dinner and outdoor activities: in last three months.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

favours, the perception of others as 'different' or even 'not respectable' may not matter much for maintaining these interactions. As we have seen, Hillesluisians in general are equally likely to report neighbours and trusted neighbours—and although most of these ties may not be fit for the exchange of resources and information, these superficial ties are essential for informal social control (the idea of collective efficacy, see Sampson *et al.*, 1997). In a similar vein, if neighbour relations are based more on attachment, then the stigma of a neighbourhood may not matter that much for superficial relationships among fellow-residents. Sometimes the basis for attachment—common standards or values—falls away, in the perception of residents, and then the basis for a sociable tie might fall away all together. In situations of ongoing nuisance or fights, for example, people might not want to 'do the right thing' anymore because the other is also not 'doing the right thing'. Whether this happens more often in Hillesluis than in Cool and Blijdorp is difficult to tell, based on the survey and interview data, but we can say that if such differences exist, they are not reflected in variations in reporting neighbours and trusted neighbours as network members.

In short, the 'rules of relevancy' that are generated by the setting of the micro-neighbourhood—balancing privacy and proximity, while at the same time valuing good neighbouring—make possible the formation of these superficial ties and thus, as it were, form a buffer against distancing from fellow-residents who are (perceived as) too different to form more 'friend-like' relationships with.

6.7 Conclusion

I started this chapter by asking whether the neighbourhood as meaningful setting—as frame of reference for categorizing and (dis)identification with others, and as generating rules of relevancy—matters for the formation of lo-

cality-based relationships. Considering the literature on contentious relations in multi-ethnic and stigmatized neighbourhoods, I wondered whether people living in such neighbourhoods—Hillesluisians in this case—would be less likely to capitalize on the presence of fellow-residents and form new relationships and expand their network, compared with Cool residents and Blijdorpers. To what extent do general conceptions of residents about their neighbourhood, concerning ethnic diversity and stigma, hinder the formation of Hillesluisians' locality-based relationships?

General feelings of discomfort and narratives of disengagement do exist, as the interviews with Jeffrey and Claudia, for example, show. Asking people living in poor neighbourhoods to talk about their neighbourhood will often result in 'narratives of decline', I suggest, and these narratives seem to have become a stereotypical and pervasive imagination of life in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. However, asking people about their actual neighbour relationships and actual interaction with fellow-residents shows a different picture: Hillesluisians are just as likely as Cool residents and Blijdorpers to form neighbour relationships with their fellow-residents. The survey data suggest that the neighbourhood's ethnic diversity or negative reputation as such does not result in overall withdrawal from engagement with fellow-residents in its superficial form: greeting, chatting and exchanging small favours.

The in-depth interviews do suggest that people experience difficulties in engaging with their ethnic-other neighbours. Dealing with diversity may be difficult because it poses the problem of not being able to decipher—through 'sign-reading'—whether others are similar to us or not. This brings to the foreground the everyday practices of interacting with people from other backgrounds instead of, or in addition to, more general feelings of discomfort. But experiencing difficulties in dealing with ethnic- others as direct neighbours is not necessarily the same as experiencing discomfort with ethnic diversity or stigma in general, and it is certainly not necessarily a consequence of these general feelings. Rather, I suggest, people attach narratives of discomfort and decline to their experiences. Beliefs thus result from categorical relations and practices, rather than the other way around (cf. Tilly, 1998: 102).

Furthermore, in this chapter, I have included the setting in which interactions take place in the analysis of how neighbourhood diversity or stigma may impact locality-based relationships. I suggest that boundary making does not occur independently of the setting in which interaction takes place. The interpretation of ethnicity is not necessarily the same in all settings, and interethnic relationships do not have to be problematic just because they are interethnic. The kinds of relationships that people maintain and the appropriate behaviour in specific settings (the rules of relevancy) matter for understanding how relationships develop. This is particularly important given the appointed role of mixed neighbourhoods in urban policy for facilitating boundary-crossing relationships. My study however suggests that the neigh-

bourhood may be the setting where the least is to be expected. Furthermore, boundaries are not just based on ethnicity, age and life-course stage, but also, and perhaps more so, on socioeconomic status. Boundary-crossing relationships in mixed neighbourhoods do not emerge easily, partly because of the nature of the setting.

7 Choosing diversity
Urban-seekers, taste and diversity in personal networks

The central question in this chapter is whether those who choose for 'diversity'—that is, those who move into a socioeconomically and ethnically mixed neighbourhood (in casu Cool)—form more relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries and thus have more heterogeneous personal networks.[68] This is the third way in which neighbourhood composition is theoretically connected to the formation and quality of networks (see Section 3.6). The focus here is not on meeting opportunities (discussed in Chapter 5) or the neighbourhood as meaningful place (Chapter 6), but rather on what neighbourhood composition says about tendencies to form boundary-crossing relationships.

I connect this question to the question of 'homophily': the tendency for relationships to form between people who are similar in certain respects (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954: 23). If people choose for diversity—for example, gentrifiers and perhaps certain segments of the new urban middle class who move into mixed inner-city neighbourhoods—does this mean that their relationships and networks deviate from this general tendency? This possible deviant pattern could then be explained in several ways. First, it may be just a matter of opportunities for meeting; in that case we would expect to find that only local networks, and particularly locality-based relationships, are more often heterophilous. However, based on the findings of Chapter 5 this is unlikely. I showed that personal networks are hardly affected by the composition of settings, as settings rather gain or lose importance depending on how people maintain their networks. A second explanation might be that people who move into mixed neighbourhoods are more 'exposed' to people with different backgrounds and thus may become more open towards socializing with the 'other'. This may become manifest in either or both their local and non-local network. Third, people who are more open towards socializing with people from different backgrounds may choose both to move into a mixed neighbourhood and to form heterophilous relationships, regardless of where these relationships are formed and maintained. In the latter case, we would expect to find people with a different habitus or lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1984) in mixed neighbourhoods.

However, since habitus is about (and associated with) lifestyle and taste, then identification based on lifestyles may be one of the strongest barriers between socioeconomic categories (ibid.: 56). Put differently, if choosing diversity is a matter of lifestyle and (thus) of taste, and if taste is one of the strongest barriers because taste is a 'match-maker', what is to be expected from a taste for 'diversity'? Is this not a contradiction in terms? In this chapter, I explore this question. I first discuss in more detail the idea of homophily and how it is related to education, upbringing, milieu, taste and lifestyle.

---

68   This question is also examined in Blokland and van Eijk (2010).

7.1 Homophily, habitus and taste

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood might affect the formation of personal relationships. I concluded that in multi-ethnic Hillesluis differences are easily framed as 'cultural' differences, whereas in homogeneous-Dutch Blijdorp, differences are mostly framed in terms of life-course stage and age. Notable and observable differences play a role in assessing whether others are 'people like us' or not. I may seem to have implied that markers of ethnic origin or 'culture', and age and life-course stage are the most important elements of boundary making in personal relationships, but this is not so. Assessing whether people are similar to us is not only grounded in relatively easily observable features such as skin colour, age and whether one has children or not. Identification and disidentification also involve boundary making based on education, milieu or social origin, upbringing, status and wealth—a combination of features that in sociological language is referred to as 'class'. In the Netherlands, class differences are not as frequently and easily discussed as ethnic differences. Dutch society is considered egalitarian and Dutch culture emphasizes equality: nobody should be excluded and nobody should fancy him/herself better than anyone else (see van den Brink, 2004: 148). Talking about class and class differences is a taboo for many and people, including my respondents, do not seem to like talking about class hierarchies very much.

Nonetheless, people do perceive differences in everyday practices that they associated with lifestyle, milieu and wealth. In the in-depth interviews with Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers, I asked them about differences and similarities between themselves and their network members. I probed about lifestyle, background, milieu, and growing up but without using the term class. I was curious to hear people's own narratives and spontaneous connections to issues of 'class' (cf. Savage *et al.*, 2005a: 15-16). Very few respondents used the term 'class' spontaneously in describing differences and similarities, although some characteristics implied differences grounded in educational level, milieu and socioeconomic status. For example, shared experiences and troubles, and being in the same stage of the life-course (particularly whether people have children or not) are not directly grounded in and related to lifestyles and tastes (although how one deals with troubles and how one raises their children probably will reveal much about one's milieu, upbringing and socioeconomic status). Other differences are more obviously related to lifestyle and tastes, such as what kind of movies one likes, what kind of books one reads (and whether one reads at all) and whether one watches television (and what programmes and how may hours of television one watches). But even having a similar 'sense of humour' (in the words of higher-educated interviewees) or being able to 'laugh together' and 'make jokes' (in the words of lower-educated interviewees) may reveal class similarities (see Kuipers,

2006a).

The final question in the in-depth interviews concerned class and class differences. I asked interviewees where they would place themselves and their network members in a 'class scheme'; as belonging to lower, middle or higher class.[69] I subsequently asked people to explain their categorization of others to me. While some people felt uncomfortable with talking about 'class', they were quite capable of describing what it is that defines 'class' differences.[70]

Some people refuted the idea of 'class' but in doing so acknowledged a certain hierarchy among people with more or less cultural or symbolic capital, as did Riet, for example:

> Well my father was a market gardener, used to have his own business, so I do know what class difference is, so, but no, I say, you have to accept someone as he his, and you shouldn't say like, well he went to study or whatever, why should I care that he went to study, everybody is allowed their own opinion, and should be honest about his opinion, I think that's important, and whether you're the Queen or you're a country bumpkin that doesn't matter, you have to accept someone as he is.

When people felt uncomfortable about class and classifying, it was mostly about not wanting to judge others—not declassing others, stressing that everybody should be accepted as he or she is, that everybody is of equal worth. This does however not mean that they did not see or recognize differences that they would indeed interpret as associated with education, milieu and status.

People recognized, for example, that various aspects play a role in one's class position—linking, probably without knowing, to Bourdieu's (1984) two axes of more or less economic and cultural capital. These various aspects made it difficult for people to define the boundaries of class categories or to categorize people. From an analytical point of view, interviewees who were 'thinking out loud' may reveal most about their 'sign-reading operations' (Bourdieu, 1984: 243, see below)—that is: deciphering clothing, pronunciation, bearing, posture and manners and assessing their position vis-à-vis others. Sometimes people's classifications were grounded in rather stereotypical

---

69 This exact question is also included in the survey, but as I analysed the data (trying to predict network heterogeneity for perceived class position) I could not find any significant variations associated with any of the sociodemographics. I started wondering what 'class' meant to people and on what grounds they would classify their network members as 'same class' or not. It is for this reason that I decided to include the question in the in-depth interviews.

70 It can be argued that by asking people to talk about class I produced 'class talk' while that may say nothing about the actual boundary making in people's everyday life. However, while I offered interviewees the concept of 'class', I left it with them to define class and classed practices. So even though people would not spontaneously choose to talk about class, their interpretation of what class is about reveals much about what differences they find relevant and how they observe differences in lifestyle.

images and general ideas about tastes. Daniel (b. 1965, ICT manager, single, Blijdorp), for example, had a general idea of how different tastes and interests are markers for class:

> I think that a lot of people who watch SBS6 [commercial channel] every evening behave differently and have a different pattern of spending, book a different kind of holiday, than people who read a book in the evenings, who have a broad social life.

Another example is provided by Kristel, who pointed to the 'complexity' of classifying people as 'high class':

> High class you can of course formulate in two ways. In the first place I think about posh and swell, and, well those who have a real office job and that sort of thing, well I totally don't fit in with them. Middle [class] I feel is a more normal kind of person and lower [class] I think than you have a bit more difficulty getting by, well that's why you also become more forward, a bit more antisocial, because you have to in order to get your stuff.

Images of the rich as 'posh' and the poor as 'antisocial' are also shaped by what people see on television and read in magazines, perhaps because the two extremes of rich and poor are for many people most remote from their everyday life and boundary making. Jannie, for example, referred to the television programme, *Gooische vrouwen* [translation: Women of Het Gooi], a Dutch drama series about wealthy women living in Het Gooi—an area where many rich and famous people live (near Hilversum, the centre for radio and television broadcasting). Jannie wondered whether such people actually existed, but if they did then they would be posh—and of a different class position. Els pondered about whether high class is characterized by wealth or intelligence, 'because the wealthiest people don't at all have to be intelligent'. She thought about what she had read in the Elsevier (a weekly newsmagazine) about 'a university professor, about 45 years old, busy with ten things at the same time, well then you're really smart, and well you must be professor for a reason, that really is the high class'. Boundary making thus happens also based on what people learn about others without directly encountering them (cf. Tajfel, 1982; Tilly, 2004).

What is more interesting for how differences affect the formation of personal relationships, is how people assess differences in relation to known others—their friends, family members, neighbours and colleagues. Differences in clothing, speech and posture are often subtle: we notice these markers but it is difficult to put into words what is often taken-for-granted and largely subconsciously processed. For example, having worked in a dry-cleaner's most of her life, Jannie knew that clothing, speech and attitude reveals people's class position. Yet, she could not put into words the precise differences,

and she had noticed that the markers had changed over time:

> GE: Did these people [posh] come into the dry cleaner's?
> Yes all sorts of people.
> I: And could you see or hear that someone was [posh], how did you see that?
> Sometimes you could, sometimes you couldn't. How they are dressed, how they talk. Usually the clothes, or what they brought in. (...) It's usually also their attitude. And, well, just, it's getting less and less, you used to have fur coats and that sort of thing, you don't have that anymore. (...) Different use of language usually. Yes... the shoes will show also, but that's again another factor.

Anita (b. 1950, management assistant, married, adult children, Hillesluis) also relied on appearance and property as markers to assess her next-door neighbour: 'Well he always looks proper, and it's an owner-occupant house so I assume he can pay for it, so he will be middle class I think'. Liesbeth believed her neighbour must be higher class, like she is, because she wears pearl earrings.

Vivien (b. 1958, GP, married, one child, Blijdorp) did not have any friends who were of a lower class position (she thought of herself as middle class), but the assistant of the church where she worked was of lower class, because she would wear make-up and fancy clothes with a low neckline, 'elegant but *too* elegant' for her taste. She knew people who were in a higher class and they would 'always dress nice and talk really intelligently about things, politely hold the door and also [master] table [manners]'.

Possessions, too, are markers: whether you have any and what kind of possessions. Jeffrey thought class had to do with 'whether you live in a private or rental house, drive an expensive or cheap car, that kind of thing, (…) with what you can and can't pay for.' Carlo thought his friend had a similar background as he had, based on 'how you talk, how you dress, how you furnish your house and maintain it, whether you have an expensive car, these kinds of things, I think we have a common lifestyle'. About a colleague, Carlo said: 'I think she is from more well-to-do circles than I am, (…) you can notice it by her clothes, [and] how she talks, more distinguished'. When we talked about another colleague, he thought that he and she were more alike:

> Way of talking, that [is how] you can infer that (...). Working class, or something like that, [from] Rotterdam still, but also high educated, you would be able to notice that from the way of talking, so the words you use, is it proper Dutch, these kinds of things.

Another marker of class that people mentioned is 'interests', which relates to both taste and societal participation. First, leisure activities are interpreted as related to class. Liesbeth saw herself and most of her network members (particularly friends) as belonging to the higher class, and she related class to

reading, music and movies:

> GE: What is a higher-class lifestyle?
> People who just have money to spend on their house or something like that. Or may-be also spend money on a good book or something. It is much connected to that kind of thing. Or on music or something. Look, you can say, "I have it [money] but I'm not spend-ing it on these things". But that for me characterizes class. And for example go out for dinner often or something. That for me also describes class.
> I: And does it matter what kinds of books you read or what kinds of movies you watch?
> Yes I believe it does yes. For me I matters. I think it's fine if they watch something else. Some movies at Venster [art cinema in Rotterdam] are nicer than [movies] at Pathé [cin-ema franchise for Hollywood movies]. But it's not that I would never go to Pathé. And if we're talking about music, I would never go to Frans Bauer [famous Dutch folk sing-er] and maybe I would go to the Rotterdam Philharmonic [Orchestra]. And if we're talk-ing about class, then I think that you would find someone of a higher class rather at the Rotterdam Philharmonic than at [a concert of] Frans Bauer. But OK, that's of course very generalizing, but that is my assessment. But I assess that these people [her network members] all would not be sitting at Frans Bauer.

As Bourdieu (1984: 374) put it: 'having a million does not in itself make one able to live like a millionaire'. It is not just that you go out and spend mon-ey: it matters what the money is spent on. Like Daniel's remark about watch-ing commercial channels (see above), Liesbeth refers to somewhat stereotyp-ical images of what people of lower class do and like. This also goes for a sec-ond meaning of 'interests': a middle- or higher-class lifestyle is not just be-ing interested in something (e.g. collecting stamps) but having broad interests and taking an interest in the world around you. In Cees's words: 'That you don't only watch the *De Gouden Kooi* [translation: The Golden Cage; a variation on the reality-series Big Brother] and have broader political, cultural, societal, sometimes financial, interests, instead of living a white picket fence life'. Dif-ferent tastes signify different lifestyles and thus one's position in the class hi-erarchy—people decipher everyday practices and activities as markers for so-cioeconomic position. For Kuipers (2006b) it does not so much matter wheth-er people are right in assessing others' tastes and lifestyles. Rather, it shows the confidence with which higher-educated people dissociate from and reject certain practices. Furthermore, it supports the idea that taste is foremost 'dis-taste' (Bourdieu, 1984: 56).

Homophily: habitus, taste and 'elective affinities'
To summarize, such mundane things as furniture, clothing, food, music and other forms of consumption, but also speech and humour, are interpreted as markers for one's own and others' position in society (cf. Goffman, 2007 [1959]; Bourdieu, 1984; Kuipers, 2006a) and whether people assess others as

similar to them. Following Bourdieu, we can say that education, upbringing, milieu and socioeconomic status shape people's habitus—a set of lasting (but not fixed) dispositions which are formed through socialization (i.e., training and learning), particularly in one's childhood but also throughout the life course (Bourdieu, 1984: 170; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 18; Painter, 2000: 242; Jenkins, 2002: 74-84). Through integrating and internalizing past experiences with coping and dealing with opportunities and constraints in everyday life (the 'external structures'), people develop a more or less coherent and systematic repertoire of 'meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions' to deal with everyday situations (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). Bourdieu stresses that the habitus is a 'structuring mechanism that operates from within agents, though it is neither strictly individual nor in itself fully determinative of conduct' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 18). Dispositions refer to the inclination to do something—it '*disposes* actors to do certain things' (Jenkins, 2002: 78, emphasis in original)—but the particular circumstances in which people find themselves jointly shape people's actions.

Because people's practices and perceptions are not random but, as it were, contingent on (past) opportunities and constraints and socialization—related to the volume and combination of their economic and cultural capital—, practices can be interpreted as marking or 'revealing' other people's educational level, milieu or social origin, upbringing, status and wealth. This is because the habitus produces, becomes manifest through, and is part of 'lifestyles': 'system[s] of classified and classifying practices, i.e., distinctive signs ("tastes")' (Bourdieu, 1984: 171). Patterned practices and perceptions—what we like to do, who we like to hang out with, how we present ourselves to others—make up our lifestyle and are read as such by others. Lifestyles 'become sign systems that are socially qualified (as "distinguished", "vulgar" etc.)' that transform the distribution of economic, cultural and social capital into a 'system of perceived differences' (ibid.: 172). Put simply, based on markers of lifestyles, we assess whether others are 'people like us', we distinguish ourselves from and identify with others and in doing so define our social identity. In Bourdieu's view, this deciphering of others' lifestyles, identity and social status is not a neutral process—it is rather a rejection of others' lifestyles: 'tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes' (Bourdieu, 1984: 56). Therefore, Bourdieu suggests, 'aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes' (ibid.).

This is an important suggestion if we want to understand how personal relationships and networks reproduce inequality between categories of people. While Bourdieu's relational theory about the reproduction of inequality is more about abstract relations between the dominant and the dominated classes than about personal relationships, homophily in personal relationships has in Bourdieu's theory an important role in how divisions between the resource-poor and the resource-rich are reproduced (Bottero, 2009). In *Dis-*

tinction, Bourdieu (1984: 241) writes a few words about 'elective affinities': the sense that people and things 'suit' us and are compatible with who we are:

> The social sense is guided by the system of mutually reinforcing and infinitely redundant signs of which each body is the bearer—clothing, pronunciation, bearing, posture, manners—and which, unconsciously registered, are the basis of 'antipathies' or 'sympathies'; the seemingly most immediate 'elective affinities' are always partly based on the unconscious deciphering of expressive features (...). Taste is what brings together things and people that go together.

'Taste is a matchmaker' (Bourdieu, 1984: 243) and through 'sign-reading operations' (ibid.), particularly when people first encounter each other, interaction between people is structured in that the formation of relationships between non-matching people is discouraged and well-matched relationships are encouraged. Bourdieu adds that this all happens without people ever having to say or recognize the matching of their habitus and 'class structures'; rather this matching is formulated in the 'socially innocent language of likes and dislikes' (ibid.). This is reflected in people's sense that they choose relationships and, perhaps, their discomfort with recognizing or acknowledging that relationships are structured along lines of milieu and upbringing, educational level, occupation and societal status—or, that society is not classless. Sign-reading operations are however not just about ascertaining whom one likes and dislikes but about getting and maintaining a sense of one's position in a situation, setting and society (see Jenkins, 2002: 70).

The question of homophily encompasses more than choices based on individual interests. The perception of alike and different lifestyles, tastes and practices—whether one calls it 'class' or rather milieu, upbringing, status or something else—matters for understanding how divisions between the resource-poor and the resource-rich are reproduced. Because differences in practices are related to different combinations of cultural and economic capital, and thus to different positions in society, 'cultural outlooks are implicated in modes of exclusion and/or domination' (Devine and Savage, 2000: 195). A sense of 'class' or 'class identity' in current society is not so much about a sense of collectivity but about differentiation and distinction (ibid.). Homophily, finally, is the reflection of sorting and sifting along lines of economic and cultural capital.

We can now relate the tendency to form homophilous relationships to the question of whether and how we can explain variations in this tendency—and whether these variations occur at all. Asking who, and when and why some people would form more boundary-crossing ties is in essence asking who, when and why people deviate from the pattern of homophilous relations. For some, usually identified as the 'new urban middle class', the diversity of the neighbourhood composition is an asset: they appreciate living not

only among 'people like us' but among people from all walks of life. If where and among whom one lives, and a sense of 'place' and belonging, is becoming more important in the process of social identification and class identity (Butler and Watt, 2007: 86, 183), then what is to be expected of a choice for diversity? Put differently, does a choice for neighbourhood diversity indicate an inclination to form interclass ties more than people who do not choose neighbourhood diversity? To what extent does a choice for diversity indicate a disposition to form non- or less-matching relationships?

7.2 Urban-seekers, gentrification and the new middle class

Much of the debate on resource-rich people choosing the city and diversity is grounded in the Anglo-Saxon and European literature on gentrification. Gentrification refers to the process through which poor neighbourhoods change due to the influx of resource-richer categories of people, who replace (part of) the original population (Lees *et al.*, 2008). Because of this influx, the socio-economic and sometimes the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood changes, as well as the kinds of facilities—catering to the incomes and needs of a resource-rich population. Gentrification can occur spontaneously, when 'pioneers' discover cheap and spacious dwellings, or because local governments invest in 'regenerating' neighbourhoods (ibid.). The partial gentrification in Cool is an example of 'state-led' gentrification, although the investment could only really become gentrification because people rich in cultural and economic capital actually settle in Cool. Whether gentrification is thus spontaneous or state-led says something about the factor that originated the change.

In the US and Europe, processes of (state-led) gentrification have accompanied the trend of suburbanization (see Smith, 1979). While many resource-rich people and families are settling in suburbs, certain segments of the resource-rich are settling and resettling in the city.[71] This trend has also been observed in the Netherlands. In 1989, Machielse (1989: 147) writes that after a period in which the city suffered from a negative image, the city now stands for 'vitality' which is manifest in the growing interest in the city as place of residence (see also Ebels and Ostendorf, 1991). Around that time, city governments also began to aim at attracting resource-richer people to the city through providing a greater variety in housing (van der Wouden *et al.*, 2006).

The literature on gentrification points at various developments that cause segments of the resource-rich(er) to stay or move into the cities and particu-

---

71   Some authors have noted that it is a 'staying in' rather than 'moving back to' the city (Smith, 1979; Butler and Robson, 2003a; Karsten, 2003).

larly inner-city areas (based on Smith, 1979; Ley, 1986). Among these are the development of the housing market (inflation of the suburban housing stock and options for profitable inner-city redevelopment), demographic change (baby boomers, more singles and cohabiters without children) and economic restructuring (more employment in the service sector, e.g. financial and legal services) (see Smith, 1979; Ley, 1986; Lees *et al.*, 2008). These factors work in tandem and no single factor alone would provide an accurate understanding of processes of gentrification. However, my interest is not so much in how gentrification occurs and develops but rather in the segments of the resource rich that choose to stay in or return to the city.

My focus is on the increasing numbers of resource-rich urban-seekers resulting from changing lifestyles and preferences. According to David Ley (1986, 1994), the change in the industrial structure of major cities from manufacturing industry to service-based industries has attracted people rich in cultural and/or economic capital. They prefer to live in the inner city rather than in suburbs (and thus stay in the city rather than return from the suburbs, Butler and Watt, 2007: 88), because they want to live close to work, in a socially and cultural diverse area, and near to basic and leisure amenities. There thus appeared a distinction between the 'urban-fleeing' and the 'urban-seeking' (Butler and Robson, 2003a: 9) resource-rich households. As staying in the city was bound up with lifestyle, gentrification can be understood as the 'ultimate expression of consumption' (Butler and Robson, 2003a: 76-77) which distinguishes gentrifiers from the resource-rich who buy ready-made dwellings in homogeneous, mono-functional suburbs (see also Bridge, 2006b).

Studies on the everyday lives and associations of urban-seekers and gentrifiers usually emphasize their choice and preference for particular neighbourhoods. People described as belonging to the 'new middle class' would settle in urban neighbourhoods for, among other reasons, their diverse population (Ley, 1986; Zukin, 1987; May, 1996; Butler and Robson, 2003a: 110-113; Reijndorp, 2004; Rose, 2004; Karsten *et al.*, 2006). This liking for 'social diversity' has in particular attracted attention in urban studies, because it holds the promise of tolerant and inclusive practices among gentrifiers, and spatial integration (reversing segregation). These studies have been very critical, however, about the extent to which people who like diversity also practice diversity.

Elsewhere, Talja Blokland and I (2010) explored the local engagement and networks of 'diversity-seekers' in Cool—those for whom diversity was in their top six reasons for moving into the neighbourhood—and compared their networks and consumption patterns with those who did not report diversity in their top six reasons.[72]

---

72   This joint paper is based on the same data on Cool residents as the data that are used for this study.

We found that the diversity-seekers are not more likely to report personal relationships that cross boundaries of ethnicity or socioeconomic status when compared with Cool residents who did not choose for diversity. Rather they were inclined to 'consume' diversity more: they used local cultural facilities more than non-diversity-seekers. This supports the claim that a liking for 'diversity' might have many meanings and could thus also refer to the cultural 'buzz' of an inner-city area. Several other studies have confirmed that the networks of diversity-seekers are rather homogeneous and do not demonstrate any involvement with fellow-residents that cross socioeconomic boundaries. Karsten and colleagues (2006) observe that resource-rich or gentrifiers form ties across ethnic boundaries but not across socioeconomic boundaries.

One of the most detailed studies is that of Butler and Robson (2003a) on gentrifiers in four London areas. Their study sets out to explore the lives of a 'new kind of gentrifier, rather different from the "ordinary" middle class, who might—as it were—look out for their less fortunate neighbours' (ibid.: 1) through engagement with local schools and the original resource-poorer population. They conclude, however, that there is 'little evidence of the middle class deploying its resources for the benefits of the wider community': people socialize almost exclusively with 'people like us' (Butler and Robson, 2003a: 1; see also Butler, 2003). Butler and Robson (2003a: 30) find that urban middle classes deploy various 'strategies of self-protection and cultural reproduction' and this sometimes means disengagement with local people and institutions. For example, in Barnsbury, although perhaps an extreme case, none of the parents had their children in a state secondary school in the neighbourhood, taking their children to private schools outside their neighbourhood rather than investing in the local schools (Butler and Robson, 2003a: 146ff). At the same time, the diversity and the presence of original fellow-residents was highly appreciated, but 'in the mind' rather than in practice. Butler and Robson describe how, in Telegraph Hill, 'there is an overall narrative which celebrates difference and diversity, and demographically it is a diverse area but in reality the social networks are constrained within a narrow range of difference' (Butler and Robson, 2003b: 1801). Brixton is described rather as 'tectonic' (ibid.: 1802): 'various social groups (and individuals) (…) move across each other in ways that do not apparently involve much interaction but demonstrate a high degree of awareness of each other's presence. (…) they are seeking out difference and not attempting to huddle around with "people like us"'. Butler and Robson (2003a: 188) describe 'the realities of living in a global city in which global culture is mediated through relations with other classes, generations and ethnic groups in ways that white middle-class parents fail to understand and about which they have considerable reservations'. Their 'metropolitan habitus'—a disposition for living in the city rather than in the suburbs—thus is scarcely translated into engagement with the 'other'

living in these London areas. Other studies on diversity-seekers confirm this picture and suggest that expressing a liking for diversity means little more than deploying an 'exotic gaze' (May, 1996: 208): partaking but not participating (see also Zukin, 1998; Peck, 2005; Lees, 2008; Blokland and van Eijk, 2010).

Moreover, others have argued that the resource-rich and elite urban-seekers—not necessarily living in mixed neighbourhoods—employ 'strategies of disaffiliation' (Atkinson, 2006) by avoiding public transport and contact with 'others'. Furthermore, by displacing the original residents (Smith, 1996; Slater, 2006; Lees, 2008), gentrifiers turn what could be a mixed neighbourhood into a homogeneous privileged area. While they choose to live in the city, they would struggle with insecurity and disorder, and would want to purify public places or withdraw from public places all together. Furthermore, through state-led gentrification, policy makers aim not to mix but to 'cleanse' the streets from everything disorderly and marginal (Smith, 1996; Wacquant, 2008a). According to Neil Smith (1996, 2002) and others, these would be manifestations of a global spread of neoliberal strategies of what he calls 'urban revanchism'.[73]

It is important to realize that these analyses are framed in terms of a class struggle over urban space. They depart from a concern about who 'takes place', literally, in neighbourhood settings (Centner, 2008) and who has the right to the city and its public places (Mitchell, 2003). These analyses are also based on cases where gentrification is 'total', while partial gentrification is possible and might look very different. Butler (2003b, 2007) stresses that processes of gentrification vary from place to place, and that there is no such thing as a uniform gentrification process, let alone uniform consequences.

If there is not a situation of displacement and control but rather of partial gentrification—as in Cool (see Chapter 2)—, other explanations for the disengagement of the resource-rich with their resource-poorer fellow-residents are possible and perhaps more helpful for understanding persistent boundaries. The disengagement of the resource-rich may also be connected to the significance of the neighbourhood for the formation of identity through distinction. While the neighbourhood may have lost its evident role as a place for socializing and affiliation, Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) argue that its role as a marker of distinction and (class) identity has increased. Practices that cannot be practised somewhere else, which rely on 'spatial fixity', are automatically more exclusive than practices that are accessible to anyone (Savage *et al.*, 2005a: 10). So while many cultural practices may have lost their distinctiveness, places are 'as significant as ever in generating cultural distinction' and perhaps even gain significance in a world where everything is mobile (ibid.: 11-13). Where and among whom one lives have increasingly become

---

73   See, for a discussion of and critique on theories of urban revanchism, van Eijk (forthcoming in 2010).

markers of distinction (Savage *et al*., 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007).

A choice for a particular neighbourhood—and even for its composition (whether it is mixed or homogeneous)—should not be mistaken for a desire for social engagement with other residents or to be part of a 'community'. Savage and colleagues (Savage *et al*., 2005a) nonetheless argue that the depiction of new middle classes as 'cosmopolitans' who would be detached from their neighbourhood needs modification. Cosmopolitans may move around more than the locality-bound but this does not mean that they never feel they 'belong' to their residential area once they have chosen to move there—hence Savage and colleagues speak of 'elective belonging' (also Savage, 2008). Yet, their experience of belonging is not the same as that of people who live in a certain area because they (perceive themselves to) have no choice and who often express belonging through 'nostalgia' for (a fictitious) cohesive and unified community—which may actually not exist or even never have existed (Blokland, 2001, 2003b; Savage, 2008).

Elective belonging emphasizes a choice for individuality's sake: 'their choice (…) confirms their identities, their sense of themselves' (Savage, 2008: 152). Choosing a neighbourhood as part of identity construction may imply another relation to fellow-residents: while nostalgia and a sense of community indicate an experience of neighbourhood through (past) social identification and personal relationships with others, elective belonging rather suggests an experience of neighbourhood through distinction from others—which in turn implies a certain distance towards 'others'. This may be true especially when where one lives increasingly becomes a claim of distinction (Savage *et al*., 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007). In this way, and perhaps paradoxically, for people who choose a neighbourhood for its diverse population the choice is not about other residents but rather about themselves. Karsten, Reijndorp and van der Zwaard (2006: 29), for example, describe how 'New City Dwellers' consciously create their own urban identity. Not wanting to live among people of their own ethnic origin exclusively is part of this identity, but at the same time it is about distinguishing from the dominant pattern of choosing for the suburban way of life (ibid.). The question thus is whether it remains a way of distinguishing oneself or whether people commit themselves to socializing with a diversity of people. In this light it is troublesome that May (1996: 197) concludes that the neighbourhoods' diversity is, for the resource-rich people in his study, 'little more than a colourful backdrop against which to play out a new "urban lifestyle"'. Writing about the gentrifiers in Islington, London, Butler noted that they value the presence of others, but choose not to interact with them: 'they are, as it were, much valued as a kind of social wallpaper, but no more'(2003: 2484). For them, a liking for diversity does not necessarily mean that they practise diversity, that is, that they form relationships with (local) 'others'.

The notions of urban revanchism and elective belonging are both important

caveats against the idea that because the new urban middle class chooses diversity, they will therefore also socialize with a variety of people from different backgrounds and socioeconomic strata. However, little is known empirically about the personal networks of resource-richer people living in the (inner) city. To my knowledge, there are no studies that have systematically mapped and compared the personal networks of gentrifiers and the resource-rich in cities (although Butler and Robson (2003a), and Savage *et al.* (2005a), do discuss friendships). Several Dutch studies sketch the local networks and associations of those living in the city (Karsten *et al.*, 2006: 26-29; Burgers, 2007: 45-46; Metaal and Teijmant, 2008: 43-44). Karsten and colleagues (2006: 27) note that interethnic contacts among the urban middle class occur more often than one may think—'class' binds people from different ethnic origins, so there is some engagement with the 'other' but not across socioeconomic boundaries.

Several questions remain. First, it is not clear whether boundary-crossing relationships are formed more often among the people studied, compared with resource-rich people living in suburbs and villages. Second, it is not clear whether there are any differences between fractions of the new urban middle class: between those who opt for a diverse neighbourhood and those who do not. The connection between a choice for diversity and 'practising' diversity thus remains largely implicit.

In the following, based on the in-depth interviews, I first explore what a liking and choice for 'diversity' might mean. I then compare the resource-rich residents of Cool and Blijdorp: to what extent do they differ in their everyday and professional lives? In particular, did they choose their neighbourhoods for different reasons? Is there any evidence that the urban middle class in Cool is a distinct category of people compared with the Blijdorp urban middle class, which supports the idea that they might have different personal networks? In the final section, I examine the extent to which people, especially Cool residents compared with Blijdorpers, form relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries, and what kind of relationships do cross boundaries.

7.3   Liking diversity: what does it mean?

As I have described, a liking for diversity has been identified as one of the reasons for the resource-rich and gentrifiers to either return to or stay in the city. For many Cool residents, the neighbourhood's diversity indeed seems an asset of the neighbourhood rather than a signal of problems. Nearly half (48 per cent) of the resource-rich Cool residents said that 'diversity' was one of the reasons why they had moved to Cool. Of these people, nearly half (47 per cent) have a high-skilled occupation, which supports the hypothesis that 'diversity' is something that particularly the resource-rich put forward. However,

30 per cent of the diversity-seekers have a low-skilled occupation, so a taste for diversity is certainly not restricted to the resource-rich (see also Blokland and van Eijk, 2010).

In this section I want to explore what 'diversity' means. Bell (2007) shows how people, when they talk about diversity, shift between (and struggle with) idealized conceptions (unity, sameness, equality) as well as complicated realities of difference (threat to unity, prejudice, miscommunication). Furthermore, diversity might refer to a mix of socioeconomic categories as well as cultural origins and occupations within the middle class (Rose, 2004: 292; Savage *et al.*, 2005a: 42-43). It is thus an ambiguous concept and perhaps more something in people's mind—perhaps connected to an 'idea' or 'ideal' of a place (cf. Butler and Robson, 2003a: 189)—than something that is part of their day-to-day practices and personal relationships.

I did not carry out in-depth interviews with Cool residents and thus I do not know what they mean by 'diversity'. However, several Blijdorpers and Hillesluisians talked about the diversity in their neighbourhood and these stories may prove insightful for understanding what 'diversity' means, particularly because Blijdorp is not that diverse in socioeconomic (or ethnic) sense. Els talked about the 'blended' population of Blijdorp:

(…) many students here and they would like to stay a while, because it really is a very nice neighbourhood, in no time you're in the city (…) The bulk of the people is somewhat older. Many couples and also many forty-something live here. (…) Up here there are two young people, they have been living here for only a month now, and they come from [elsewhere in Blijdorp], also a young couple, I think also typical Blijdorpers. (…) It's just very blended, just very… but I have to say it's quite white here in Blijdorp, when I come to think about it. Yes. Few… coloured Dutch people… that's true, quite white.

Els recognizes, as did several other Blijdorpers, that her neighbourhood is rather homogeneous for ethnic origins, but she sees a 'blend' of types of households and different age categories. Several Blijdorpers talked about how the population of Blijdorp was transforming, now that older people, who had been living there for a long time, are moving out or passing away, and younger people move in. Liesbeth also talks about the 'blend' of people. She connects this mix in Blijdorp to her aversion to living in a village and refers to 'Vinex' locations in general and in particular Nieuwerkerk aan den IIssel (which is a Vinex location near Rotterdam):

I do think, especially this part [of Blijdorp], really is a blended part. There are people who have been living here for 35 years and still rent. With whom I maintain nice contact by the way, and they often say to us that they like it very much that we, that there are now more young people with children. For a long time this was a sort of elderly neighbourhood. But that's really changing now. This part, every household has children. I like that, but also

that, well, there are people living alone, there are couples, there are older people, there are people with older children, people with young children. That really fits. I don't like, I don't necessarily need to live only among people who are like me. A Vinex [location], Nieuwerkerk or something. A friend of mine, she lives in Nieuwerkerk. I was sitting at a square and I saw only the same types of dwellings with the same types of cars, with the same types of mothers with the same types of children...

GE: So that's different here [in Blijdorp]?

Yes. I think so. (...) [Blijdorp] is very blended for age and education I think too. But not really that many low-educated workers or something. Because the houses are I think too expensive for them. It's of course all owner-occupied, this part anyway.

Liesbeth very strongly expresses her distaste for homogeneity and suburban life, thus endorsing the image of new urban middle classes as distinct from the suburban middle class (cf. Ley, 1986; Wynne *et al.*, 1998; Butler and Robson, 2003a). Vinex locations are relatively new districts, built after 1995, near and in cities, usually with many terrace houses with gardens.[74]

In popular parlance, 'Vinex' refers to districts near cities only, and thus can be seen as the Dutch equivalent of American suburbs. For Liesbeth, 'Vinex' stands for sameness and homogeneity, and she thinks that is different in Blijdorp, which is more 'blended', albeit in a specific and somewhat limited way. In connection with her distaste for Vinex locations and sameness, we can understand Liesbeth's liking for diversity not so much as a sign for active involvement with diverse others but rather as an expression of her identity: as distinct from people who choose for sameness and suburban life.

As another example Madu lives in a commune in Hillesluis and she talks about the diversity of people in her building:

GE: What kinds of people live here, do you share something, like your lifestyle, background...?

No not really, or not necessarily. When a dwelling becomes vacant we organize a recruitment, we invite several people and then we jointly choose and then of course you choose someone about whom you think, this person fits in with the group or... But we have a biologist, a cook, a psychologist, a photographer, a planner, we have a restorer, a musician, an artist, so in fact we have a, fairly diverse so to say. The idea is that, instead of choosing people who are very much like us, that we think well that's fun, on the contrary maybe try to keep a balance. Sometimes you can better choose someone who's a civil servant and who just brings the group in balance.

Madu describes the diversity of occupations of her co-residents and stress-

---

74 'Vinex' is short for *Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra* (translation: Fourth Memorandum Spatial Planning Extra).

es that they do not want only 'people like us'—but the list that follows reveals a fairly homogeneous collection of people in cultural and medium- to high-skilled occupations. Adding a civil servant is in Madu's view what brings diversity to the group and brings balance to the otherwise alike group. Madu never mentions the diversity of Hillesluis as an asset of the neighbourhood, as something that attracted her. The population of Hillesluis in her view consists of 'many low-educated people, often of foreign origin, no jobs or labouring, few people with an education'. The non-affluent population of Hillesluis is an asset in a different way: it confirms that Madu is not conservative in her taste. This becomes clear when she talks about the differences between her and her friend:

> GE: Do you think you and [friend] differ in some ways?
> Yes I think she is somewhat more conservative than me, in the end.
> GE: How does that show?
> Well, what you see is that we're just from another generation, and that you are raised differently, a different time, and in the end she is, however much we are alike, she lives in Gouda in a terrace house with her three children and then it seems anyway more superficial from the outside, a rather conventional life. And I think also because of the spirit of the time, I was raised more freely, too long too much drinking, too much partying, and I ended up in a sort of commune and I live *op zuid* [popular term for Rotterdam south] in a deprived neighbourhood.

Two storylines are interesting: Madu considers her commune as a very mixed bunch of people, and she considers living in a 'deprived neighbourhood' as a sign of distinction—both emphasize a need to show that she seeks to not be like or with 'people like us'.

In different ways, Liesbeth and Madu refer to the neighbourhood's population and life in the city in relation to what that says about them. Liesbeth lives in a quite socioeconomically and ethnically homogeneous neighbourhood, whereas Madu lives in a mixed neighbourhood, but their account of what 'diversity' means to them is strikingly similar. Liesbeth and Madu's distaste for sameness and conformity suggests that their choice for 'diversity'—or a deprived neighbourhood—is more about who they want to be then it is about connecting with the people living in their environment. A taste for 'diversity' or for whatever is non-conformist can be read as an element of 'elective belonging', which Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005a: 80) describe as 'a core feature of contemporary attachment to place. Belonging is not that of an individual to a fixed community rooted in place, but rather, one in which the place becomes valuable to the individual'. As I discussed briefly above, belonging is not so much grounded in a connection to the people who live in a certain place, but rather in how this place and the kinds of people in this place fit in with people's sense of who they are.

To summarize, it seems that, first, it is a particular kind of diversity that is attractive for certain resource-rich people—not so much the ethnic diversity of Hillesluis, although the deprived status of the neighbourhood can be an asset. Second, seeking diversity and expressing diversity is about how this diversity—or rather, perhaps, non-sameness—confirms their identity as being distinct from people who indeed choose sameness and 'Vinex' or village. This corresponds with the idea that London's gentrification is driven by a 'search for belonging and a sense of place' (Butler and Watt, 2007: 86). I suggest that this pattern may also include other urban-seekers who settle down in homogeneous urban neighbourhoods, finding the presence of the city centre attractive, and who can (therefore) still say that they seek diversity.

This raises the question of what it means to like 'diversity' and what it means to say that 'I don't necessarily need to live only among people who are like me', as Liesbeth puts it. In particular, it raises questions about the extent to which seeking diversity means that boundaries—socioeconomic, ethnic—become more permeable, thus making it possible to form and maintain relationships across these boundaries. Instead of further examining how expressing a liking for diversity is associated with moving here or there, or having more or less mixed networks (as we have explored elsewhere: Blokland and van Eijk, 2010), I start from the differential practices of Cool residents and Blij-dorpers. The first, whether or not it was because of Cool's diversity, moved to a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse, multi-functional, inner-city neighbourhood. The latter, of whom some also expressed a liking for diversity, moved into a homogeneous and quiet neighbourhood just outside the city centre. I will further explore whether there is any ground for believing that these are two distinct segments of the 'new urban middle class' and that they differ in their 'metropolitan habitus'.

7.4 Articulations of the metropolitan habitus

Butler and Robson (2003a: 9; see also Butler and Watt, 2007: 90-91) describe that next to the distinction between urban-fleeing and the urban-seeking resource-rich people, who might both work in the city (in casu London), more recently

> important distinctions can be drawn amongst those living in the city, for whom different areas take on different meanings and associations that attract potential residents and then act on those who are settled there. We term this process the formation of a 'metropolitan habitus'.

While Butler with Robson set out to explore the process of 'differential gentrification' in London, I take on their idea that it may be possible and analytically sensible to differentiate the resource-rich urban-seekers (whether gen-

trifiers or not) and the 'metropolitan habitus'. The metropolitan habitus re-
fers to a disposition that prefers living in the 'metropolis' (not just any city!)
above life in the suburbs (a 'white picket fence life'), deploying combinations
of (less) economic capital and (more) cultural capital in shaping a 'distinctive'
lifestyle (see Bridge, 2001; Butler, 2002). Cool and Blijdorp both attract a re-
source-rich population, and as we set out to analyse the extent to which they
form boundary-crossing relationships, it makes sense to see in what ways
Cool and Blijdorp urbanites may differ in lifestyle and tastes. Put differently,
is there any indication that living in either Cool or Blijdorp is part of a differ-
ential formation or different articulations of the metropolitan habitus? Differ-
ences in personal networks may indicate this difference, and so may their oc-
cupational status and their reasons for moving into their neighbourhood.

Following Savage, Butler and Robson (2003a: 41-43) warn that the mapping
of lifestyles based on consumption patterns and occupations may overlook
commonalities as well as obscure everyday practices. Identifying correlations
between tastes and socioeconomic status—between 'culture' and 'class'—may
wrongfully point at differences where there are none, or less clear difference,
in everyday life. Consumption, as well as occupation, may be part of the shap-
ing of boundaries between socioeconomic categories along with exclusive
patterns of informal social interactions such as marriage, friendships and
associational membership (ibid.: 43). With this in mind, I aim to explore to
what extent there are differences between the resource-rich in Cool and the
resource-rich in Blijdorp: not only for socioeconomic and sociodemographic
characteristics, but also for neighbourhood choice, and, in the next section,
for personal networks. These variables in connection with each other may
indicate that those who choose for diversity indeed also to 'practise' diversi-
ty—that is, form relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries.

Differentiating the new middle class

I have briefly paid attention to the idea that gentrification has it roots in eco-
nomic restructuring and the development and growth of the service sector.
This change brought forth, according to Ley (1986), a new category of relative-
ly resource-rich people with distinct lifestyles, who choose life in the city in-
stead of in suburbia. This category of people is however not homogeneous for
cultural and economic capital and for lifestyle.

The 'middle class' is the category of people that sits in between the elite
and the traditional workers or labourers: they are influential, but lack the
power to rule (van der Land, 2004: 26). The new middle class, likewise, is char-
acterized by their intermediate position between state and citizens, between
lower and higher classes and between producers and consumers (van der
Land, 2007: 478). The origin of the new middle class can be found with proc-
esses of industrialization and technological development, through which the
production of goods became more complex and knowledge-based (van der

Land, 2004: 28-29). These processes generated jobs that require knowledge rather than physical labour. The new middle class is distinguished from the traditional middle class of shop owners, doctors and teachers. The growth of the new middle class lies with bureaucratization and professionalization: the formal organization of knowledge-workers and the growing importance of (higher) education (ibid.: 29). The increasing new middle class is connected to the growth of the state and civil service after World War II (the reconstruction) and manifested itself in a growing number of governmental employees (ibid.: 34). The second wave of growth is related to the economic restructuring in the 1970s and the development of the knowledge economy, which manifested itself in a growing number of knowledge workers (ibid.: 36; Sassen, 2001).

Crompton (1998: 150) notes that with the expansion of new occupations, the middle class now 'encompasses a wide variety of occupational groupings. It might include quite low-level service employees—such as, for example, workers in the "hospitality industry"—as well as the new service profession-als—social workers, librarians, physiotherapists—associated with the growth and development of the welfare state' (see also Butler and Watt, 2007: 85). The middle class, and also the new middle class, thus is not a homogeneous cat-egory, but can be divided into several segments (for an overview, see van der Land, 2004: 37-49). One of the distinctions is that between educational level, income and position (managerial vs. non-managerial jobs).

Another distinction is that between service workers in the public sector and those in the private sector. The private sector refers to service occupations such as financial and legal services, consultancy, insurance, real estate (the FIRE-sector, Sassen, 2001) and marketing, public relations, human resources, logistics and transport. The public sector refers to occupations in the health and social sector as well as civil servants at local and national level. The pub-lic and private sector cannot be fully separated, as private non-profit organ-izations also provide services that are typically public, for example, in the health and social sector. According to Sassen (2001), the privatization of these services is one of the developments that have resulted in the current service-based economy.

Differentiating the (new) middle class makes sense because some have argued that different sections of the middle class have different tastes and lifestyles. For example, workers in the cultural industry—traditional culture such as music and film and contemporary cultural activities such as fashion and advertising (van der Land, 2004: 36)—may be more attracted to 'diversity'. According to Florida (2002: 218), who labels cultural workers as the 'creative class', they seek places with 'abundant high-quality amenities and experienc-es, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to

validate their identities as creative people'.[75]

Cultural facilities and a diverse local population—different ethnic groups, but also different age groups, sexual orientations and alternative lifestyles— make a neighbourhood attractive for creative classes. Van Eijck and Mommaas (2004) suggest that for the Dutch 'upper middle class', work and leisure activities are connected. They demonstrate that people working in the private sector—compared with those working in the public sector—are less likely to participate in 'highbrow' culture (museum or exhibition) and more likely to go out and attend house parties. They were also more likely to eat in restaurants and visit bars and dance halls. Compared with workers in the public sector they were less likely to be 'cultural omnivores'.

According to van Eijck and Mommaas (2004), the connection between leisure and type of job is not necessarily a causal relationship. Plausibly, work is part of a 'lifestyle orientation' that implies both type of job and certain leisure activities (ibid.: 389). In this way, distinguishing the new middle class for job sector may be relevant not only because they might participate in different settings—thus potentially meeting different people—but also because their job might indicate a different way of life that is connected to more or less openness to a variety of activities, lifestyles, orientations, et cetera. This idea corresponds with the suggestion that occupations in itself have become less important in the process of class allegiances—and boundaries (see Devine and Savage, 2000; Butler and Watt, 2007: 183).

The new urban middle class by job sector
Based on above-mentioned distinctions of the 'new middle class', all respondents with medium- and high-skilled jobs are classified by job sector (see Table 7.1):[76]

- Professional service: jobs in financial, legal, insurance and real estate sector, including IT and professional technical worker;
- Cultural industry: jobs in e.g. arts, media, design; people with these occupations would belong to Florida's 'super-creative core' of people who create new things;
- Government: civil servants in local and national government;
- Welfare: health care, welfare and social workers;
- Education: teachers and university employees at all levels.

---

75 Florida's creative class consists of the 'super-creative core' (scientists, engineers, professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, and 'thought leadership' occupations: non-fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and opinion-makers) and 'creative professionals' in knowledge-intensive industries such as the high-tech sector, financial and legal services, health care professions and business management (Florida, 2003: 8).

76 Four respondents with medium- and high-skilled jobs worked in the labour and production sector, seven respondents could not be classified due to lack of information on their precise job; these respondents are not included in the descriptive analyses of this section.

Table 7.1 Differences in sociodemographic features and reasons for moving, by job sector

Sector	Sociodemographic features	Reasons for moving into the neighbourhood	%	N
Professional services	Age <35; no children; academic education	Architecture; near friends	42	87
Cultural industry	Age 35-50; no children; workplace in neighbourhood	Architecture; near friends; cultural facilities; neighbourhood is like a village	15	32
Government	Men; academic	Not diversity	10	21
Welfare	Women; academic; not volunteering	Near family members	22	45
Education	Age >50; women; workplace in Rotterdam	People in neighbourhood; diversity; near family members; working class neighbourhood	11	23
Total			100	208

Note: only respondents with medium- and high-skilled occupations.

People working in the various sectors differ somewhat for sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Notable are differences in age, educational level, and whether they work in the neighbourhood and Rotterdam, or outside Rotterdam (overview in Table 7.1). There are also some variations in reasons for choosing the neighbourhood. These differences may indicate differences in everyday practices and leisure activities, and in turn may be associated with more or less homogeneous personal networks.

There are thus some differences which may explain variations—if we find any—in the extent to which people have relationships across socioeconomic boundaries. In the following I compare the resource-rich segment of the Cool and Blijdorp population to see whether there are any indications that one of the two neighbourhoods attracts a different segment of the resource-rich urban-seekers.

The resource-rich in Cool vs. Blijdorp: sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics

Table 7.2 shows the sociodemographic and occupational characteristics of the resource-rich segment of the population in Cool and Blijdorp (i.e., those with medium- and high-skilled (former) occupations; 57 per cent of the Cool sample, 90 per cent of the Blijdorp sample). For various characteristics, the Cool residents fit the description of the 'new urban middle class' better than Blijdorpers: they are more often single, without children and younger. They work in the professional service sector more often, and are slightly less likely to work for the government or in the welfare sector. The resource-rich in Cool are however not more likely to work in the cultural industry, which suggests that Cool does not attract more members of the 'creative class' than does Blijdorp. Other differences are that Cool residents are more likely to be of non-Western origin; and Blijdorpers are more likely to report membership of an organization or club and to attend activities of the residents' association.

Several other differences are relevant to consider before analysing the per-

Table 7.2 Characteristics of resource-rich respondents in Cool and Blijdorp

	Cool	Blijdorp	Significance (Cramer's V)
Socioeconomic features			
Female	47	60	
Single	52	35	*.165
Children 0-13 year	12	30	**.226
Native Dutch	81	95	**.218
Age			
20-34	47	27	-/+ 35: **.206
35-49	34	52	
50+	20	22	
Highest educational degree			
Primary/secondary	15	8	ns
Medium vocational training	18	10	MBO+: ns
Higher vocational training	32	39	HBO+: *.169
Academic training	35	43	
Socioeconomic status			
Paid job	89	83	
Medium-skilled occupation	34	22	*.174
High-skilled occupation	62	78	
Sector			
1. Private services	47	37	ns
2. Cultural industry	17	15	
3. Government	9	12	
4. Welfare	17	25	
5. Education	12	11	
Self-employed	23	11	
Works at home sometimes	50	28	**.227
Place of work			
At home/in neighbourhood	30	15	**.281
Rotterdam	47	36	
Elsewhere	23	49	
Participation			
Membership of organization	80	93	*.184
Has office/volunteers	27	23	
Membership of political party	9	4	
Attends activities of residents' association	14	30	**.202
Attends neighbourhood meetings	12	10	
N	106	88	

Note: Only respondents with medium- and high-skilled occupations.
*p<.05; **p<.01

sonal networks.[77]

Firstly, Cool residents are on average lower educated than Blijdorpers (see

---

77 The following patterns hold also when comparing only Blijdorpers and Cool residents with high-skilled jobs.

Table 7.2). Significantly fewer Cool residents have had higher vocational training or academic training. Their educational level also shows in occupational status: they more often have medium-skilled jobs. These differences in educational and occupational level matter for our analysis of network heterogeneity. For the operationalization of relationships across socioeconomic boundaries, the cut-off point is whether respondents and network members have had any training after secondary school. We might expect that people who have had medium vocational training and who have a medium-skilled job, are more likely to report network members who did not have tertiary training, compared to people with higher vocational or academic training and high-skilled jobs. For the latter categories, the difference in educational level is greater and thus the difference in lifestyle, or the perception thereof, may be greater, too. This hypothesis is examined in more detail below. For now, it is relevant to know that the resource-rich in Cool on average are less rich in cultural capital.

Secondly, the resource-rich in Cool may spend more time in or near their neighbourhood. As shown in Table 7.2, they are more likely to work at home, in the neighbourhood or in Rotterdam, while resource-rich Blijdorpers work outside Rotterdam more often. This might mean that the first are more often present in the neighbourhood, thus potentially more visible and accessible for fellow-residents for meeting and maintaining relationships. It might also indicate that for Cool residents, work and leisure is more intertwined, as their workplace is closer to home, and that they have more ties with people living in Rotterdam, regardless of whether these network members also live in Cool or elsewhere in Rotterdam. Blijdorpers, on the other hand, are more likely to attend activities organized by the residents' association (30 per cent, compared with 14 per cent of the Cool residents). This might indicate that they know more fellow-residents (neighbours or other connections)—with whom they attend the meetings—or that they form more locality-based ties at these meetings.

The geographical dispersion and composition of the personal networks provide some ground for these propositions. Figure 7.1 shows that resource-rich Blijdorpers have relatively more local ties in their personal networks (22 versus 13 per cent; t=2.833, p=.005), while their counterparts in Cool have more ties in Rotterdam (36 versus 27 per cent; t=2.276, p=.022). Cool residents also have significantly more ties with people living abroad (8 versus 3 per cent; t=2.530, p=.012). This supports my suggestion that Blijdorpers have more local ties, although we cannot tell from the survey data whether these are locality-based ties or whether they are local ties formed in another setting than in the neighbourhood.[78]

That Cool residents work at home or in the neighbourhood more often

---

78   There is no difference in the type of connections in the local network: Cool residents and Blijdorpers had an equal proportion of family members (15 per cent), friends (38 per cent), colleagues (3 per cent), club members (1 per cent), neighbours (34 per cent, trusted neighbours excluded), acquaintances (9 per cent) and other ties (1 per cent) living in their neighbourhood.

Figure 7.1 Geographical dispersion of the networks of resource-rich respondents in Cool and Blijdorp

Legend:
- Abroad
- NL > 1-hour drive
- NL < 1-hour drive
- In Rotterdam
- In neighbourhood
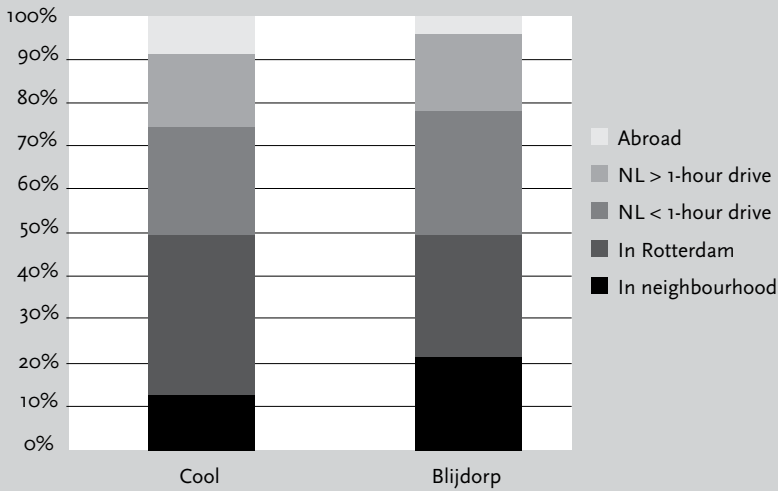
seems unrelated to forming or maintaining ties in their neighbourhood. Rather, working in the neighbourhood or Rotterdam seems associated with forming and maintaining ties in Rotterdam, as Cool residents have proportionally more ties with people living elsewhere in Rotterdam. This may indicate the intertwining of work and leisure, although resource-rich Cool residents do not have more colleagues in their personal networks (but these ties could be included as 'friends'). The composition for the type of connections in the network is fairly similar for both categories (not shown). About one-third of the network members are family members and nearly half are friends. Cool residents have a significantly greater proportion of club members in their network, although still very small (3 versus 0 per cent; t=2.604, p=.010). The proportion of neighbours in the personal networks is small and the same for Cool residents and Blijdorpers (5 and 6 per cent respectively).

To conclude, for some sociodemographic characteristics, the resource-rich in Cool seem to fit the category of 'new urban middle class' better (young, childless, single) than do the resource-rich in Blijdorp. Furthermore, they seem distinct categories for their level of occupations and their orientation towards the city (workplace more often in the city) but their network suggests that it is rather the city than their neighbourhood (few local ties, more ties in Rotterdam). The very small proportion of local ties (13 per cent) of Cool residents supports the image of gentrifiers whose involvement with fellow-residents is, at best, limited. According to the literature, the new urban middle class would choose the city and inner city neighbourhoods for distinct reasons. We now turn to this topic.

Reasons to move to Blijdorp and Cool

A considerable segment of both categories thus fit the label new middle class as they work in the private service sector, welfare and cultural industries. Both resource-rich Cool residents and Blijdorpers also belong to the urban middle class considering their choice of the city as place of residence. How-

ever, the resource-rich in Cool chose to move into a socioeconomically and ethnically mixed, multi-functional, inner-city neighbourhood, whereas the resource-rich in Blijdorp chose to move *near* the inner city into an area that is quite homogeneous in terms of socioeconomic and ethnic composition and functions predominantly as a residential space. We could propose that living in Blijdorp, although it is in the city, is considerably more conventional in terms of urban life and dealing with diversity—most Blijdorpers have native-Dutch, high-educated and well-earning neighbours. In this way, living in Blijdorp resembles suburban life more than does living in Cool, which is far more mixed in its amenities and composition.

That Cool and Blijdorp are distinct places seems to be reflected in several of the Cool residents' and Blijdorpers' reasons for moving into the neighbourhood. Resource-rich Blijdorpers were significantly more likely to move into the neighbourhood for 'the people in the neighbourhood', the architectural quality of the neighbourhood, the size and character of the dwellings, and because the 'neighbourhood is like a village' (see Table 7.3). They further mention other reasons that have to do with the neighbourhood more often (e.g. quiet neighbourhood, green, safe, atmosphere, social control, better than other or former neighbourhood), which support the image of Blijdorp as a quiet—rather than 'edgy'—urban neighbourhood. Finally, Blijdorpers mention other practical reasons (e.g. shops, near city centre, near arterial road) more often, which supports the idea that Blijdorpers indeed want to benefit from being near the city centre with its facilities without necessarily living in the city centre. That more Blijdorpers mention the nearby arterial road corresponds with the fact that far more Blijdorpers have their workplace outside Rotterdam. Resource-rich Cool residents are significantly more likely to report 'cultural facilities' as a reason for moving to Cool. Nearly half of them said that the neighbourhood's 'diversity' was one of their reasons for choosing Cool.[79]

To what extent do these differences indicate a different 'metropolitan habitus'? Metaal and Teijmant (2008: 43) describe that residents of the Amsterdam neighbourhood Westerpark were likely to say that the area is like a 'village in the city'. Residents of Westerpark meant by that that they knew many people in the neighbourhood or that many people socialize with each other in the street. In other studies, is the 'vitality' of the city is mentioned as an attractive feature of living in an inner-city neighbourhood (Machielse, 1989: 151; Karsten *et al.*, 2006: 29; Burgers, 2007: 49). This suggests that we can distinguish (at least) two 'types' of urban-seekers. First those who want to enjoy all that the city has to offer, but who do not necessarily want to live in the midst

---

79   Unfortunately 'diversity' was not an answer category for Blijdorpers, as I changed the question wording into 'people from different cultural backgrounds'. 'Culture' in the Dutch context is likely to be interpreted as 'ethnic' while 'diversity' means more than just ethnic diversity, as we have seen above.

	Cool	Blijdorp	Significance (Cramer's V)
Table 7.3 Reasons for moving into the neighbourhood, resource-rich respondents in Cool and Blijdorp (percentages)			
People in the neighbourhood	10	41	***.366
Architectural quality of the neighbourhood	28	57	***.288
Size and character of dwelling	61	78	*.184
Cultural facilities	63	40	**.232
Diversity	48	--	
Neighbourhood is like a village	16	33	**.200
Other: neighbourhood	9	39	***.358
Other: practical	8	27	**.253
N	103	83	

Note: Table shows only significant items specification other reasons: neighbourhood – quiet, green, safe, atmosphere, social control, better than other/former neighbourhood; practical – shops, near city centre, near arterial road. Only respondents with medium- and high-skilled occupations.

of the bustle. They choose a neighbourhood near the inner city. A second type of city dweller wants to be part of the bustle and chooses to live in the inner city. While Cool and Blijdorp both attract an urban middle class, the difference in reasons mentioned for moving into the neighbourhood—what people appreciate about their neighbourhood—suggest that Cool attracts the second type, whereas Blijdorp attracts the first type of city dweller.

The metropolitan habitus is not lacking in Blijdorp, I suggest (cf. Butler and Robson, 2003a: 191, referring to Docklands, the most suburbanized London area in their study). Rather, living in Blijdorp is city life in a 'safer mode', compared with city life in Cool. Liesbeth sums up why Blijdorp is attractive as an urban neighbourhood:

And what I like about this part of the street, I don't know whether that goes for all of Blijdorp, it really just is a small village. People just talk with each other and know about each other what's going on and you know. It's not that you visit each other but just a moment like 'Hey how are you?" and "How is the doggie doing?" Just a moment of these short... I just do really well in such an environment. That you don't *have* to, but that it's possible. What I like about Blijdorp is that it's close to the [inner] city. That really appeals to me. That on a Friday night we can just walk to De Doelen [concert hall]. Why do I fit in Blijdorp? Well that's why maybe. I couldn't imagine myself living in Krimpen [aan den IJssel] or something because then I would think "Where can I go?" and I would only stay at home. Maybe it's not like that at all, but that's the image that I have [of living there].

Liesbeth likes the fact that Blijdorp is like a village, but she does not want to live in a real village herself. Earlier we read that Liesbeth did not want to live in Nieuwerkerk aan den IJssel; now she refers to Krimpen aan den IJssel, another Vinex location and village (population 29,000) near Rotterdam. In her imagination, Krimpen cannot offer the amenities that the city can. Living within walking distance of the concert hall De Doelen (which is in cen-

tre of the city) and the city centre is what is, for Liesbeth, attractive about Blijdorp. The difference may be, in part, associated with the life-course stage but also the choice in itself to 'settle down' and start a family or not, as Blijdorpers are on average older, more often married or co-habiting, and more often have started a family. Particularly for parents, Karsten (2003) observes, living in the city is accompanied with worries about safety. Blijdorp then is the safer option (cf. Bridge (2006a) who argues that gentrification is not just about taste but also about cultural reproduction: education of the children).

Summing up, there is some evidence that the 'metropolitan habitus' (Butler and Robson, 2003a)—what distinguishes the resource-rich in the city from their counterparts living in suburbs and villages—takes on distinct forms for at least part of the resource-rich population in Cool and Blijdorp. This corresponds with Butler and Robson's (2003a) study on resource-rich gentrifiers in four London areas. However, differences in working life and reasons for moving into the neighbourhood may not correspond with differences in personal networks. That is, to what extent is a choice for diversity—moving to Cool— part of a more inclusive lifestyle translated not just into narratives of 'social inclusion and social integration' (ibid.) but also to the practice of forming and maintaining relationships with people from different backgrounds and socio-economic strata? The next section examines and compares the diversity in the personal networks.

7.5 Diversity in personal networks

The question thus remains whether people who live in Cool have a more socioeconomically mixed network than people who live in Blijdorp—that is, whether they have more relationships across socioeconomic boundaries. Many studies have concluded that gentrifiers or resource-richer city dwellers in mixed neighbourhoods may 'rub along' with people of different lifestyles and backgrounds, but that they do not interact and socialize with them. However, up to now we have had no clue about the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of their personal networks—that is, compared with the networks of people who live in a homogeneous neighbourhood. It is possible that resource-rich residents indeed do not form relationships across socioeconomic boundaries but that they refrain from these relationships regardless of whether they live in a homogeneous or mixed neighbourhood. On the other hand, it is possible that those who live in a mixed neighbourhood have few of such relationships but still more than those who live in a homogeneous neighbourhood (Blokland, 2004).

In the following, I examine the extent to which people have relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries. In particular, I zoom in on the question whether choosing a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood means form-

ing more of these relationships, by comparing the personal networks of the three residential groups. All respondents are included in the analysis to gain insight into which people have more mixed networks, with particular interest in comparing resource-rich Blijdorpers with resource-rich Cool.

Relationships across socioeconomic boundaries are operationalized as follows. The 'boundary' is set at whether or not people and their network members have had any tertiary education (vocational or academic). In the survey, we asked about the highest educational achievement of respondents. For all their network members we asked whether they had any training after secondary school. I computed a variable of network homogeneity for educational level. For those without tertiary education, all network members who similarly had no training were coded as '1 (same)'; those without training as '0 (different)'. For those with tertiary education, all network members who also had training were coded as '1 (same)'; those without training as '0 (different)'. Subsequently I computed a measure of the percentage of network members with the same educational level as respondent. A 100 per cent homogeneous network thus consists of network members who all have the same level of education as respondent, while 0 per cent homogeneity indicates that all network members have a different educational level.

This boundary based on educational level need not be a perceived boundary or difference according to the people in the relationship. Educational level is however an indication for people's socioeconomic status, in particular their cultural capital but also economic capital. Following the idea of Bourdieu and other scholars that people's tastes and lifestyles are associated with their cultural and economic capital, educational level is in this way an indication of whether certain difference may be present and/or perceived in a relationship.

Network homogeneity
On average, 65 per cent of people's networks consist of network members who have a similar educational level (Table 7.4).[80] In other words, about one in three of people's network members have a different level of education. When we consider the three residential categories separately, we see that Blijdorpers have most homogeneous networks (76 per cent), followed by Cool residents (66 per cent) and Hillesluisians (50 per cent). These differences are statistically significant. Comparing the networks of only the resource-rich in Cool and Blijdorp also shows a significant difference in homogeneity: 71 and 80 per cent respectively (t=2.250, p=.026; not shown). At first sight, there is thus support for the idea that moving to Cool (whether or not for its diversity) is associated with a more mixed network. In addition, singles have more

---

80 Partners and other household members (mainly children), and 'trusted neighbours' are for these analyses, as in Chapter 5, excluded from the personal networks.

Table 7.4 Network homogeneity for educational level, by sociodemographics

	Network homogeneity (% of network)	S.D.	At least one boundary-crossing tie (% of respondents)	N
All	.65	.34	70	362
Neighbourhood				
Hillesluis	** .50 [1]	.36	** 80 [2]	89
Cool	* .66 [2]	.33	71	178
Blijdorp	*** .76 [3]	.29	60	95
Household				
Couple	** .70	.33	67	194
Single	.59	.35	74	168
Ethnic origin				
Native Dutch	.66	.34	69	254
Non-Western	.60	.35	74	101
Age				
20-34	.72	.31	66	118
35-49	.68	.35	65	125
50-64	.61	.33	76	72
65+	** .46 [4]	.35	* 84	43

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.
[1] Significance versus Cool
[2] Significance versus Blijdorp
[3] Significance versus Hillesluis
[4] Significance versus 20-49

mixed networks, as well as people over 65 years old, compared with people aged 20 to 49 (see Table 7.4). As we saw that Cool residents are on average more often single and younger, these variations may be associated with the difference between Cool residents and Blijdorpers, rather than the place of residence. In a multivariate analysis, we thus need to include these variables.

Gender and ethnic origin are not associated with variations in network homogeneity. Overall the personal networks thus are composed mostly of people with the same level of education (on average 65 per cent), although it is certainly not the case that people socialize and associate only with their 'own kind of people'. There is also some variation in who reported at least one network member with a different educational level (Table 7.4). Of all respondents, 70 per cent report at least one such relationship. Nearly one-third of the respondents thus did not report such a tie. Blijdorpers are less likely to report a boundary-crossing tie compared to Hillesluisians (resp. 60 and 80 per cent), and people older than 65 do so more often compared to people of age 20 to 50 (resp. 84 and 66 per cent). Singles and couples are equally likely to report at least one tie with someone of a different educational level.

Network homogeneity is further associated with people's socioeconomic position (see Table 7.5). People with tertiary education have significantly more homogeneous networks (78 versus 47 per cent), and people with higher vocational or academic training have more homogeneous networks than those with a lower educational training (81 versus 54 per cent; t=8.754, p<.001;

Table 7.5 Network homogeneity for educational level, by socioeconomic status

	Network homogeneity (% of network)	S.D.	At least one boundary-crossing tie (% of respondents)	N
Educational level				
No tertiary education	** .47	.35	** 83	149
Tertiary education	.78	.26	61	210
Occupation				
No paid job	** .55	.35	* 78	125
Paid job	.70	.32	66	237
Occupational level				
Never worked	* .63 [2]	.36	64	33
Low-skilled job	** .49 [2]	.36	83	114
Medium-skilled job	** .59 [2]	.34	74	80
High-skilled job	.82	.22	59	135
Job sector [1]				
Professional services	.71	.31	66	85
Cultural industry	.75	.30	68	31
Government	.87	.21	43	21
Welfare	.73	.29	69	45
Education	.77	.24	64	22

*p<.05; ***p<.001

[1] Only medium-/high-skilled jobs.
[2] Significance versus high-skilled job.

not shown). In addition—and associated with this—, people with high-skilled occupations have more homogenous networks (82 versus 49 and 58 per cent for low- and medium-skilled jobs); and people with a paid job have more homogeneous networks than those without a job (70 versus 55 per cent). There is also some variation among medium- and high-skilled workers associated with job sector: civil servants have the most homogeneous networks (87 per cent), workers in the private service have the least homogeneous networks (71 per cent), and workers in the culture, welfare and education sector fall somewhere in between (resp. 75, 73 and 77 per cent).

Turning to who reported at least one network member with a different educational level, we see that people with high-skilled jobs and civil servants are least likely to report a boundary-crossing tie (resp. 59 and 46 per cent). People in low-skilled jobs and low-skilled service and production workers are most likely to report such a tie (resp. 83 and 81 per cent). If we look at only those with medium- and high-skilled jobs, civil servants similarly stand out as least likely to report a boundary-crossing tie (43 per cent), although the number of respondents in this category is low so these statistics should be interpreted with some reserve.

The variations in network homophily are further associated with people's educational level: people without tertiary education are more likely to report a network member with a different educational level than people with tertiary education. This asymmetry may seem odd and it may be, in part, an effect of how we measured the personal networks. We asked who had helped

Table 7.6 Respondents reporting above-average network heterogeneity (percentages)

	% resp.	Significance (Cramer's V)		% resp.	Significance (Cramer's V)
All	42		**Socioeconomic status**		
Residence		***.281	No tertiary education	66	***.420
Hillesluis	63		Tertiary education	24	
Cool	40		No paid job	56	***.210
Blijdorp	24		Paid job	34	
Household			**Occupational status ***		***.422
Couple	35	**.145	Never worked	46	
Single	49		Low-skilled job	63	
Ethnic origin			Medium-skilled job	54	
Native Dutch	41		High-skilled job	16	
Non-Western	46		**Job sector [1]**		
Age		***.238	Professional services	32	
20-34	31		Cultural industry	26	
35-49	37		Government	10	
50-64	50		Welfare	31	
65+	67		Education	27	

Note: Differences between Hillesluis, Cool and Blijdorpers are all significant at .01-level. Differences between never worked, low-skilled job and medium-skilled job compared to high-skilled job are all significant at .001-level.
[1] Only medium-/high-skilled jobs.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

respondents, and not whom they had helped themselves. On the other hand, the name generating questions quite adequately collected the network members who are most present in people daily lives. It is not impossible that highly educated people give help to lower-educated people but without including them in their network. This is perhaps more likely to happen in specific settings and indicates that the relationship is not maintained beyond and independently of this setting. This is not to say, as I have argued before, that these ties are not important for the exchange of resources, but they are of a different kind from those relationships. Finally, people with a paid job are also less likely to report a network member of different educational level.

For multivariate analysis, I computed a dummy variable that indicates whether someone reported above-average network heterogeneity—that is, 35 per cent or more of the network members differ for educational level from the respondent. 42 per cent of all the networks show above-average heterogeneity. Nearly two-thirds of the networks of Hillesluisians are above-average mixed, while merely a quarter of Blijdorpers' networks are above-average mixed (Table 7.6). In line with patterns described above, singles are more likely to report an above-average proportion of network members with a different educational level, as well as older people. The variations are most strongly associated with educational level and job skill level. Having a paid job is associated to a lesser extent. Differences between the job sectors—among people with medium- and high-skilled jobs—are not significant.

Table 7.7 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis on above-average network heterogeneity, for the total networks (household members and

Table 7.7 Logistic regression analyisis on above-average network heterogeneity, total networks

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood								
Blijdorp (ref.)	26.904						3.802	
Hillesluis	26.429	*** 5.312					3.401	2.206
Cool	7.053	** 2.126					0.464	1.276
Socioeconomic features								
Female			0.035	0.953				
Paid job			0.360	1.215				
Native Dutch			1.201	1.387				
Single			5.289	* 1.787			2.765	1.578
Age			2.095	1.014			0.469	1.006
Tertiary education			12.594	*** 0.280			14.111	0.226
Occupational level								
High-skilled (ref.)			14.949				9.221	
Low-skilled			6.234	* 3.019			2.720	3.249
Medium-skilled			14.897	*** 4.058			9.125	** 3.122
Job sector								
Service/production (ref.)					25.055		3.588	
Professional services					13.278	*** 0.331	1.219	2.044
Cultural industry/ government					18.804	*** 0.189	0.081	1.221
Welfare/education					9.800	** 0.378	2.106	2.453
Constant	22.701	*** 0.319	4.968	* 0.190	4.221	* 1.512	2.583	0.223
Nagelkerke R²		0.104		0.305		0.108		0.331
-2 Log Likelihood		462.758		384.204		407.383		337.071
N		362		349		321		316

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

trusted neighbours not included). I analysed the correlation of variables in four steps. In model 1 I included only people's neighbourhood. Hillesluisians and Cool residents are significantly more likely to have above-average mixed networks. Model 2 includes only sociodemographic variables, and shows that being single and having had education after secondary school are significantly associated with above-average network heterogeneity. People with low- and medium-skilled jobs are more likely than people with high-skilled jobs to have a mixed network. Considering the Nagelkerke R², these sociodemographics do a better job in 'predicting' above-average network heterogeneity, than place of residence.

Model 3 includes only job sector. Compared with workers in low-skilled job sectors such as production and hospitality, people in all professional sectors are less likely to report above-average network heterogeneity. Workers in the cultural industry and civil servants are least likely to do so. Model 4 includes all significant variables plus age. Neighbourhood and job sector are no longer significant. Having had tertiary education decreases the likelihood of having

Table 7.8 Logistic regression analysis on above-average network heterogeneity, for local and non-local networks

	Local networks		Non-local networks	
	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)
Neighbourhood				
Blijdorp (ref.)	2.931		1.230	
Hillesluis	1.443	1.680	0.356	1.313
Cool	0.075	0.910	0.120	0.878
Socioeconomic status				
Single	0.784	1.280	2.574	1.594
Age			1.262	1.011
Tertiary education	3.159	0.491	24.809	** 0.084
Occupational level				
High-skilled (ref.)	4.359		5.556	
Low-skilled	1.343	2.254	0.092	1.265
Medium-skilled	4.341	* 2.247	4.921	* 2.455
Job sector				
Service/production (ref.)	1.636		6.091	
Professional services	1.227	1.984	2.395	2.852
Cultural industry/ government	0.387	1.527	0.002	0.968
Welfare/education	1.276	1.917	2.176	2.573
Constant	2.143	0.330	0.279	0.595
Nagelkerke R²		0.129		0.360
-2 Log Likelihood		309.692		309.176
N		249		302

*p<.05; ***p<.001

an above-average mixed network, while having a medium-skilled job increases this likelihood. The effect of education is strongest, but next to this variable, job skill level is still significantly associated with network heterogeneity. Put differently, for highly-educated people, working in a medium-skilled job increases the likelihood of having lower-educated network members. This suggests that these relationships are formed in the workplace or in work-related settings. It might also indicate that while people had ample education, they feel they 'match' better with less highly educated people, and thus choose less demanding work environments. Perhaps this goes particularly for social climbers: people who grew up in resource-poorer families and who had the opportunity to go to college or university (cf. Li *et al.*, 2008, who find that people's mobility trajectory is associated with the status range of their personal networks). This hypothesis remains merely suggestive, as the survey data provides no information on mobility trajectories between generations.

Table 7.8 shows the same analysis but now for the local and non-local networks. Above I proposed that, if living in Cool in itself is associated with network heterogeneity because it provides opportunities to form and maintain ties across socioeconomic boundaries, we might find variations particularly in the composition of the local personal network. If living in Cool is rather a

marker for a more inclusive orientation towards 'others' regardless of the set-ting—neighbourhood but also work, leisure and associational—we might find variations particularly or also in the composition of the non-local network.

The results however support neither of these hypotheses. Similar to the previous analysis, I carried out both analyses in four steps; Table 7.8 show only the final models. For the local network, after including other variables, having a medium-skilled occupation alone is associated with network heter-ogeneity. Considering the Nagelkerke R^2, the heterogeneity of the local net-works seems less associated with sociodemographic and socioeconomic char-acteristics of respondents. The variables do a better job at 'predicting' the het-erogeneity of non-local networks. The results show the same pattern as for the total network: above-average network heterogeneity is associated with, first, educational level, and second, having a medium-skilled job. Finally, I analysed above-average network heterogeneity in the neighbour networks (these networks are on average slightly more homogeneous, so the depend-ent variable is here set at 30 per cent heterophilous ties). In the final mod-el, including neighbourhood, household status (single), job skill-level and job sector, none of the variables are significant (Results not shown).

To summarize the results, there is no difference in network heterogeneity between the three residential categories. Differences that appear at face val-ue are associated with socioeconomic status. Furthermore, the resource-rich in Cool are equally likely as the resource-rich in Blijdorp (not) to have above-average mixed networks for educational level. This supports earlier studies, reported above, that found that the resource-rich in mixed neighbourhoods—whether or not they express a taste for 'diversity'—are not more likely to express this liking in their practice of forming and maintaining personal rela-tionships.

7.6 Conclusion

The central question of this chapter was whether urban-seekers who choose to move into a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood (i.c. Cool) form more relationships across socioeconomic boundaries, compared to urban-seek-ers who move into a homogeneous neighbourhood (i.c. Blijdorp). I connected this question to the question of 'homophily', the tendency for relationships to form between people who are similar in certain respects, which tenden-cy is, according to Bourdieu, grounded in education, upbringing and milieu, contingent on combinations of cultural and economic capital, and manifest in certain tastes and lifestyles. Following Bourdieu, we can say that people's identification with similar lifestyles and tastes plays a significant role in the formation of socioeconomically exclusive networks and, thus, the stability of socioeconomic boundaries. Based on the literature on the 'urban new mid-

dle class', for whom neighbourhood 'diversity' would be an asset, I wondered whether people who choose diversity are likely to deviate from the tendency of homophily and form (more) boundary-crossing relationships.

The research findings confirm the idea, posed by others, that a liking for diversity—whether explicitly expressed or implicit in neighbourhood choice— is part of a 'metropolitan habitus' in which, as Butler (2003: 2471) describes, 'values such as diversity, social inclusion and social integration form an important element of the narrative of settlement but which, in its practice, is one of social exclusivity'. That a choice for diversity does not result in more boundary-crossing relationships with fellow-residents may not be surprising. The urban-seeking segment of the 'new urban middle class' is a category of people who, like highly educated and highly skilled people in general, form relatively few relationships through neighbourhood settings. Their everyday lives involve settings other than those in the neighbourhood, so that for 'choosing diversity' to matter for networks, this choice would have to go together with greater involvement with neighbourhood settings. The study suggests that, for most resource-rich urban-seekers, this is not the case. With respect to relationships in general, formed through study, work and leisure, the study findings do not suggest that the resource-rich urban-seekers engage in settings where they meet resource-poorer people. More is to be expected from the medium-skilled workers, who prove to have the most heterogeneous networks and as such may function as 'brokers' between the resource-poor and the resource-rich.

In line with the idea that 'where and among whom' you live is an increasingly important way for people to shape their identity, to distinguish themselves from others and, thus, to identify people with similar tastes and lifestyles, this study indicates that neighbourhood composition plays an important role in understanding the relation between socioeconomic categories. 'Choosing diversity' may be a way for a segment of the resource-rich people to distinguish themselves from suburbanites, but this habitus does not indicate a tendency to 'level' boundaries among themselves and their resource-poorer urban fellows. If choosing diversity is indeed about taste, then this may rather indicate the formation of new within-class boundaries and consolidating existing between-class boundaries. In this way, the (spontaneously or state-led) creation of socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods is not necessarily a token of an 'integrated society'.

8 The formation of personal networks
Network forms, settings and social capital

In the previous chapters, I have distinguished and examined various ways in which the neighbourhood composition—spatial segregation and integration—may have a role in the (unequal) formation of personal relationships and networks. In Chapter 5, I discussed the possible negative consequences of living in a poor neighbourhood, and concluded that the neighbourhood composition in itself is not directly associated with the resourcefulness of networks; rather, it is the ways in which people maintain and geographically organize their network that matters for understanding variations in resourcefulness. In Chapter 6, I examined whether the ethnic diversity or the territorial stigma of a poor neighbourhood hampers the formation of locality-based ties. The research findings did not support these theses, although parents with young children in Hillesluis were significantly less likely to report neighbours as network members. Based on these and other findings, we may conclude that for those who depend on neighbourhood settings to form new relationships and to expand their personal network—for example, young parents with a small network, the elderly and the less mobile—, living in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood demands more efforts to form relationships with fellow-residents. In Chapter 7, I examined whether a choice for diversity indicates a 'metropolitan habitus' that indicates, or translates into, a more diverse personal network—that is, more relationships across socioeconomic boundaries. I concluded that, while the neighbourhood has a role as marker of distinction, a liking for rubbing shoulders with 'others' is not associated with more (or less) socioeconomically heterogeneous networks.

We can thus far conclude that the neighbourhood composition does not have an independent and direct 'effect' on personal networks through structuring meeting opportunities between resource-rich and resource-poor people living in the city. The neighbourhood is not irrelevant, however: its role as meaningful place and marker for distinction are significant for understanding processes of boundary making between the rich and poor. In this way, neighbourhood composition and spatial segregation are—even without directly structuring encounters and interaction—essential factors in understanding the reproduction of inequality; I discuss this in more detail in the Conclusion.

In this chapter, I examine the formation and forms of personal networks, and shift my focus to settings other than the neighbourhood. Whether the neighbourhood is relevant for personal networks depends, in Blokland's (2003b: 57) words, 'on the neighbourhood's role in defining the network relations, and the status of neighbour relations within the network'. The importance of local and locality-based ties within networks depends on people's life trajectories and the opportunities they have (had) to build relationships, in neighbourhood settings as well as elsewhere. We have seen that the role of

the neighbourhood in the formation of new ties is limited: on average, 17 per cent of the personal networks consist of local ties, of which an even smaller part is locality-based, that is, formed in the neighbourhood with fellow-residents. Other factors thus play a role in the formation of personal networks, in the inequality in resourcefulness of networks and in the extent to which ties between socioeconomic categories develop. In this chapter, I further tease out those factors that shape unequal networks and shift the focus to factors and settings in addition to neighbourhood composition. Earlier studies have shown that the composition and quality of networks varies among socioeconomic categories, but how can we further specify what it is about socioeconomic status that yields more resource-rich networks? Put differently, can we assess how 'social capital' is attained, and thus how resource-poor people come to have 'less' social capital?

In this chapter I first discuss the formation of personal networks—tied up with engagement in settings and life-course stages—and how variations in formation shape different network forms. These forms are further examined in an attempt to understand how variations in size, composition, variety and resources emerge. I conclude with a proposal to understand 'social capital' in the Bourdieuian sense as 'embeddedness in resource-rich networks'.

8.1 Network formation: settings and the life-course

Personal networks are the collection of relationships that a person has formed and maintained over time. As Liz Spencer and Ray Pahl (2006: 88) describe it:

> Each life-course stage and event is an opportunity for friend-making, providing a context in which people discover they have something in common, be it circumstances, interests, lifestyle, values. But the very same situations and life-course stages are also the contexts in which friendships are conducted. As such they may provide opportunities for relationships to strengthen and deepen, but may also be a source of pressures and conflicting commitments, so that some friendships are neglected, and people drift apart.

Opportunities come and go over time, and with each new setting in which people participate, there is an opportunity to expand the network through developing new ties. Each life-course stage provides opportunities for developing (and ending) relationships: growing up in the nuclear family; going to and finishing school; attending college or university, or dropping out; settling down with a partner, or divorcing; moving within or away from the hometown; becoming parents; getting or changing jobs; taking up leisure activities; social mobility; retiring and having more spare time; growing old and, final-

ly, becoming restricted in moving around (Spencer and Pahl, 2006; see also Stueve and Gerson, 1977). In addition, people's old and new network members are themselves linked to other people and networks and these 'friends of friends' thus are also potential new network members. In any case, network members connect people to network members of a 'second order' and beyond (Boissevain, 1974).

Life-course stages are associated with certain 'foci of activity' (Feld and Carter, 1998: 142) and, thus, to certain settings: family, school, work place, household, the school of one's children, and so forth. As I explained in Chapter 3, a focus is 'any social, psychological, legal or physical entity around which joint activities are organized' and which have the effect of bringing together a set of people who, through their joint activities, repeatedly interact with each other (Feld, 1981; Feld and Carter, 1998). While it is possible that relationships develop out of chance meetings, most relationships originate in one focus of activity or another (Feld and Carter, 1998). In the in-depth interviews with 30 respondents, I asked them how their relationships with network members had originated. All relationships but one could be traced back to a shared activity or setting. (The one relationship that deviated from the general pattern was a friendship of Ruth (b. 1947, retired, married, Blijdorp): she had met a woman on the tram, they started chatting, discovered they were both Jewish, continued their chat in Hebrew, exchanged phone numbers and maintain a friendship since).

Neighbourhood settings can be foci of activity (see Section 3.2 and Chapter 5), and their role as a focus is associated with the life-course stages. The relevance of the neighbourhood in developing new ties thus changes throughout one's life course as use of neighbourhood facilities changes throughout the life course (Stueve and Gerson, 1977; Blokland, 2003b: 39). In a 'standardized, traditional lifecycle' from childhood to retirement and eventually death, neighbourhood use in adulthood increases when people have children and see them growing up, then decreases, and increases again when one becomes older and less mobile (Blokland, 2003b). In the traditional lifecycle, when a couple settles down and has children, neighbourhood use increases particularly for women (mothers) and not so much for men (fathers). In dual-earner families where both parents are working four days a week and share childcare, neighbourhood use may also increase for men. As I argued in Chapter 6, we should see the neighbourhood neither as a starting point of networks nor merely as the location of networks, but as a collection of settings in which people maintain old relationships and expand their network by developing new relationships. Not all people, however, will engage in neighbourhood settings, just as not everyone engages in settings related to work, leisure and family. The different forms—and qualities, I suggest—of personal networks should thus be sought in the variation in settings in which people are

engaged.[81]

Based on Liz Spencer and Ray Pahl's (2006) 'friendship modes' and Ulf Hannerz' (1980) 'modes of urban existence' we can understand the formation and expansion of personal networks as depending on the number and types of settings, and the stages in people's life course, in which new relationships are developed. We can thus identify two dimensions of network formation: (1) the settings in which new relationships are formed and (2) the times in one's life course at which new relationships are added to the personal network. These dimensions are intertwined, as at some life-course stages people are often involved in more activities (e.g. young working parents) than in other stages (e.g. long-retired elderly). Furthermore, people at different life-course stages will be involved in different sorts of activities (e.g. people generally retire from work at age 60 to 65, they might take up voluntary work, although as people grow older, the less active they generally are; Feld and Carter, 1998: 142) and some activities and settings may be more conducive to tie-formation than others (e.g. university is a particularly sociable setting; Spencer and Pahl, 2006: 90). Combining the dimensions of life-course stages and settings in which people partake offers insight into why some networks stay pretty much the same over time while others constantly expand, and what factors matter for understanding variations in network size, composition, variety, and resourcefulness.

Number of settings

People thus form a number of relationships, in various settings, and these relationships may be connected themselves or remain separated ties. Hannerz (1980: 255-261; see also Blokland, 2003b: 48-57) distinguishes four patterns of everyday life that characterize the lives of urbanites, focusing on the kinds of relationships urbanites form (these modes may apply to all people, not just urbanites). 'Encapsulation' refers to a person having 'one dense network sector, connected to one or more of his roles, in which he invests a very high proportion of his time and interest' (Hannerz, 1980: 256). In a 'pure form of encapsulation', the network members are similarly intensively involved with each other. There is thus much connectedness among the network members. These networks are characterized by multiplex ties, density, and closure. Hannerz continues: 'the encapsulated urbanite may appear to make very limited use of the opportunities of the city' to form new relationships, and thus he is hardly able to reach outside his network to unknown others (ibid.: 257), for influence or resources. What is thus distinct in this mode of existence is that relationships are formed and maintained in a limited number of settings.

---

81   I leave aside here variations in personality; as a sociologist my interest is not with the psychological aspects of life.

People who have 'segregated' networks are connected to several different networks, which are kept separated; people thus live in 'at the same time in several different contiguous, but otherwise widely separated, worlds' (ibid.: 258). People with 'integrated' networks—according to Hannerz, the most ordinary way of life in the city—have relationships in different settings 'without very strong tendencies to concentration in any one' (ibid.: 259). People with integrated networks do not necessarily keep their network members separated from each other. In general, people with integrated networks create encounters between their network members, and over time the network thus develops toward greater density, but in a loose way rather than tightly clustered (ibid.); the network thus may consist of partly overlapping clusters of network members. People with segregated and integrated networks do not necessarily seek out new people: some do form new relationships where others depend on 'a rather routinized round of relationships and do little to develop new links out of occasional encounters' (ibid.: 259). In the latter case, people may rather form new setting-specific relationships (not a term that Hannerz uses). In either case, people with segregated and integrated networks 'make real use of the size and the diversity of the city' to maintain and expand their network (ibid.).

The fourth mode of existence describes people who live in (relative) solitude, with often a small network that does not expand into the 'recreational domain'. Solitude may be temporary or become long-term when people 'lack the social assets around which relationships are created—a job, a place to call home, an outgoing personality' (ibid.: 260). In short, these 'modes of existence' are different in the extent to which they use single or multiple contexts to form (new) relationships and to maintain and organize their network.

Network formation over time

Networks may change throughout the life-course—through participating in new foci of activity and settings, particularly after life-course transitions (getting a first job, having children). These transitions often offer new potentials to expand or change one's network, either by adding new ties to old relationships, or by dropping some old ties and replacing them by new ones. But while most people will experience several transitions during their life, people vary in the extent to which they capitalize on new opportunities to form new relationships. We can thus distinguish different modes that capture variations in network change and expansion over the life-course.

Spencer and Pahl (2006: 102-107) describe four friendship modes, which may be applied to relationships in a broader sense. In their study, 'friends' are defined as any network member who is in some way 'important' to the interviewees, including family members, work-based ties, neighbours, and other connections (ibid.: 47). The study's focus thus is much broader in describing personal networks, although the 'personal communities' emphasize strong

and intense ties. However, they show that strong ties are 'strong' in different ways, and that 'friendship' is a broad label that also covers relationships with colleagues, family members and neighbours. Therefore I think it is justifiable to convert these friendship modes into 'modes of relationship formation'.

Spencer and Pahl categorize the different modes according to the time in the life-course when people make new relationships and lose old ties (ibid.: 102). In a 'bounded' mode, people form most of their relationships in a particular setting or at a particular stage of the life-course. 'It is as though, after a burst of friend-making, people rely on their existing friendship repertoire, and put their remaining energy into family life or work' (ibid.: 102). Very often, Spencer and Pahl find, this 'burst' occurs during late teens and early twenties when people are single and meet new people when 'going out', or when people settle down and form friends around family life and children (ibid.). This mode is bounded not necessarily because people do not meet any new people, but because few or no new important relationships are added to the network; new ties remain 'casual friends and acquaintances'.

This is in contrast with a 'serial' mode of relationship making, which refers to a pattern of replacing old relationships with new ones (ibid.: 104). With each new stage in the life-course, people drop most of their old ties and form new ties. Spencer and Pahl observed this mode for people who were geographically mobile or had experienced a number of crises. Geographic mobility thus does not necessarily result in a new network; it depends on whether people make an effort to maintain old ties in their old location, or whether they drop these and make an effort to get in touch with new people.

An 'evolving' mode of relationship making refers to a pattern of adding new relationships to the network after each life-course transition, while retaining some old relationships (ibid.: 105). In this way, it combines the bounded and serial mode (ibid.). There is a degree of continuity, and new relationships are drawn from a range of different settings and activities. These networks thus can keep on growing, including ever more ties, although sometimes relationships will become rather 'latent' and replaced by new, more actively maintained ties.

A 'ruptured' mode, finally, refers to a pattern of replacement of the relationship mode, for example, when someone with a bounded mode after a 'dramatic change in circumstances' (serious illness, difficult divorce, coming out as gay) has an evolving mode (ibid.: 106). People thus change in the way they maintain and organize their 'networking'—after divorce one may change from a home bird, focused on family life, to a pleasure-seeker, suddenly going out more and taking up new activities, thus getting in touch with new people.

A model of network formation
Over time, people thus draw from different and more or fewer pools of people to form relationships. The modes of relationship formation are not in the

first place about how networks change throughout the life course and how life-course transitions may change networks, but rather about patterns in the extent to which people capitalize on opportunities to change or expand their network. This matters for understanding variations in the size and composition, as well as quality, of personal networks. For example, the networks of people with a bounded mode are not likely to change much after settling down, or to expand into very large networks. Networks of people with an evolving mode can have large and ever-increasing networks, and the embedding of people in (clusters of) networks may shift—for instance, socializing more with old ties or rather focusing on new ties. The ways in which people form new relationships (the 'relationship modes') thus correspond to Hannerz's 'modes of existence': networks that develop out of few settings (bounded) often will be encapsulated networks, while networks that develop out of many different settings (evolving) will more likely be integrated or segregated (depending on people's efforts to introduce network members to each other or keep them separated).

The modes of relationship formation thus are also associated with the number of clusters in the network—sets of network members that are interconnected and more or less separated from or unconnected to other network members. The degree of interconnectedness and clustering is important for the flow of information (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992). This matters, in theory at least, for the extent to which people have access to a variety of resources and sources of information. A large network provides access to many resources; embeddedness in multiple networks provides access to a variety of resources (Burt, 1992). Evolving networks, particularly when not fully integrated, will often consist of multiple clusters (low density), while a relatively small network that consists of network members formed in one context will consist of a single cluster: all the network members will know each other (high density). The more contexts from which new network members are drawn (and the larger the network will thus grow), the less likely it will be that everyone knows everyone—the network will thus be more clustered.

The two dimensions of network formation can be placed along two axes: the number of life-course stages and number of settings. This is visualized in Figure 8.1. The horizontal axis shows the number of life-course stages wherein people add relationships to their network: few on the left (an example of a bounded network: an all-family network, but also a network of family members and school friends whom one met during childhood) to many on the right (an evolving network: new ties are added to the network throughout the life-course). The vertical axis shows the number of settings in which people meet new network members: few (e.g. an all-family network, but also a dense network of college friends) to many (networks with ties from all sorts of settings). Note that this model of network formation is not about the location of networks or the localness of networks. A setting refers rather to a focus of activity

Figure 8.1 The two dimensions of network formation
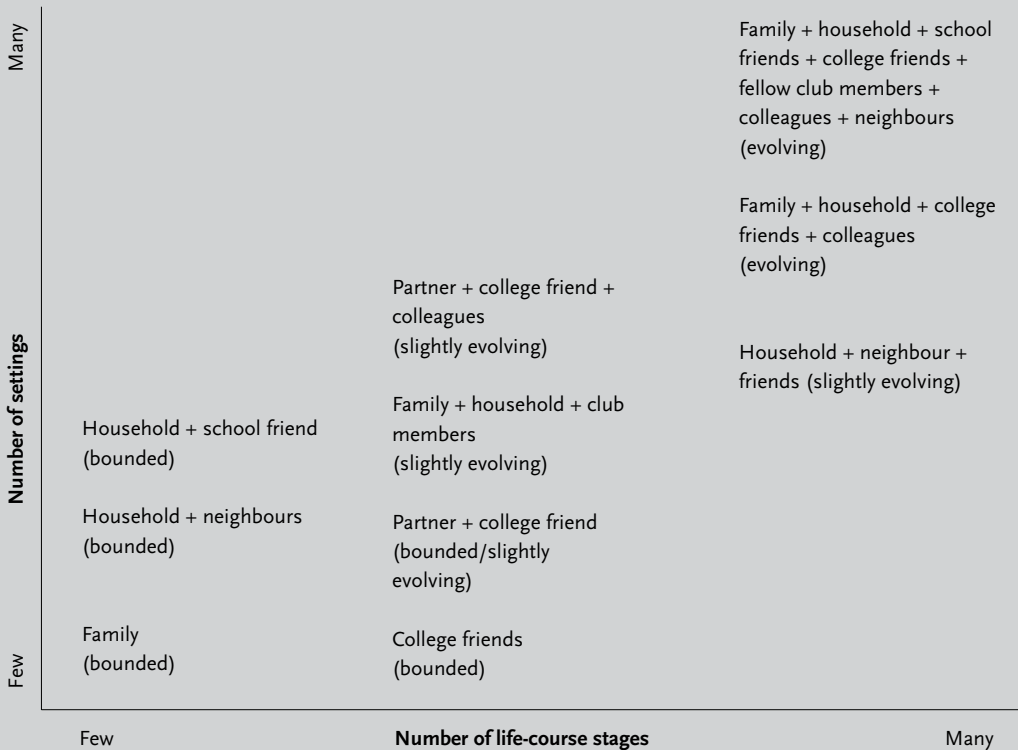
Based on Hannerz (1982; vertical axe) and Spencer and Pahl (2006; horizontal axe)).

(Feld, 1981; Feld and Carter, 1998)—sometimes embedded in physical sites but not necessarily so. A bounded family network could be located in one neighbourhood but could just as well be spread over multiple countries. Note further that relationships with neighbours are not typical for bounded networks; bounded networks need not include a neighbour, and evolving networks may include neighbours among the many other network members. In the following section, I discuss the variations in network formation in more detail.

8.2 From bounded to evolving networks

The survey did not include any question on where people had met their network members and thus no information on the settings in which people formed new ties and expanded their networks. The in-depth interviews with 15 Hillesluisians and 15 Blijdorpers about the origin and development of their relationships with their network members provide insight into the various settings in which relationships emerge and the opportunities for (deliberate and spontaneous) 'networking'.

Bounded networks

Bounded networks are formed in few contexts and consist of few clusters

(high density), and would be placed in the bottom left corner of Figure 8.1. The typical bounded network is the network that consists mainly of family members; the stereotypical bounded network—described in classic studies on what have come to be known as traditional communities—is the local family network of poor and working-class people (e.g. Young and Wilmott, 1957; Gans, 1962; Stack, 1974; Terpstra, 1996). Bounded networks, and particularly bounded family-based networks, are easily confused with local networks, but it is important to realize that some bounded networks are maintained rather than formed in the neighbourhood, and that other bounded networks are neither formed nor maintained in the neighbourhood.

In Chapter 6 we met Jeffrey (b. 1975, refuse collection, single, one child, Hillesluis),[82] who has been living in Hillesluis for half his life. He chose to move to Hillesluis in the first place because he wanted to be near family and friends. This is reflected in his network: the six family members that he reported all live in Hillesluis (parents, brother, sister and two nephews). Further, he mentions an ex-colleague who had become a friend. His neighbours on both sides are not on Jeffrey's network list. He maintains just neighbour-ties with the Dutch couple living next door, and his son sometimes plays with the children of his other neighbours, although he has never talked to their parents.

We have also met Rosita (b. 1959, unemployed, single, adult children, Hillesluis), whose network is also mainly family-based, but she is the only one of her family living in Hillesluis. Her network, while largely organized around household and family, is thus not locally-bounded. Her brother, sister and grown-up daughter all live in an adjacent neighbourhood, close to where her mother lived before she passed away a few years back. An eldly aunt lives in Delft, whom she visits regularly. Another sister lives in Amsterdam, while her oldest brother and her oldest daughter both live in Saint Martin (Antilles). Her best friend N lives just two doors down the street, although she did not meet her in the neighbourhood but via her sister:

> GE: how did you meet?
> Actually, my oldest sister, she knows N back from Curaçao [where Rosita lived until she turned 18], so via my oldest sister I got to know her. She [N] also moved into this neigh-bourhood, around the same time as me, and then we grew closer. So my sister knew N before, coincidently N moved into the same neighbourhood. Now we've developed a friendship and got really close.
> GE: What do you mean with got close?
> We do almost everything together. We call each other almost every day, when I have something that needs to be done, than she does it for me, or I for her. We also go out

---

82   See for more information on the respondents also Appendix C.

together, shopping or do groceries.

Rosita's neighbours do not appear on the network list—she does regularly talk with her Dutch neighbours (a couple) who tell her all the latest gossip about other residents, but they remain just neighbours.

Cor (b. 1929, retired (formerly expedition worker), single, Hillesluis) lives in a senior's housing complex in Hillesluis. Eight of his fellow-residents appeared on his network list. He met them through various activities in the complex, and because he had signed up, 15 years ago, as volunteer for the tenants' association and a foundation that organizes activities for the elderly. He maintains distant ties with his brother and his brother's children, and recently regained contact with a niece who still lives in his hometown. Cor's network is bounded and largely locality-based, but not in the first place organized around family (perhaps also because he never got married). Rather, moving to a seniors' housing complex provided opportunities to meet new people and to become actively involved in decision-making processes regarding housing.

Slightly evolving networks

Many networks consist of ties formed in a variety of settings and would be located somewhere in the middle of Figure 8.1. Some networks are family-based—consisting mainly of family or household members—but through involvement in new settings the network is slightly expanded. These 'slightly evolving' networks include a greater variety of network members than bounded networks, but remain smaller and less diverse than evolving networks, as described below.

Anita (b. 1950, management assistant, married, adult children, Hillesluis) has worked for the municipality most of her working life, and she made several colleague-friends there. With A, whom she has known for 27 years, she shares her deepest, personal thoughts, and if she's troubled or worried about something, she calls her on the phone or they discuss it at work. Anita feels they are both caring persons, and they care for each other:

> For example, with your birthday, that you always know what [present] will make her happy, but also the other way around. These are nice things of course. Or when she's sick, then we always call each other. We always keep in touch and send a card, write something nice on it.

With another colleague, Anita goes to the Christmas market and workshops for making jewellery, and a third colleague she describes as 'like a soul mate'. Anita goes swimming every week with Y whom she met at the musical association of her children, some twenty years ago. When their children were younger they spent holidays together, and went to jumble sales with the kids.

It is a different kind of friendship than she has with her colleague-friends, less intimate, and Anita is more a listener to Y than the other way around. Anita has been living in Hillesluis for thirty years, first with her husband and children, but when her father had heart problems her parents moved into the ground-floor apartment. Her brother lives elsewhere in Rotterdam and her sister lives a one-hour drive away. Anita knows and talks to her neighbours but is not particularly close to either one of them. When her children were young they used to play with the neighbour's children; at the time she was in touch with her neighbour regularly, but she has passed away recently. When new neighbours moved in, their children would come to Anita's place to play, but after her neighbours got a divorce, the mother and children moved away. Anita's network developed out of different settings than the network of Maureen (see below), but there are also similarities: their children's activities (music lessons, gardening) offered opportunities to meet new people and shaped their locality-based ties. As we have seen in other chapters, young children provide, in Anita's words, 'common ground' upon which local relationships can be built.

Stefan (b. 1968, consultant, living together, Blijdorp) did not draw any personal relationships from his work setting, or from his neighbourhood. He maintains relationships with his father and sister, with two 'best friends' from university—who have both moved an hour's drive away—, a girl friend whom he had met via a professional training course, and less intimate ties with volunteers of a city-based social association.

In Hafida's (b. 1973, nurse, married, two children, Hillesluis) network, family members (7) outnumber other ties (4). She lives in Hillesluis with her husband and two children (5 and 8), and she and her husband work shifts—she as a nurse and he as a security guard. Her parents, siblings, and several of her husband's family members live in Hillesluis and they are in touch on daily basis (her parents babysit when their work shifts overlap for 15 minutes). As trusted neighbours, Hafida reported two of her sisters-in-law, who both live one block away. With one of them, she is quite close: they call each other on the phone, sometimes take the children to school together, and 'talk for hours straight'. Recently, she also has become closer with another sister-in-law, who lives in another neighbourhood. She confides only in her mother and sister, whom she trusts most. Hafida got her job as a nurse through a fellow student, whom she has known for 17 years but their relationship has become more work-based over time:

GE: And do you see each other outside work sometimes?
Yes, no, no, in the beginning I did, but because I'm so busy with the children and she is alone, she does not have a partner. So she has more free time, and I don't. We call each other now and then, but really do something together... we used to in the beginning but not now anymore. But she also has more needs. I can work with her just fine, [she is] a

> good friend of mine, but... she has other interests than I have. And we... so we discovered that, when we got to know each other, more needs and different interests and that's why we now know each other only, we only socialize at work, that is all.

During the second interview, Hafida mentions a new friendship with another fellow-student, with whom she had lost contact but recently met again. Hafida's network also shows how children as common ground can broaden the network and opportunities to influence decisions: by approaching one of the parents via her children's school, she got involved in the parents' association. However, after moving her children to another school she lost contact with her.

Wibbe's (b. 1960, building inspector, single, adult children, Hillesluis) network developed largely in his neighbourhood, Hillesluis, where he grew up. He socializes particularly with neighbours in his street, through participation in the street committee and, in the past, organizing activities for the children. His household-based network and neighbourhood-based network were largely integrated, but since his divorce and now that the children are older he is less involved in organizing activities and these contexts thus became less important for developing new ties. Via the street committee, he met a community worker who later asked him to join the Workgroup Housing, through which Wibbe had a say in neighbourhood developments. After his divorce he went out to bars more often where he recently met E, a manager, with whom he shares personal as well as professional troubles. Wibbe has a one-man business and E's help is welcome in developing strategies to survive the financial crisis. His network has thus only recently expanded, after a personal crisis (a 'ruptured friendship mode'; Spencer and Pahl, 2006), and a shift in settings seems to have worked out well for Wibbe.

Evolving networks

These evolving networks would be places in the upper right corner of the model presented in Figure 8.1. In evolving networks, there may be a 'core' network of family members around which an extensive network evolves, or network members may develop in a variety of settings, such as in Maureen's network.

In Chapter 6 we met Maureen (b. 1971, unemployed (formerly in cleaning), single, six children, Hillesluis), a single mother of six. She moved to the Netherlands almost 20 years ago, and around that time her husband passed away. An aunt, also living in the Netherlands, put her in touch with M who helped her get her apartment in Hillesluis, where she has lived ever since. She socializes with her neighbours, the elderly Ms S and family R, a lot and they exchange favours back and forth. The family R also have children and that is what most of their exchanges evolve around. Maureen's youngest children are involved in a children's garden in the neighbourhood; in this set-

ting, Maureen met two volunteers whom she reported as 'trusted neighbours'. One of these women is also a direct neighbour of Maureen's mother, who also lives in Hillesluis. During the second interview, the volunteers did not work there anymore, and Maureen is not that familiar with the new volunteers. Furthermore, she reported a friend whom she met in the neighbourhood and via another friend, whom in turn she met via still another friend. Maureen expands her network through several settings, via her network members and via her children.

College and university are important contexts through which higher-educated people expanded their network, as we have seen for Hafida. Higher-educated people in this study, particularly people in their late twenties and thirties, had close friendships with people with whom they studied. Through extracurricular activities and sharing an apartment, people developed friendships that survived later life-course transitions. According to Spencer and Pahl (2006: 90), university and college are particularly important settings for making friends 'partly because there are concentrations of people of similar ages and interests, and also because they are very sociable environments'.

Additionally, work and work-related settings such as professional associations and training courses provide opportunities to form personal relationships. Several people had relatively large networks with ties drawn from a variety of settings. These people seemed to add new friends and acquaintances from every new setting in which they got involved, and kept in touch.

Vivien (b. 1958, GP, married, one child, Blijdorp), a family doctor, had developed friendships through university, church, courses, work and neighbourhood, as well as maintaining ties with family members. Friends (11) by far outnumbered family (2). Originally from France, Vivien retained ties with people in France and the Netherlands, and she had just celebrated her 50th birthday:

> I celebrated my 50th birthday in the [Blijdorp] zoo, with a hundred people, and it was so beautiful—ten [people] from France, my neighbours, friends of neighbours, colleagues, patients, all mixed up, beautiful, my boss, magnificent, all the people that I like.

Five of her close female friends she met in France, at secondary school, university, church and work. In the Netherlands, she had developed friendships with people from work and church, and she still kept in touch with someone she knew from her language course. Once a month she goes to the cinema with the father of her son's best friend. In addition, several neighbours from Blijdorp had become dear friends, and she invites her direct neighbours over for coffee regularly.

Carlo (b. 1971, information manager, married, one child, Blijdorp), had developed friendships in secondary school, via apprenticeships, at work, via his children (playground and kindergarten), and with neighbours. Living in

Blijdorp since 2005, he maintained 'warm relations' with several neighbours in his street, all of whom had children of similar ages, and some went to the same school. Their children go to each other's birthday parties, they meet up in the summer, exchange clothes for the kids. Carlo goes jogging with one of the neighbours and they share their caravan with a neighbouring couple. One of his friends he had known for over thirty years now, from secondary school, while others he had met more recently, like A and R, whom he met at the children's playground in his former neighbourhood. Carlo has known E, a 'dear friend', for over ten years, and their 'lives intersect' because their children attend the same school (although E lives in another neighbourhood) and go to gymnastics together.

Networks thus may expand through engagement in various settings: children-based activities, study, work, and associations. Sometimes network formation is closely associated with life events. Migration, for example, might split the original network in half, and people maintain some contacts (e.g. with family members) in their home country (Staring, 2001: 14) while forming new relationships in their new country. A divorce may result in dropping some old ties (e.g. in-laws and network members of one's ex-partner) and in further reduction in participating in certain settings (clubs, 'couple-based' activities) due to less financial resources after the divorce, but it may also lead to involvement in new settings and seeking new opportunities to meet new people (Feld and Carter, 1998: 144-146). How life events affect people's networks thus also depends on their material circumstances, and the extent to which they are embedded in single or multiple networks.

8.3 Network forms: family-based, friend-based and mixed networks

To summarize, networks are formed in more or fewer life-course stages and in more or fewer settings. Variations in engagement in settings over the life course, and variations in drawing ties from settings, account for variations in the size and composition of networks. Engagement in settings (particularly college and university, work(-related activities) and associations, as we will see) also matter for the resourcefulness of networks, because settings draw together a particular set of people.

We have seen that variations in how and when relationships are formed account for variations in the composition of networks. In the following, I further examine differences between various network forms: family-based networks, friend-based networks and mixed networks. Comparing these network forms provides insight into how variations in network formation may be connected to variations in the quality of networks. I suggest that these three network forms are associated with modes of network formation: family-based

networks are associated with a bounded mode, while friend-based and mixed networks are associated with evolving modes of network formation. They are not the same, however: as I argued before, not all bounded networks are family-based networks, and a friend-based network will not necessarily include people from a variety of settings. Rather, we can see family-based networks as an example of bounded networks, as at least half of the relationships are formed in the (same) family-context (they might include in-laws and step-family).[83]

Depending on the (number of) settings in which friendships are formed, friend-based networks could be both bounded and evolving. The in-depth interviews, however, suggest that friend-based networks usually consist of a set of friends formed in various settings, which are later more or less integrated. Mixed networks are an indication of evolving modes of network formation, as they are composed of a variety of connections. In this way, both friend-based and mixed networks may indicate an (slightly) evolving mode of network formation. We will see that differences in resourcefulness exist foremost between family-based networks on the one hand, and friend-based and mixed networks on the other.

The three network forms are loosely based on Spencer and Pahl's (2006: Chapter 6) distinction of five kinds of 'personal communities' among their 60 interviewees: friend-based (friends outnumber family), family-based (family outnumber friends), neighbour-based (neighbours outnumber family and friends), partner-based and professional-based (no clear patterns in balance). Based on this, I constructed the following measures:[84] networks with 50 per cent or more family members (apart from household members) are classified as family-based, those with 50 per cent or more friends are classified as friend-based networks, and all other networks, in which neither family members nor friends dominate, are classified as mixed networks. This latter category includes neighbour-based (24 respondents), colleague-based (11) and club-based (5) networks. Well over one in three networks are family-based (37 per cent, n=142); another third of the networks is friend-based (33 per cent, n=124); and one-fourth of the networks are mixed networks (26 per cent, n=101).[85]

Figure 8.2 shows the composition of each of the three network forms. Family-based networks consist on average of more than 70 per cent family members, while friend-based networks include just 15 per cent relatives. Friend-

---

83 Spencer and Pahl distinguish family-like and family-enveloped networks; in the first, family forms the core of the network in addition to (fewer) friends and other connections (slightly evolving), while people with family-enveloped networks largely lack other ties (bounded).

84 These categories are computed for non-household networks.

85 Thirteen respondents have 50/50 per cent family members and friends; I distributed these cases over the categories family-based and friend-based networks, based on network size.

Figure 8.2 Composition of personal networks, by network form
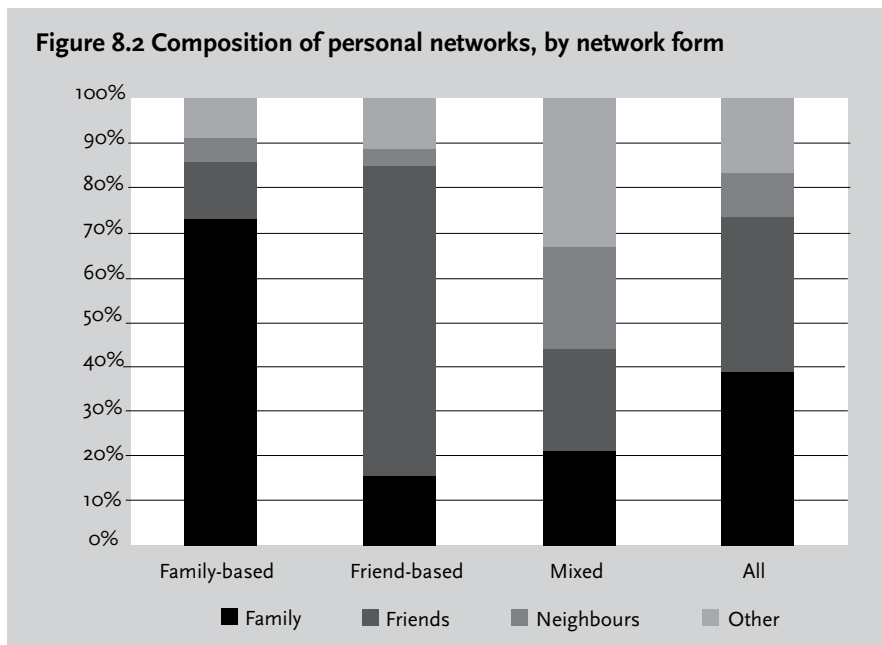
based networks consist of about 70 per cent friends, while family-based networks consist of 13 per cent of friends. In mixed networks, these two categories are more balanced—both make up slightly over 20 per cent of the network. Furthermore, the proportion of other kinds of connections (including colleagues, club members, and acquaintances) is much larger in the mixed networks (34 per cent on average, compared with 9 and 11 per cent in the family- and friend-based network respectively). Mixed networks are thus not only more balanced for relatives and friends, they also consist of more other kinds of connections. Family-based networks are the most homogeneously composed.

In both family- and friend-based networks, neighbours make up a small part (5 and 4 per cent, respectively), while they make up the considerable proportion of 23 per cent of the mixed networks. Note that these are not local family members or friends but relationships that are labelled 'neighbours'. This suggests that neighbours are not just alternatives for lack of other relationships; rather, I would argue, some people seem to draw new ties from a greater variety of settings and also include fellow-residents. This counters the idea that only resource-poor people who are socially isolated or at risk of becoming isolated develop ties within their neighbourhood, or develop more ties with fellow-residents. Wellman (1982) and Völker and colleagues (2007), for example, have argued that local relationships are an alternative source of support for people who lack other relationships. The latter also found that people with many friends were less likely to have a neighbour in their network, compared with people with few friends. For some neighbours may indeed be an alternative, but this need not be a general pattern—neighbours are not in general a residual category.

The three network forms are associated with socioeconomic position—and thus unevenly spread among the residential categories (Table 8.1). People who have never worked, and with low- and medium-skilled jobs, significantly

Table 8.1 Prevalence of the three network forms among respondents, (percentages)

	Family-based	Friend-based	Mixed	(100%) N
All	37	33	26	382
Occupational level				
Never worked	** 46	24	30	33
Low-skilled	** 48	22	30	119
Medium-skilled	** 47	30	29	80
High-skilled	27	*** 49	24	135
Employment				
No job	*** 52	24	23	138
Job	31	** 39	30	244
Ethnic origin				
Non-Western	44	20	* 36	115
Dutch/Western	36	*** 40	24	267
Participation				
No	42	35	23	260
Yes	34	32	* 34	122
Neighbourhood				
Hillesluis	** 54	16	30	97
Cool	33	37	30	187
Blijdorp	35	*** 45	20	98

Note: Participation refers to volunteering, membership political party or voice.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

more often have a family-based network, while people with high-skilled jobs more often have a friend-based network.[86]

This pattern holds when we look at educational level (not shown). This confirms the idea that for higher-educated people their time in university generates friends that last beyond the university. This may help explain why higher educated people have more friends than people with no education after high school. The difference between people with medium- and high-skilled jobs further suggests that it is not only education but also the kinds of jobs people have that matter for network formation. I will discuss this in more detail shortly.

Furthermore, people with a paid job more often have a friend-based network (Cramer's V=.148), while people without a job more often have a family-based network (Cramer's V=.205). People from non-Western and native Dutch origin do not significantly differ for whether they have a family-based network, but they do for friend-based and mixed networks: native Dutch people have friend-based networks more often (Cramer's V=.184) while people of non-Western origin more often have mixed networks (Cramer's V=.119). Participation through volunteering, membership of a political party or through voicing one's opinion matters for the likelihood of having a mixed network (Cramer's V=.121)—these are likely network members who had been involved

---

86   For family-based networks Cramer's V=.183; for friend-based networks Cramer's V=.251.

in interviewees' participation. Finally, these differences are reflected in the distribution of the networks among the three residential categories: family-based networks are more prevalent among Hillesluisians (Cramer's V=.182), while friend-based networks are more prevalent among Blijdorpers (Cramer's V=.228). The networks are evenly spread among Cool residents.

Further analysis shows that choosing to move into the neighbourhood to be near relatives is significantly associated with having a family-based network (and negatively associated with having a friend-based network). This confirms my earlier suggestion, in Chapter 5, that some people stay geographically close to family members in order to maintain these ties. Men are more likely to have a friend-based network, as well as younger people. Choosing to move near friends is significantly associated with having a mixed network. Parents with young children are also more likely to have a mixed network, although single parents are less likely to have a mixed network. This suggests that parents are generally involved in a greater variety of settings, probably related to their children's activities, but that single parents are limited either in getting engaged (e.g. by volunteering) in certain settings, or in forming relationships in these settings. Perhaps they are constrained by time or money.

Quite surprisingly, perhaps, mixed networks are not associated with educational or occupational level. Low-educated people are as likely to have a mixed network as high-educated people, and people with low-skilled jobs are as likely to have a mixed network as people with high-skilled jobs. There is some difference in the composition of these networks when we consider the mixed networks of low-, medium- and high-skilled workers (see Figure 8.3).[87]

The proportion of family members, colleagues, club members and other ties is fairly equal among the three categories, but the proportion of friends, neighbours and acquaintances differs significantly. People with medium- and high-skilled jobs have relatively more friends (30 compared with 15 per cent), people with low-skilled jobs have relatively more neighbours in their network (30 compared with 12 per cent), while people with medium-skilled jobs have more acquaintances (30 compared with 11 per cent).[88]

To summarize, first, the variations in origin and the origin of relationships in mixed networks is different, with resource-poorest people drawing more ties from the neighbourhood. Second, the differences suggest that for the resource-poorer people (with low- and medium-skilled jobs), a larger part of their networks are more circumscribed—perhaps setting-specific—relationships, compared with the networks of resource-rich people, who labelled

---

87 People with a mixed network and who have never had paid work are not included in the comparison because their number is too small (n=10).

88 Difference for proportion of friends: medium-/high-skilled vs. low-skilled: t=4.214; p=.000; proportion neighbours: low-skilled vs. medium-/high-skilled: t=2.913; p=.005; proportion acquaintances: medium-skilled vs. low-skilled: t=2.203; p=.027; medium-skilled vs. high-skilled: t=3.160; p=.004.

**Figure 8.3 Composition of mixed networks (of respondents),
by occupational level of respondent**
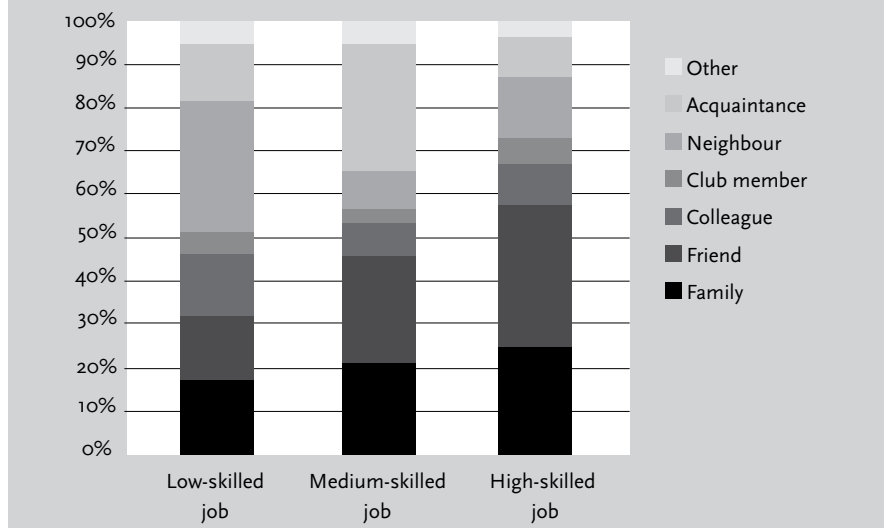
more relationships as 'friends' (see Chapter 4: ties labelled as 'friends' seem more broadly defined in terms of future help).

This goes back to Allan's (1977, 1998a) proposition that people may differ in how they label relationships and in the extent to which they maintain setting-specific relationships or maintain relationships that go beyond the original setting. We cannot tell, based on these data, whether these neighbours or acquaintances are also ties that are either sufficiently intimate (closeness) or intense (regular interaction) to facilitate the exchange of resources. Put differently, these differences may indicate variations in access to resources, but we cannot infer the extent of this variation.

8.4 Unequal networks: variations in size, variety and resources

We have seen in Chapter 2 that the size and composition of personal networks vary, and that this is related to employment status and occupational level: respondents with a paid job and those with a medium- and high-skilled job have larger networks. The variations in network size support the idea that cultural capital and economic capital are associated with 'social capital'. Furthermore, the number of various connections (friends, colleagues, acquaintances) varies, which is also associated with cultural and economic capital: respondents with medium- and high-skilled occupations reported more friends, and those with a (former) job reported more colleagues and more acquaintances, compared with those who have never worked. In this section, I further examine these differences and see how they are associated with network form. In other words, I examine whether variations in network form explain (partly) variations in network quality, and what factors play a role in these variations.

Figure 8.4 Size and composition of personal networks, by network form
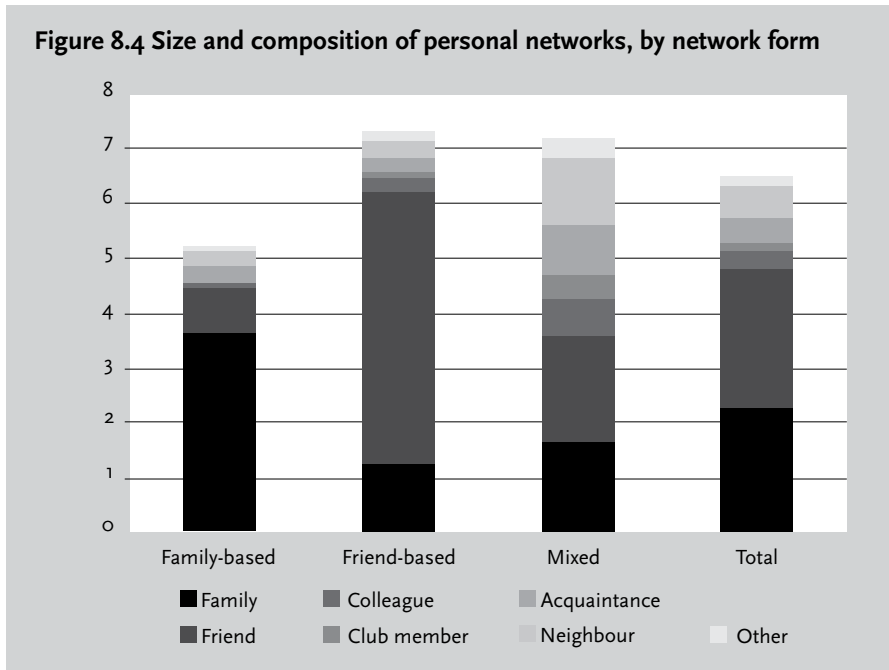
Network size

Figure 8.4 shows the size and composition of networks for each of the network forms. Logically, the proportion of family members and friends, and as we may expect, the number of family members and friends, varies. There are however more variations. Family-based networks are significantly smaller than the other two network forms (see also Table 8.2). Furthermore, compared with friend-based networks, family-based networks include significantly fewer colleagues and friends. Compared with mixed networks, family-based networks include few club members and other ties. Mixed networks, on the other hand, include more colleagues, more acquaintances, and more neighbours than both family-based and friend-based networks—in a relative as well as an absolute sense. Hence, it is not just the relative composition—the proportion of connections—that varies, but also the number of ties and the number of connections. Judged by size, family-based networks thus seem less resourceful. I recall that family-based networks are an example of bounded networks. These variations in composition and size thus may be interpreted as showing that bounded networks are less resourceful, and expanded networks (indicated by friend-based and mixed networks) are more resourceful—for size, that is.

We have seen that mixed networks are differently composed among occupational categories. This difference is reflected in the size of the network, as Figure 8.5 shows. Mixed networks, as indicating expanding networks, are thus not necessarily equally resourceful. Medium- and high-skilled workers include more friends and more club members in their networks (and medium-skilled workers include more acquaintances), while low-skilled workers include more neighbours.

Table 8.2 Network size, by network form

	N	Mean	S.D.	Range	Significance (t-test)
Family-based network	142	5.23	2.87	1-14	
Friend-based network	122	7.35	4.63	1-28	*4.417
Mixed network	98	7.21	4.37	1-24	*3.992
All networks	362	6.49	4.07	1-28	

Note: Significance is versus family-based network.
ANOVA: f=11.917; p=.000.
*p<.001

Figure 8.5 Size and composition of mixed networks, by occupational level of respondent
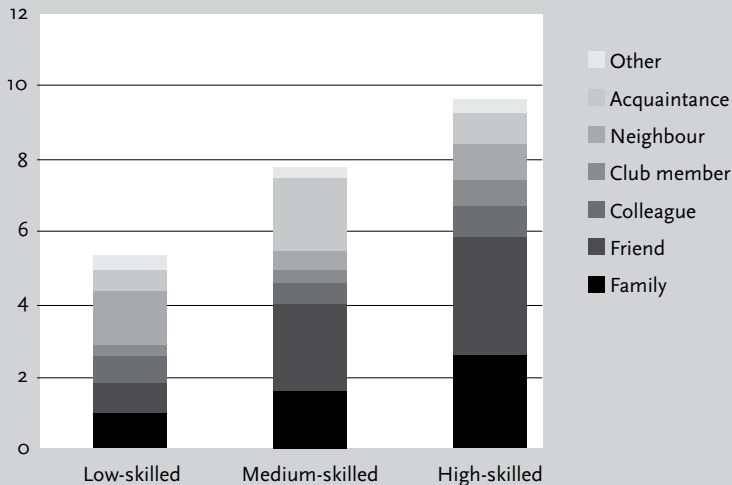
Network variety

Another way to look at the resourcefulness of networks is to compare the variation in the number of connections reported. In this study, respondents were asked to label their network members in seven ways; as family members, friends, colleagues, club members, acquaintances, neighbours, and other connections. Counting the number of different connections reported and dividing the sum by seven results in a measure of 'network variety'. The more different types of connections reported, the more varied the network is. While labels such as 'friend' and 'acquaintance' say nothing about the origin of relationships, labels such as colleague, club member and neighbour do indicate the setting in which they are formed and maintained. In this way, network variety indicates the variety of people or other networks that can be reached. For example, a network with only family members and colleagues reaches a lesser variety of people than networks that consist of family members, colleagues, club members, neighbours and acquaintances. I assume that these network members are not all connected and thus provide access to a variety of resources (cf. the ideas of Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992).

Table 8.3 Variety of connections in network

	Mean (scale 1-7)	S.D.	Range	Significance (t-test)
Family-based network	2.08	.84	1-4	
Friend-based network	2.42	.95	1-5	*3.092
Mixed network	3.20	1.18	1-6	**8.158
All networks	2.50	1.08	1-6	

Note: Significance shown is versus family-based network;
significance family-based versus friend-based *; ANOVA: f=39.149; p=.000.
*p<.001

Table 8.4 Reporting at least one of each connection (percentages), by occupational level

	All	Never worked	Low-skilled	Medium-skilled	High-skilled	Significance (Cramer's V)	N
Family member	77	67	73	83	81		284
Friend	71	42	52	75	91	**.405	259
Colleague	20	3	15	16	32	**.233	75
Club member	8	9	6	6	10		28
Acquaintance	27	3	27	40	26	*.212	100
Neighbour	33	36	38	31	28		120
Other	14	15	12	18	14		52

Note: For friends: difference between never worked and low-skilled workers is not significant.
*p<.01; **p<.001

Table 8.3 shows the mean scores on network variety (scale 1 to 7) for each of the three network forms. The average score is 2.5 (respondents thus reported 2.5 out of 7 connections). The three network forms differ significantly. Mixed-networks are more varied than both friend-based and family-based networks, as we would expect. Friend-based networks are however also more varied than family-based networks. Family-networks also have a smaller range (1 to 4). It is notable, further, that none of the respondents reported the full range of seven connections.

To dig a little deeper into the sources of variations in network variety, Tables 8.4 and 8.5 show frequencies for reporting at least one of the various connections, by occupational level (8.4), and educational level, employment status and ethnic origin (8.5) respectively. A majority of the respondents (77 per cent) report at least one family member, and although there are some variations these are not significant. This supports the observation of van den Broek and van Ingen (2008: 103) that maintaining relationships with family members is a 'general human pattern'—uncorrelated with ethnic origin as well as occupational level. People with tertiary education are more likely to report a family member, however, but the difference is small. Differences for reporting club members are not significant. The difference in reporting neighbours between people of native Dutch and non-Western origin dis-

Table 8.5 Reporting at least one of each connection (percentages), by educational level and employment status

	Tertiary education			Paid job			Dutch/Western		
	No	Yes	Significance (Cramer's V)	No	Yes	Significance (Cramer's V)	No	Yes	Significance (Cramer's V)
Family member	72	81	* .108	74	79		76	78	
Friend	54	84	*** .330	51	81	*** .318	58	76	** .171
Colleague	14	25	*.131	4	29	*** .300	17	21	
Club member	6	9		8	8		6	8	
Acquaintance	24	30		20	31	* .127	27	26	
Neighbour	37	29		39	29		41	30	* .104
Other	11	17		11	16		11	16	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

appears after controlling for educational level.

Differences for reporting a friend, colleague and acquaintance are much larger. For friends, the higher the occupational level, the more likely one is to report a friendship. In addition, both having had tertiary education and having a paid job increase the likelihood of reporting a friend. The difference between people of native Dutch and non-Western origin in reporting at least one friend disappears when people of similar educational levels are compared. This suggests that college and university, and particular kinds of work settings are conducive to friend making. The relation may of course be spurious. Perhaps higher-skilled workers engage in more sociable environments in their free time, because they have more money to spend on leisure activities. However, considering the in-depth interviews and other studies that have found this pattern, I suggest that particular settings play a role in the formation of friendship. Based on 60 interviews, Spencer and Pahl (2006: 90) conclude that college and university are conducive for friend making because they are particularly sociable environments and are settings that bring together people who are similar in certain respects. Butler and Robson (2003a: 130) observe that for Londoner gentrifiers work is an important setting through which friendships are formed. They further observe 'long-standing friendships based around university, school and family of origin' (ibid.). Savage and colleagues (2005a: 138) find that particularly 'those who had large amounts of economic or (some kind of) cultural capital were able to extend their work sociability into their leisure' (see also Conley, 2009). They write that in general, work contacts were maintained only in the work place and valued for providing collegial support (Savage et al. 2005: 134, 141)—for most workers, colleagues remain setting-specific ties, while highly-skilled workers also maintain their work ties in other settings.

However, the extension of work into leisure, or blurring of work and leisure (weisure, Conley, 2009) may be restricted to particular age categories. The reporting of friends is associated with age,[89] and other studies have found

---

89 Frequencies for reporting at least one friend, by age categories: age 20–34: 81 per cent; age 35–49: 74 per cent; age 50–64: 65 per cent; age 65+: 44 per cent; Kendall's tau-c=.232; p=.000.

Table 8.6 Reporting of at least one friend, by occupational level and age (percentages)

	Age		Significance (Kendall's tauc)
	20-34	35+	
Never worked	75	20	* -.488
Low-skilled	82	56	* -.328
Medium-skilled	69	77	Not significant
High-skilled	87	94	Not significant

Note: Kendall's tau-c computed for interval variable of age categories.
*p<.01

that the number of friendships decreases over the life-course (see Kalmijn, 2003). Younger people go out more, and before settling down, they have more time to form and maintain new friendships. It may be that particularly younger people still maintain friendships with fellow-students, and that the benefit of going to college or university disappears at a later age. The data however suggest otherwise (see Table 8.6). For people who have never had a job, reporting friends is indeed strongly associated with age. This effect of age is less marked for low-skilled workers, although still significant, but the association is not present for medium-skilled and high-skilled workers. This suggests that the settings of college and university facilitate the formation of long-lasting friendships, and/or that the workplaces of higher-skilled workers facilitate relationships that are extended outside the workplace, more than the workplace of lower-skilled workers does. I discuss this more in detail below.

For reporting colleagues, the difference is greatest between people who have never worked and those who have, on the one hand, and low- and medium-skilled workers versus high-skilled workers on the other hand (see Tables 8.4 and 8.5).[90] That people who have never worked are less likely to report a colleague, as is to be expected. This difference is also significant for those who currently have a paid job and those who are unemployed. Here again, high-skilled workers are more likely to report a colleague, which further supports the thesis that some work settings are more conducive to the formation of relationships (I recall that high-skilled workers were not more likely to have had help with getting their job, so this is not a reflection of this name-generating question).

Very few people (on average 8 per cent) reported a club member, and whether one did is not associated with occupational or educational level, nor with work or ethnic origin. This suggests that social and political associations have a limited role in the formation of relationships, although it is possible that relationships formed in such settings easily extend beyond the setting and become friendships or acquaintances. As is to be expected, reporting a club member is associated with volunteering or taking up board positions (22 per cent of those who engaged in volunteering reported a club member in their network, compared with 4 per cent of respondents who did not

---

90 There is no age effect for the formation of relationships with colleagues similar to the age effect for friendships, although people aged 65 and older are less likely to report a colleague (4 per cent did so).

volunteer or were on a board).[91] Further analysis—albeit necessarily limited because so few respondents are engaged in social or political associations—shows that those who are actively engaged are not more likely to report a friend but they are slightly more likely to report an acquaintance (36 compared with 25 per cent; Cr. V=.091; p=.081).[92] Perhaps some of the ties formed through social or political engagement are maintained as acquaintanceships.

Reporting one or more acquaintances is further associated with educational and occupational level, and having a job. The category of 'acquaintances' is a rather broad category—including also some latent friendships that may or may not be 'activated' again later (Paine, 1969: 515-516; Spencer and Pahl, 2006: 73-75). Unlike reporting friends, reporting acquaintances is not associated with age. This suggests that meeting acquaintances is contingent on participating in work and study settings (and to a lesser extent political and social associations) and not with life stage as such.

To summarize, the formation of networks, and particularly the formation of relationships that are labelled as 'friends', 'colleagues' and 'acquaintances'—and to a lesser extent 'club members'—is associated with participation in particular settings such as college and university, the work place and social and political associations or activities. The question now is whether participating in these settings is not only related to network size and network variety, but the resources in one's network. I now turn to this question.

Resourcefulness of networks

We have seen that the form of networks is associated with their size and composition. The data shows that network form is also associated with the number of higher-educated network members (i.e., those with tertiary education). This is of course not surprising, as we have seen that the network forms themselves are associated with educational and occupational level. Table 8.7 shows that family-based networks include significantly fewer higher-educated ties (3.39) compared with both friend-based and mixed networks (6.04 and 5.04 respectively). We have seen that the mixed networks take on different forms for resource-poor people than for resource-rich people, and when we separate these categories, we see that the mixed networks of resource-poorer respondents include significantly fewer higher-educated ties (2.60) compared with the mixed networks of resource-richer respondents (6.95). The mixed networks of the latter thus include more higher-educated ties than the friend-based networks.

---

91 Cramer's V=.263; p=.000. This association should be interpreted with caution, as this may partly result from the set up of the questionnaire: if people had a board position or volunteered, we asked whether there was anyone who had asked them—chances are that these are 'club members'. There is no association between membership of an organization and reporting a club member.

92 Mere membership of an organization is not associated with reporting an acquaintance.

Table 8.7 Higher-educated ties in network, per network form

	N	Mean	S.D.	Range	Significance (t-test)
Family-based network	142	3.39	2.89	0-13	
Friend-based network	122	6.04	4.48	0-22	** 5.611
Mixed network	98	5.04	4.26	0-17	* 3.348
Never worked/ low-skilled	(43)	2.60	2.81	0-14	** 6.073
Medium-/high-skilled	(55)	6.95	4.24	0-17	
All	362	4.73	4.02	0-22	

Note: Significance friend-based/mixed network versus family-based network.
ANOVA : f = 11.817; p=.000
*p<.01; **p<.001

This supports my suggestion (see Chapter 5) that it is the lack of expand-ing the network outside the family setting that (partly) explains inequality in the resourcefulness of personal networks—rather than whether networks are geographically dispersed or not (although geographical dispersal may in turn be associated with whether networks are expanded, but that is another question). Both friend-based and mixed networks include relationships from a greater number of settings, which seems to result in larger, more varied, and more resourceful networks. However, the quality of mixed networks is also associated with the socioeconomic status of respondents—their cultural and economic capital. Expanding networks as such thus does not necessarily yield more resourceful networks. This suggests that it is not just any setting that facilitates more resourceful networks but particular kinds of settings. This question is examined in more detail in the next section.

8.5 Understanding social capital

In the Introduction and Chapter 4, I have argued that the concept of social capital, following Bourdieu (1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and con-necting to Tilly's (1998) theory of the reproduction of durable inequality, re-fers to membership in networks that are rich in resources, rather than just any network of supportive relationships. In order to understand how inequal-ity in valuable resources—income, property, influence, skills, knowledge, in-formation—is reproduced through networks, the concept of social capital is useful for understanding that not all networks are valuable but that particu-larly being embedded in resource-rich networks is valuable for accessing val-uable resource. Ties with people who are rich in cultural and economic capital (including those who have political power and status, which more generally indicate 'symbolic capital': capital that is recognized as valuable and desira-ble; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119) provide access to valuable resources—to the capital these people command. Logically, network members who are poor in resources are not likely to provide this access; they are rather in need of access to resources themselves.

In this section, I wish to argue for an understanding of social capital in a Bourdieuian (1986) sense: as being embedded in resource-rich networks. We

Table 8.8 Network size, by network form and occupational level

		Occupational level		
	Never worked	Low-skilled	Medium-skilled	High-skilled
Family-based network	4,07	4,60	5,79	**6,16**
Friend-based network	3,13	4,38	**9,21**	**8,35**
Mixed network	5,10	5,19	7,87	**9,66**
Total	4,15	4,73	7,41	8,06

Bold=job level compared; shaded=network form compared; both bold and shaded: p<.05.

have seen, in the previous and current chapters, that the number of network members (Chapter 2), the number of higher-educated network members (Chapter 5) and network homogeneity for educational level (Chapter 7) is associated with people's own educational and occupational level. In Chapter 7, I showed that higher-educated respondents have not only larger networks but also the most homogeneous networks—more of their network members had a similar level of education: tertiary education. In this final section, I add network form—which is contingent on network formation—to this equation.

In the above sections I have argued, based on patterns in the network data, that participation in settings such as college and university, occupying higher-skilled jobs and, to a lesser extent, engaging in political and social associations, yield more resourceful networks. These settings provide opportunities to meet people and expand the network, to meet a variety of people, and to meet higher-educated people. That is why, in general, mixed and friend-based networks are more resourceful than family-based networks. However, this pattern is also associated with respondents' own cultural and economic capital, which confirms Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital as membership of resource-rich networks. Furthermore, whether or not people 'participate' in certain settings may not in itself yield similar benefits among different people. First, the ways in which people partake in activities and are embedded in networks vary. Second, settings themselves vary in the extent to which they facilitate the formation of relationships—they vary in the extent to which they structure interaction (whether they are 'constraining' (Feld, 1981)) and bring people into contact with each other. I discuss the possible effects of these two additional variables in connection to differences in the quality of networks.

Table 8.8 shows, first, network size by network form and occupational level.[93] The table reads as follows: the bold figures indicate significance in comparing network forms (comparing rows), while the shaded cells indicate significance in comparing occupational levels (comparing columns). The networks of medium- and particularly high-skilled workers are largest, which confirms that other forms of capital are associated with larger networks. Furthermore, friend-based and particularly mixed networks are larger than family-based networks (for all four categories except for medium-skilled workers), which confirms the value of expanding the network outside the family set-

---

93 The level of significance between the network forms of respondents who have never worked cannot be computed because the number of respondents is too small (n=33). Statistics are shown for completeness.

ting. High-skilled workers with a mixed network have largest networks, which suggest that other forms of capital and engagement in non-family settings go together in shaping resource-rich networks.

We have seen that people who have had jobs are more likely to report a friend, colleague and acquaintance as network member. Apparently, the workplace is a setting where people form and maintain relationships. We have also seen that people with high-skilled jobs are even more likely to report such connections as network members. This suggests that it is not just any workplace that facilitates the formation of relationships: some work environments may be more conducive to tie formation than other work environments. First, whether people have solitary jobs or work in teams may matter. Second, whether jobs involve many work-related activities, such as training courses, meetings, conferences and networking (to my knowledge, office cleaners and catering personnel would typically not attend conferences, for example). Third, employment forms may matter: whether people have a tenured position or move in and out of temporary jobs. I suggest that these differences may partly explain why network size is positively associated with higher-skilled jobs. People with jobs in higher positions are more likely to be engaged in work-related activities and thus not only have more opportunities to meet people but also to maintain (weak) ties with people in their sector. They are thus, not just through their office but through work-related settings, better embedded in a network of colleagues and colleagues of colleagues. Obviously this will provide them with a more extended professional network and possibilities to find a job, but it may, I suggest, also matter for the extent to which they can expand their personal network. Following the observations of Butler and Robson (2003a: 130), Savage *et al.* (2005a: 138) and Conley (2009), it is likely that the workplace provides friendships, especially for high-skilled workers,. Variations in the kind of job and perhaps the sector may thus partly account for variations in network size (and quality).

A second factor associated with work may play a role, that is, the flexibility of the labour market. The service economy means that for both low- and high-skilled workers employment have become more insecure, but some authors have suggested that this most likely hits low-skilled (and low-wage) workers hardest (Sassen, 2001: 289; Kalleberg, 2009: 10). Many studies have described the consequences of growing polarization of the labour market on income levels and job insecurity—a trend that has also been observed for the Netherlands and Rotterdam and Amsterdam in particular (Kloosterman, 1996; Burgers and van der Waal, 2008; Goos *et al.*, 2009). I suggest that if increasing job insecurity affects low-skilled workers most, that this may affect their networks—their professional networks for sure, but not unlikely also their personal networks. When people move in and out of jobs, the work setting loses its 'structuring' function and thus its facilitative function (as a by-product) for bringing people together. Particularly when relationships remain setting-spe-

Table 8.9 Network variety, by network form and occupational level

	Never worked	Occupational level		
		Low-skilled	Medium-skilled	High-skilled
Family-based network	1.47	1.96	2.21	2.38
Friend-based network	1.50	1.96	**2.67**	**2.62**
Mixed network	2.40	2.83	3.39	**3.72**
Total	1.76	2.23	2.69	2.81

Bold=job level compared; shaded=network form compared; both bold and shaded: p<.05.

Table 8.10 Number of higher-educated ties, by network form and occupational level

	Never worked	Occupational level		
		Low-skilled	Medium-skilled	High-skilled
Family-based network	1.60	2.35	**4.03**	**5.14**
Friend-based network	1.75	2.58	**7.25**	**7.38**
Mixed network	1.40	2.97	**5.91**	**7.69**
Total	1.58	2.58	5.54	6.84

Bold=job level compared; shaded=network form compared; both bold and shaded: p<.05.

cific, the falling away of settings thus means that relationships break because socializing is not based on the relationship itself but on meeting each other more or less 'by chance' in shared settings (cf. Allan, 1977). For interaction to develop into relationships that extend beyond the setting, and thus survive as one leaves his or her job, people need sufficient time to build relationships. Flexible jobs may therefore do much harm to the formation and expansion of personal networks. This may in part explain network inequality between low-skilled and high-skilled workers, in association perhaps with the sector in which they work.

Table 8.9 shows network variety (the number of different connections reported, on a scale of 1 to 7), by network form and occupational level. Mixed networks, obviously, are the most varied. On average, friend-based networks are more varied than family-based networks, but when associated with occupational level, this difference disappears. For all four occupational categories, network variety increases with occupational level, which suggests that people rich in other forms of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic) include a greater variety of people in their network, thus potentially reaching more networks and resources, whatever the form of their network. However, resource-rich people with mixed networks have significantly more varied networks.

Similar patterns appear for the number of higher-educated ties included in the network. However, the data also show that the networks of resource-poorer respondents are not completely devoid of resource-rich ties (see Table 8.10). Most resource-poor people include one or two higher-educated people in their network. The number is nevertheless significantly lower than that of resource-richer people.

Medium- and high-skilled workers have the most higher-educated ties in their personal network—at least twice as many as people who have never

worked and low-skilled workers. Friend-based networks of medium-skilled workers include most higher-educated ties—more than mixed networks and family-based networks. For high-skilled workers, both friend-based and mixed networks include more higher-educated ties than family-based networks. But the family-based networks of high-skilled workers include more higher-educated ties than the friend-based and mixed-networks of resource-poorer respondents. Again, it is the combination of other forms of capital and the extent to which networks are expanded beyond the family setting that matters.

This further suggests that these non-family settings need to be settings through which people can meet and form relationships with higher-educated people. This may sound obvious, but may be overlooked when the focus is on expanding the network and engaging in non-family settings as such. This links with my suggestion (see above) that particular kinds of settings matter for the formation of ties and particularly resource-rich ties. Going to university and having a job may not be enough when people move in and out of these settings without being able to capitalize on the opportunities to form relationships. Compared with several decades ago, more people are able to gain a higher-vocational or academic degree, in part because of arrangements provided by the welfare state (in the Netherlands particularly through providing student grants). The in-depth interviews, however, suggested that friendships that lasted beyond student days were formed not (only) through attending classes but through extra-curricular activities (students' association), leisure activities (hobbies, sports) and living in student houses. Engagement in these study-related settings requires time and money, and thus may vary between students from resource-poor and resource-rich families. Students may take up part-time jobs to pay for some of these activities (or for studying as such), but that also means they have less time to socialize—and the possibility for socializing may be what makes college and university particularly conducive to friend making (see Spencer and Pahl, 2006: 90). One thus needs resources to be able to access resource-rich networks. In other words, one needs cultural, economic and/or symbolic capital in order to be able to create social capital (cf. Leonard, 2004: 930).

Considering that the network survey did not include people who are the most deprived, we can assume that their networks will include even fewer resource-rich ties, or that they lack ties to resource-rich people. Among the respondents in this study, 38 have no network members with tertiary education. These respondents are significantly more often low-educated, never worked, have or had low-skilled jobs or are unemployed, are of non-Western origin, married or co-habiting (with or without children), and living in Hillesluis (see Table 8.11).

Finally, Table 8.12 shows network homogeneity for educational level (cut-off level is tertiary education, see Chapter 7). The data show that high-skilled

Table 8.11 Respondents without a higher-educated network member (percentages)

	At least one higher-educated network member		Significance (Cramer's V)
	No	**Yes**	
No tertiary education	72	38	*** .208
Never worked	29	7	*** .308
Low-skilled job	50	29	
Unemployed	53	32	* .130
Non-Western origin	56	25	*** .202
Married/co-habiting	74	51	** .138
Hillesluis	40	23	* .118
Cool	55	49	ns
Blijdorp	5	29	** .163
N (100%)	38	324	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 8.12 Network homogeneity for educational level, by network form and occupational level

		Occupational level			
	Never worked	**Low-skilled**	**Medium-skilled**	**High-skilled**	**All**
Family-based network	0.66	0.43	0.53	0.80	0.57
Friend-based network	0.46	0.53	0.57	0.87	0.72
Mixed network	0.73	0.57	0.68	0.75	0.67
N	33	114	80	135	362

Bold=job level compared; shaded=network form compared; both bold and shaded: p<.05.

workers have the most homogenous ties—as I have shown in Chapter 7—and that friend-based networks are the most homogenous. For low- and medium-skilled respondents, expanding the personal network beyond family members increases network homogeneity. For high-skilled workers, a friend-based network increases homogeneity, but a mixed network decreases homogeneity. If we follow the logic that friendships are mostly based on sameness, this makes sense. Including colleagues, club members and acquaintances as network members thus is based less on homogeneity. This suggests that, for high-skilled workers, engagement in certain settings can facilitate boundary-crossing relationships. However, even their mixed networks (for variation in connections) are highly homogeneous for educational level (75 per cent same education)—more than the networks of lower-skilled workers.

An explanation for variation in network homogeneity may be that high-skilled workers engage in more settings, but also in more homogeneous settings. If work(-related), study(-related) settings and social and political associations generate network members for resource-richer people, then it may not be surprising that they generate a homogeneous network. Work and study, particularly, are settings that are segregated along socioeconomic lines. In Chapter 5, we have seen that Blijdorpers are more likely to have resource-rich neighbours—a homogeneous affluent neighbourhood thus provides extra

benefits for its affluent residents (although living in a poor neighbourhood does not seem to harm the networks, compared with living in a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood). Whether other settings are homogeneous in composition to the same extent, and provide similar benefits for resource-rich people embedded in these resource-rich networks, remains an open question. If settings are in general becoming more socioeconomically segregated—for instance, because participation in institutions and associations in the city, with the exception of the church, has become 'more and more a middle-class affair' (Blokland and Rae, 2008: 32-33)—this may help explain the formation of unequal networks.

8.6 Conclusion

Bourdieu's (1986) understanding of the three forms of capital distinguishes the concept of social capital from concepts such as 'social networks'— beneficial for whatever reason, for example health and emotional wellbeing— and the cure-all definition of social capital in the sense of Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1988; 1990): as something that is accessible for everyone, also the resource-poor, obscuring its exclusionary working. The concept of social capital in the Bourdieuian sense has the benefit that it refers to being embedded in resource-rich networks—hence, it is exclusive, through membership in a network, which means that those who are not included cannot benefit—and that it can be transformed into cultural and economic capital. This fits Burt's (1992: 8) definition of social capital as something that creates opportunities to use other forms of capital: 'through relations with colleagues, friends, and clients come the opportunities to transform financial and human capital into profit'. The unequal formation of networks, because of variations in participating in various settings and embeddedness in relationships in these settings, plays a crucial role in understanding variations in 'social capital' (Moody and Paxton, 2009: 1498).

To summarize, network quality seems to be contingent on three factors. First, people's own resources, notably their cultural, economic and symbolic capital. Second, the extent to which people expand their network beyond a 'bounded' network—and thus form evolving networks which include network members from a variety of settings (either as friends or setting-specific ties). In this chapter, I have taken the family-based network as an example of bounded networks. Other forms of bounded networks may just as well hinder access to resources; the point is that a resourceful network develops through forming relationships in a variety of settings, throughout the life-course. Third, and perhaps most important, the combination of these two factors matters for network quality. That is, because resource-rich people are embedded in resource-rich settings and (thus) in

resource-rich networks, their networks can be regarded as 'social capital' in the Bourdieuian sense. Participation in settings as such does not necessarily yield resourceful networks when people are not able to capitalize on opportunities, for example, when the setting itself is not conducive to relationship formation. For resource-poor people, participation in settings will not yield a resource-rich network when the setting does not facilitate the formation of ties between socioeconomic categories. This reflects in the quality of resource-poorer people's friend-based and mixed networks: even though their networks are expanded beyond the family setting, they do not include that many higher-educated ties. My suggestion is that resource-rich people engage in settings that not only provide opportunities to meet resource-rich others—which we would expect if people are seeking to match their taste—, but that (some of) these settings are more conducive to maintaining ties with resource-rich others. Hence, people embedded in these settings are also better embedded in the networks which are attached to these settings, which in turn increases their access—either through making an effort or through routine activities (see Chapter 4)—to valuable resources.

9 Conclusion

In this final chapter I bring together the conclusions of the preceding chapters and provide an answer to the key question of this study. The key question is:

> To what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks? And, the other way around, to what extent and how does spatial integration moderate the formation of unequal networks?

This question is a specification of a broader question, namely whether spatial segregation reproduces inequality between socioeconomic categories of people (see Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1). In Chapter 3, I distinguished three ways in which neighbourhood composition and the formation and quality of networks are, at least theoretically, connected. Based on this, I formulated three research questions which are addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In this chapter, I bring together the empirical and theoretical insights as described in these chapters in order to provide an answer to the key question (Section 9.1). In Chapter 8, I examined which other settings besides the neighbourhood play a role in the formation of unequal networks; the connection of the results to the key question follows in Section 9.2 of this chapter. Finally, I offer some recommendations for policy and practice (Section 9.3), and formulate several questions for further research (Section 9.4).

Based on the research findings, we can conclude, firstly, that neighbourhood composition does not structure meeting opportunities between resource-rich and resource-poor people. As such, spatial segregation does not have direct consequences for the formation and quality of personal networks. Hence, spatial integration (mixed neighbourhoods) also fails to facilitate the formation of relationships across socioeconomic categories. Secondly, we can conclude that the neighbourhood as meaningful place—ethnic diversity and poverty concentration translated in feelings of discomfort and experience of stigma—may provide a frame of reference for disidentification with fellow-residents, but that the negative interpretation of neighbourhood composition does not necessarily play a significant role in the formation of locality-based relationships between neighbours. Thirdly, we can conclude that neighbourhood composition has a role as marker for taste and as such neighbourhoods become markers in processes of categorization, social identification and, thus, boundary making. Hence, spatial segregation and spatial integration are significant for understanding the relation between socioeconomic categories, as the spatial organization of socioeconomic categories confirms old boundaries (between the poor and rich) while also drawing new boundaries (within the category of the resource-rich). These conclusions are worked out below.

The research findings concerning the relationships and networks of the people I studied may not be generalizable to populations in other countries, and may only hold for populations in other Dutch neighbourhoods to a limit-

ed extent. My aim, however, is not so much empirical generalization but, rather, theoretical generalization or abduction (Schuyt, 1995: 83-88, see Appendix A for a detailed discussion of generalization). My first interest is in unravelling the different ways in which spatial segregation is connected to the formation and quality of networks and understanding how spatial segregation may reproduce the formation of unequal networks. This means that the study findings may regard basic patterns and tendencies, so that other studies are likely to find something similar but not necessarily identical (see Payne and Williams, 2005: 305). In other words, some of the variables and mechanisms that I have described could be found in other studies, but the details and empirical findings will probably be different because they are contingent on the social processes in which they are embedded (ibid). Through focusing on the various ways in which neighbourhood composition and personal networks are connected, the study shows what factors and processes play a role in network formation and how neighbourhood composition matters. In this way, the study proposes ideas and furthers our understanding of the spatial dimensions of networks and inequality.

9.1   Spatial segregation and the reproduction of inequality

In Chapter 1, I discussed how we can understand the consequences of spatial segregation for inequality theoretically, following Tilly's (1998) ideas on durable inequality and Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) concept of social capital and the reproduction of inequality. The theoretical starting point of the study was the idea that valuable resources such as income, influence and information are exchanged through personal relationships. Through socioeconomically homogeneous networks, resources are exchanged among the resource-rich rather than between the resource-rich and the resource-poor (cf. Lin, 2000, 2001). Through exclusive networks, resources thus are not evenly distributed or equally accessible, and in this way, personal networks reproduce inequality in valuable resources.

The question in this study was whether spatial segregation exacerbates this process: to what extent and how does spatial segregation play a role in the formation of personal networks and the reproduction of inequality? I zoomed in on how neighbourhood composition matters for the formation and quality of networks and for the formation of relationships that cross socioeconomic categories. I addressed three questions: (1) To what extent and how does living in a poor neighbourhood contribute to network poverty? (2) To what extent and how does living in a poor neighbourhood—which is often also a multi-ethnic and 'problem' neighbourhood—hinder the formation of locality-based relationships? (3) To what extent and how does living in a mixed

neighbourhood indicate, on translate into, a tendency to form more boundary-crossing ties?

In this book, I have engaged with several urban sociological debates and connected them with insights from network and relationship studies. The link between urban problems and networks is often mentioned, but seldom do scholars pay sufficient attention to how networks are formed. Furthermore, in this study I wanted to bring together several urban sociological debates that, in my view, deal with the same question: how spatial segregation is related to social segregation. These different debates each emphasize different connections and processes, and by bringing them together we can gain a deeper understanding of the spatial aspects of segregation and inequality. I thus started, in Chapter 3, with asking how neighbourhood composition and the formation of personal networks are (theoretically) connected. I briefly discuss the results of this exercise below.

Three ways in which neighbourhood composition is associated with personal networks

In Chapter 3, I theoretically examined, based on Claude Fischer's (1977; 1982a) choice-constraint model, how personal relationships are formed and how we can connect, theoretically, neighbourhood composition and network formation (research question 1). I argued that relationships never just spring from mere meeting opportunities or from individually made choices; some sense of social identification—preceded by the natural process of categorization and related to the setting in which the interaction takes place—and an idea of what is appropriate given the setting and the network in which people are embedded, always play a role. From here, we can understand that neighbourhood composition matters not just through its role in structuring but also through the meaning that people attribute to neighbourhood composition. In other words, neighbourhood composition is more than a statistical fact that brings together, or separates, categories of people; because of the position of categories of people in society, and because of the historical development of places, neighbourhoods may also offer frames of reference for categorizing and identifying (or not) with others. Setting and social identification are thus intertwined. This led me to formulate three research questions focusing on three different ways in which neighbourhood and its composition (or the composition of any setting) may matter for the formation of relationships and personal networks. I briefly discuss the theoretical starting points and the research findings of these three questions below, before returning to the key question of this study.

1 Meeting opportunities: poor neighbourhood = poor network?
Chapter 5 examined to what extent, how and for whom neighbourhood composition, through structuring meeting opportunities, structures the formation

of resource-rich personal networks (research question 2). The idea of meeting opportunities is closely connected with the sociospatial isolation thesis (Wilson, 1987, 1996). One aspect of this thesis is the claim that resource-poor people living in areas of poverty have fewer opportunities to meet and form relationships with resource-rich people, compared with resource-poor people living in socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods. This is one way in which 'neighbourhood effects' are thought to emerge: because living in a neighbourhood of poverty-concentration would be, in addition to other drawbacks, disadvantageous for the quality of an individual's personal networks.

I argue that, in terms of meeting opportunities, we should understand the neighbourhood as a collection of settings rather than a setting in its entirety. Settings such as the local school, clubs and neighbourhood associations, as well as the micro-neighbourhood of adjacent dwellings, draw together selections of people and thus 'structure' interaction between people. These are *neighbourhood* settings when they draw together predominantly fellow-residents. Through these settings, neighbourhood composition may structure everyday encounters and relationship formation. Whether neighbourhood composition affects networks thus depends also on people's participation in these settings.

Whether 'neighbourhood effects' on networks arise depends, I argue, on two basic conditions: first, a sufficient (i.e., severe) level of spatial segregation which indeed structures meeting opportunities, and second, that (a substantial part of) residents' personal networks are formed in neighbourhood settings with fellow-residents. After all, the neighbourhood composition can only have an impact on personal networks when people draw (new) network members from the neighbourhood population. This further means that we need to distinguish local relationships (including friends and family members who live in the same neighbourhood) from locality-based relationships (ties formed in neighbourhood settings with fellow-residents).

The research findings suggest that neither of these two conditions is met. The analyses of network localness and network quality (the number of higher-educated network members) show no significant difference between the three residential categories—that is, next to other variables, the neighbourhood in which people live is not significantly associated with network localness and quality. This confirms the claim of several other Dutch scholars that the level of spatial segregation in Dutch cities is not severe enough to constrain meeting opportunities in a significant way. Regarding the second condition for neighbourhood effects, the research findings show that a very small part, if any, of people's personal network are formed in neighbourhood settings. Hence, the effect of neighbourhood composition on the resourcefulness of networks can only be very small, and is absent for the population studied here.

When we delve deeper into the formation and localness of networks, we

find that people's socioeconomic status and neighbourhood choice are significantly associated with above-average network localness. Localness is positively related to the choice to move into a neighbourhood to be near family members, and the choice to stay in a neighbourhood where one is born and bred. Network localness in turn is negatively associated with the number of higher-educated local network members. However, people with higher network localness do not seem to include a larger number of fellow-residents in their network; rather they lack ties from settings other than neighbourhood settings or maintain relationships with family members or childhood friends in their neighbourhood. Further examination of people's local networks showed that on average half of the local ties are not locality-based: they are formed in other settings and maintained in neighbourhood settings. These ties may be family members, as discussed, but for resource-richer people they may also be friends or acquaintances from work or study. In order to understand how neighbourhood composition structures the composition and quality of people's networks, we thus need to realize that for some local ties the neighbourhood composition simply cannot have had an 'effect'. Rather we should distinguish the various settings in which relationships are formed and think about how these settings play a role in the composition and quality of people's personal networks—and their access to valuable resources.

Moreover, the research results suggest that, for many resource-poor people, a limited geographical scope of networks is not to be understood as a 'greater orientation towards the neighbourhood' in daily life, as some researchers have put it, but rather as a lack of network formation in other, non-neighbourhood or non-family settings. This is a crucial difference in interpreting the problem of sociospatial isolation, at least in cities and societies where levels of spatial segregation are not so severe that neighbourhood composition has an effect in itself. The problem is not so much the neighbourhood composition but rather the way in which people organize their networks (staying where the family is or maintaining childhood ties formed in the neighbourhood)[94] and the (limited) extent to which they form and maintain ties in other settings. In other words, the localness of networks should not be misinterpreted for resource-poor networks: these factors may be, for some, associated, but they are not the same. Rather, locally-bounded networks may signify a lack of ties beyond the 'core' network of family and household members, or a lack of ties beyond a few neighbours. The extent to which networks are expanded through including relationships from a variety of settings is more important for understanding network inequality than is the geograph-

---

94   One may object that resource-poor people do not have much choice when it comes to a place of residence. However, in the Dutch housing system, people do have some freedom of choice—choosing a city and a neighbourhood is often possible—and this may be enough to be able to maintain geographically bounded networks.

ical location of networks. This understanding needs to be included in studies on neighbourhood effects on personal networks.

2 The neighbourhood as meaningful place: diversity, ethnicity and otherness
In Chapter 6, I looked into a second way in which neighbourhood composition and network formation and quality may be connected: to what extent, how and for whom does neighbourhood composition, through its role in shaping the neighbourhood as meaningful place, structure the formation of locality-based relationships and thus people's opportunity to expand their personal network (research question 3)? In this chapter, I examined only relationships with fellow-residents formed within the micro-neighbourhood (locality-based relationships). The micro-neighbourhood—adjacent, opposite and stacked dwellings, for example, part of a street or a walk-up flat and one's more or less immediate neighbours (Kusenbach, 2008)—is a setting in which people can form new relationships; thus we can consider the micro-neighbourhood as a setting in which people can expand their personal network.[95]

I focused not on meeting opportunities but on how the neighbourhood as meaningful place provides a frame of reference for categorization and identification, and whether and how this meaning affects the formation of relationships. The socioeconomic and ethnic composition of neighbourhoods, and its physical and cultural infrastructure, are 'markers' for the status of the neighbourhood in a 'stratification of places' (Logan and Molotch, 1987) and thus distinguish attractive places from not-so-attractive places. Put differently, neighbourhoods become meaningful places when people 'read' the population of a neighbourhood, infer their status, and in this way infer the status, or reputation, of a neighbourhood. Poverty-concentration neighbourhoods are often also multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and are regarded as 'problem places'. This may negatively affect the extent to which people form relationships with their fellow-residents, for instance, when people withdraw from interaction with fellow-residents because they feel uncomfortable with the presence of ethnic-others (Putnam, 2007), or because territorial stigmatization rubs off on its residents, in turn causing people to distance themselves from their fellow-residents (Wacquant, 2008b).

The research results showed that people who live in a multi-ethnic, problem neighbourhood are not less likely to maintain relationships with their fellow-residents (although residents of the homogeneous affluent neighbourhood did report a greater number of neighbours). This finding suggests that general negative views of a neighbourhood and of its population are not nec-

95   In Chapter 6, I disregarded the question of whether these ties would be resource-rich. Furthermore, my initial interest was not in the first place in interethnic relationships, although the analysis of Hillesluisians' neighbour relationships focuses heavily on interethnic ties.

essarily associated with disidentification, distancing and withdrawal. However, the data showed that parents living in the poor neighbourhood were less likely to maintain relationships with their neighbours than were parents in the other two neighbourhoods.[96]

I suggested that the transformation of rather weak 'just neighbour' relationships into more intimate 'friend-like' relationships may be more difficult in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood, as people are more likely to assess that (particularly ethnic-other) fellow-residents are different from them.

The interviews with Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers reveal some of the 'sign-reading operations' (Bourdieu, 1984): the signs that matter for interpreting whether others are 'people like us' or not. Boundary making in Blijdorp involved reading markers such as age and household composition for inferring life-course stage and lifestyle, while boundary making in Hillesluis was (also and foremost) about inferring one's lifestyle based on ethnic origin. When ethnicity is automatically read as lifestyle ('culture'), people may easily, and perhaps mistakenly, infer that ethnic-others are (too) different from them. Nevertheless, I suggested that this does not necessarily prove that people are uncomfortable with ethnic-others per se, or that they withdraw as a result of the stigma that may be attached to fellow-residents. Rather, we need to consider the specific setting in which these encounters take place.

That is, relationships are also meaningful themselves (see Section 3.5 and Chapter 4) and this is, I suggested, related to the setting in which relationships are formed. The micro-neighbourhood as setting generates a particular kind of relationship: that of 'just neighbours' which for most people means balancing proximity and privacy, based on norms of 'good neighbouring' and reactive support (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986; Blokland, 2003b; Kusenbach, 2008). These are the 'rules of relevancy' (Paine, 1969)—norms about what is acceptable and expected within the boundaries of a relationship. Locality-based ties come in different forms (to the extent that there is a relationship that goes beyond mere co-existence), but most fellow-residents maintain relationships that may be characterized as 'just neighbours'. The bright side of these rather superficial relationships is that 'just neighbour' relations can form even when people perceive differences that they might think are insurmountable for maintaining a more intimate relationship. The downside of 'just neighbour' relationships is that people have to make an (extra) effort to go beyond initial stereotypical ideas, and the setting of the micro-neighbourhood hardly facilitates this process (in Pettigrew's (1998) words: the neighbourhood has no 'friendship-potential').

To summarize, for those who wish to form more intimate relationships in the neighbourhood, living in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood may hinder the

---

96 Note that the number of parents in the sample is small: 30 in each of the three neighbourhoods.

opportunity to form new relationships, and thus to expand the personal network. For parents, a category of people for whom locality-based relationships are very practical in terms of support, the formation of relationships in a multi-ethnic poor neighbourhood may be problematic when the micro-neighbourhood is the main setting in which to build relationships with other parents. This may also hold for people who have few other opportunities to expand their network—those who have few friends, who do not work or who do not participate in associations. However, we should realize that what is ultimately worrisome is that they lack opportunities to form relationships in other settings and are thus dependent on the neighbourhood.

Many scholars in urban studies have focused on interactions, relationship formation and boundary work in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Rarely, however, they have paid sufficient attention to the kind of setting that the neighbourhood is, and the kinds of interaction and relationships that this particular setting generates. My study suggests that 'the neighbourhood' cannot be treated as just any context, and interaction between people cannot be treated as if interaction with others, and particularly with people who are regarded as 'others', is independent of the setting in which they meet. My study further suggests that, while people may in general feel negatively towards ethnic diversity or problem populations, this does not necessarily translate into withdrawal, because these general feelings, concerns and views may be less important in structuring interaction than actual everyday encounters and the practicalities that come with them. We should thus be careful about concluding that neighbourhoods where general feelings of distrust and discomfort are prevalent also suffer from lack of interaction, or neighbouring and locality-based relationships.

3 Choosing diversity: the metropolitan habitus, taste and diverse networks
The third way in which neighbourhood composition and network formation are theoretically connected is examined in Chapter 7. Here I examine whether and how choosing neighbourhood diversity is associated with forming relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries and thus forming more heterogeneous personal networks (research question 4). The neighbourhood's diversity itself is not central, but rather people's choice for this diversity and what this choice means. This question has been addressed in studies on gentrification and 'social mixing'. For some categories of people—notably the 'new urban middle class'—, the 'diversity' of urban neighbourhoods is considered an asset and they thus 'choose diversity' instead of the homogeneity of suburban places (Ley, 1986; Butler and Robson, 2003a; Lees, 2008). The question is whether this liking for diversity indicates, or translates into, a tendency to form relationships that cross socioeconomic boundaries—'interclass' ties, so to say.

I linked this question to Bourdieu's (1984) idea that people's tastes are

'matchmakers' and his suggestion that people's aversion to different life-styles may be one of the strongest barriers between the resource-poor and the resource-rich. Following Bourdieu, we can see 'homophily'—the tendency for relationships to form between similar people—as a reflection of the matching of tastes, which in turn are reflections of the employment of cultural and economic capital. If the metropolitan habitus—a taste for city life, including its diverse population—is bound up with particular tastes, to what extent does this habitus signify a deviation from the general pattern that people are 'attracted' to similar habituses? Furthermore, if we consider that, particularly for resource-richer people, where and among whom you live increasingly is a way of distinguishing oneself from others (Savage *et al*., 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007), we may expect that choosing to live among 'others' is not so much about choosing to socialize with 'people unlike us' but about shaping one's identity (through expressing taste) and seeking a place where one's identity 'belongs'.

In Chapter 7, I compared the 'new middle class' living in Cool and Blijdorp in order to see whether their respective choices for differently composed neighbourhoods (the first mixed, the latter homogeneous) indicate different articulations of the metropolitan habitus. The research findings showed that they are two slightly different segments of the urban middle class: resource-rich Cool residents are on average younger, more often single and without children and relatively lower educated than resource-rich Blijdorpers. Furthermore, by choosing an inner-city area, more often for the presence of cultural facilities, their choice signifies a preference for urban life and 'where the action is'. They also have relatively fewer local ties and more ties with people living elsewhere in Rotterdam, which suggests that they are more oriented towards the city than towards their neighbourhood. Blijdorpers, on the other hand, value having the inner city and its facilities nearby but seem to choose the 'safer mode' of the city. They have relatively more relationships in their neighbourhood (although not all local network members are neighbours) and describe their neighbourhood more often as 'village-like'. Nevertheless, I suggested, both modes of the metropolitan habitus (can) claim a taste for diversity and a distaste for the homogeneity of villages and suburbs. But what does this mean for their networks?

The network data showed that the personal networks of resource-rich Blijdorpers and Cool residents do not reflect a different pattern of socializing: they both have rather homogeneous networks and few boundary-crossing relationships. In general, highly educated and high-skilled workers have fewest boundary-crossing ties, compared with resource-poorer people. We can conclude that, supporting earlier studies, liking and choosing diversity does not necessarily indicate, or translate into, an engagement with resource-poorer fellow-residents or with resource-poorer people regardless of where the latters live. The networks of the resource-rich in Cool show no inclination to

make their resources more accessible for the resource-poor. Put differently, people who like to rub shoulders with those who are not like them do not deviate from the homophily principle in their personal relationships. This further suggests that choosing diversity has to do more with distinction than with engaging with the resource-poor, and with drawing boundaries within the middle class as well as confirming boundaries between the resource-rich and the resource-poor.

To conclude, we can say that the neighbourhood is indeed important for understanding how boundaries between and within socioeconomic categories are drawn and confirmed. This means that 'integrated' neighbourhoods are not necessarily tokens of an 'integrated' society. I will return to this below. Furthermore, my study confirms that a choice for a particular neighbourhood composition is not associated with 'practising diversity'. Chapter 8 shows that other settings such as college and university, work and social activities are far more important in shaping networks, which suggests that the lack of boundary-crossing ties should thus be sought in the (homogenous) composition of these settings. The 'urban new middle class' is a category made up of residents who, like other highly educated and highly skilled people, form relatively few relationships through neighbourhood settings. Their everyday lives comprise so much more than neighbourhood life that 'choosing diversity' would matter for networks only if this choice were to go together with choosing neighbourhood life. This study suggests that this is, for most resource-rich urbanites, not the case.

I have presented three different ways in which neighbourhood composition and the formation of personal networks may be connected. I engaged with different urban sociological debates that each emphasize a different aspect of spatial segregation and its role for relationships and networks. In reality, these aspects are of course closely intertwined. For example, when we talk about the neighbourhood as marker of taste, this also concerns how the neighbourhood becomes a meaningful place, and when we talk about how the meaning of ethnic diversity may affect relationships this also concerns meeting opportunities between ethnic categories. In broad sense, we can understand neighbourhood composition in two ways: (1) as a statistical given concerning a collection of people sharing a space, and (2) as something that gives meaning to this collection of people sharing a space. In the first sense, our focus is drawn to meeting opportunities; in the second sense, our focus is drawn to how people draw boundaries between 'people like us' and 'others'. Considering the various urban sociological debates on spatial segregation, and considering the research findings in this study, understanding the neighbourhood composition as a statistical fact seems to be the least helpful approach in understanding the consequences of spatial segregation. This is particularly so because the level of spatial segregation is not so severe that it in itself separates socioeconomic categories. Understanding the neighbour-

hood as meaningful place provides insight into the process of boundary making and boundary confirmation between categories of people. With this in mind, we can now return to the key question.

Does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks?

To what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks? Or, the other way around, to what extent does spatial integration moderate the formation of unequal networks? Based on this study, we can conclude that spatial segregation does not reinforce the formation of unequal networks. Living in a poor neighbourhood (Hillesluis) in itself does not increase inequality in networks, because living in a poor neighbourhood does not result in resource-poorer networks. Residents of the affluent neighbourhood Blijdorp are more likely to have higher-educated neighbours, but considering that, for the resource-rich, neighbours are such a small part of their personal network, and considering the limited role of neighbours in the exchange of valuable resources, we have to conclude that concentrated affluence is not what mostly reinforces unequal networks. In short, the composition of neighbourhoods in itself does not reproduce or reinforce inequality in network resourcefulness. Put differently, the socioeconomic composition of neighbourhoods is not reflected in networks. For people who have few other opportunities to expand their network, and for parents, living in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood may hinder the expansion of the network. However, what is worrisome is the lack of opportunities they have to form relationships at all. In the formation of resource-rich personal networks, the neighbourhood plays a negligible role.

Looking at the reverse question, we can conclude that spatial integration—socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods—does not moderate the formation of unequal networks, because mixed neighbourhoods do not seem to facilitate or stimulate the formation of relationships between resource-rich and resource-poor people. Furthermore, choosing for a mixed neighbourhood does not reflect a tendency to form more boundary-crossing relationships. Resource-poor people thus do not benefit from living in a mixed neighbourhood. On the other hand, the networks of the resource-rich are not negatively affected either—they are not less resourceful—by living in a mixed neighbourhood. So also in this sense, spatial integration is not reflected in the composition and resourcefulness of personal networks.

Does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce inequality?

In general, we can thus say that neighbourhood composition does not have an 'independent effect'—to use the language of neighbourhood effect studies—on inequality (that is, through the mechanism of personal networks). Spatial segregation was not identified as an additional variable that, next to

socioeconomic status, causes network inequality. Thus if does not reinforce inequality between the rich and the poor. If spatial segregation does not matter for the formation of personal networks, its role in reinforcing the uneven exchange of and access to resources is necessarily negligible. But does this mean that spatial segregation does not matter for understanding inequality?

If we consider what neighbourhood composition means to people, it is clear that neighbourhoods and their composition have a significant role in keeping in place and perhaps reinforcing boundaries between the resource-poor and resource-rich. In this way, spatial segregation and integration are of importance for understanding the relation between resource-rich and resource-poor categories. If where and among whom you live increasingly becomes a marker of 'taste', than this taste may confirm old boundaries between categories of people and create new boundaries within categories of people. Tastes and choices may have become individual matters, but we still look at others to see whether our taste is the 'right' taste—that is, whether it shows and confirms who we desire to be, whether it distinguishes us from those who we do not wish to be, and whether our choices reflect the 'right' lifestyle. In this way, tastes and choices are at the same time anything but an individual matter because they confirm and reinforce boundaries between 'people like us' and others. Expressing tastes and lifestyles is not necessarily a practice of the resource-rich only, although they may have more means to do so. Rather, what neighbourhoods and places mean to people, and the difference therein, might become more important in 'sign-reading operations': assessing whether others are like us or not (Savage *et al.*, 2005a; Butler and Watt, 2007). Consequently, 'place matters', but not through structuring meeting opportunities but through offering frames of reference for categorizing others and, hence, for identification with certain people and not with certain others.

Parker and co-authors (2007: 917) note that 'class places people into different types of places, which in turn result in the spatialization of class'. However, spatialization of class does not necessarily equal spatial segregation of classes. Developments countering spatial segregation—segmented gentrification (spontaneous and state-led), mixed tenure housing and restructuring of poor neighbourhoods—indicate that in the near future (segments of) the resource-poor and resource-rich in the city will live alongside each other more than at present. This should not be taken as a sign of a more 'integrated society', however, as these patterns likely signify boundary making and confirming boundaries rather than dissolving them. In this way, spatial segregation and integration are ever more significant for understanding patterns of associations and relationships between the resource-poor and resource-rich.

9.2   The formation of unequal networks

If neighbourhood plays such a small role in the formation of networks, and thus in the formation of unequal networks, what, then, does account for differences in size, composition, range and resourcefulness of networks? In Chapter 8, I shifted my focus to other settings that play a role in shaping personal networks and focused particularly on network formation and network forms in order to understand variations in network quality.

Personal networks are the collection of relationships that have developed in different settings and at different life-course stages (Hannerz, 1980; Spencer and Pahl, 2006). People vary in the extent to which they draw relationships from few or many settings, and in the extent to which they form most relationships early in life or continuously add new relationships to their network. These patterns make insightful some of the variations in network forms and composition. Networks formed in few settings and in few life-course stages can be characterized as 'bounded', and networks formed in many settings and throughout one's life as 'evolving'. These two forms indicate two ends of a continuum of network forms.

I further examined how these network forms may be associated with the quality of networks; their size, variety and resourcefulness. Bounded networks are smaller, show less variety and include fewer higher-educated network members, while expanding the network beyond one or two settings— for example, beyond the family setting—yields a larger, more varied and more resourceful network. Based on the network data in this study, I concluded that particularly the combination of people's own resources and the extent to which people expand their network beyond one or two settings explains variations in network quality. Whatever the form of their network, resource-rich people have resourcefuler networks than resource-poor people. However, expanding the network to include a variety of setting benefits resource-rich people more than it does resource-poor people. This confirms the idea that participation in particular settings, rather than just any setting, yields a resource-richer network. For resource-rich people, participation in college and university and study-related settings, work and work-related settings, and, to a lesser extent, social and political associations, produce a resource-rich network. Moreover, the research results suggest that not all study, work or associational settings may yield a resource-rich network but that the extent to which people are embedded in these settings and the associated networks matters, as well as the participation in such a way that the setting provides opportunities to actually form and maintain relationships—whether sociable or setting-specific ties (see Chapter 4 for this distinction). I thus concluded that we should understand the concept of social capital in a Bourdieuian sense: the benefit of being embedded in resource-rich networks (as opposed to being embedded in networks as such).

If we connect these insights to what I have argued about the ways in which neighbourhood composition matters, we can conclude the following. Neighbourhood settings—the micro-neighbourhood and neighbourhood associations—are one of the few or many settings in which people may form relationships and expand their personal network. Compared with settings related to study, work, leisure and politics, neighbourhood settings play a minor role in the formation of networks and, particularly, in the formation of unequal networks. People who have resource-rich networks typically do not have many fellow-residents as network members; rather, they have friends, colleagues, club mates and acquaintances, *next to* a few fellow-residents. Neighbourhood settings do 'provide' some relationships, but these mostly remain 'just neighbours' (see Chapter 6) which rarely provide help with finding a job or a house or encouraging political participation (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, resource-poor and resource-rich people did not differ in the *number* of local and locality-based ties (but they did in the proportion of local ties, see Chapter 5), from which we can conclude that it is particularly the number and quality of relationships that are formed in other settings that play a role in the formation of unequal networks. This means that for those who experience difficulties in forming more strong ties with fellow-residents (see Chapter 6), in terms of accessing resources, it is rather their dependence on neighbourhood settings for network formation that is worrisome. Finally, the neighbourhood does not seem to facilitate ties between resource-poor and resource-rich people (see Chapter 7); these ties do exist, but their formation is not associated with neighbourhood composition. Where resource-poor people live thus does not matter for the resourcefulness of their personal network and, hence, not for the extent to which they have access to valuable resources (as we saw confirmed in Chapter 5). In order to understand more fully the causes of unequal networks, we thus need to study how participation (or lack thereof) in other settings shapes personal networks.

9.3   Recommendations for policy and practice

Based on the findings of this study, in this section I make some recommendations for policy makers and practitioners who are concerned with urban problems and neighbourhood restructuring. My recommendations concern the way we think about (effects of) neighbourhood composition and the preconditions for reducing segregated and unequal networks. These recommendations involve thinking about socioeconomic segregation and inequality (although some of the following thoughts might well apply to policies around ethnic segregation). In terms of inequality in position and participation, policy makers and practitioners should worry about 'class' more than about 'ethnicity', because gaining and deploying resources (income, political voice, edu-

cation, etc.) is about resource-poor categories versus resource-rich categories of people.

Two caveats should be put in first. First, we should keep in mind that the formation of relationships and networks is difficult, if not impossible, to steer, guide or change. People will form relationships with whom they want, whenever they want, where they want. Particularly the formation of relationships between socioeconomic categories will be difficult to control. However, supporting and stimulating the creation of and participation in settings where people of different positions and different backgrounds can meet is something that can be done. Nevertheless, policies should (continue to) moderate tendencies towards extreme segregation—spatial and otherwise—between socioeconomic categories.

A second caveat concerns the relative importance of relationships and networks in the (re)production of inequality. My study focused exclusively on personal networks, so obviously my recommendations are about networks only. This does however not mean that I think that networks are the most important mechanism through which inequality is reproduced or through which it can be reduced. Given the difficulty of controlling the formation of boundary-crossing ties, other efforts to ensure the exchange of valuable resources are necessary (particularly the allocation of resources through welfare arrangements and equal opportunities).

Mixed neighbourhoods: what for?

Policy makers should think about what they want to achieve with mixed neighbourhoods: what problem(s) should they solve? This study did not set out to evaluate the effectiveness or consequences of policies aimed at mixing neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the current study suggests that such policies will have little or no impact on people's personal networks. This does not mean that I would suggest to stop creating mixed neighbourhoods. There may be other good and important reasons to do so—for example, creating physically attractive neighbourhoods for everyone, increasing feelings of safety and satisfaction, and unlinking the association of poor neighbourhoods with 'problems' (if poor areas are smaller and scattered, it will be less difficult to point to problem places, and you just walk right in and out of them). Furthermore, at this moment in the Netherlands the level of spatial segregation is, fortunately, insufficient to cause 'neighbourhood effects' on personal networks. Increasing spatial segregation between the poor and rich should be avoided, however, in order to maintain the absence of neighbourhood effects. Preventing further spatial segregation, perhaps also for more ideological reasons, may thus be a valid argument to create mixed neighbourhoods. Creating mixed neighbourhoods with the aim to 'improve' personal networks, to provide poor people with more 'social capital', or to stimulate boundary-crossing ties, is not realistic.

Think not about 'the neighbourhood' but about 'neighbourhood settings'
One of the reasons that neighbourhood composition in itself is not reflected in personal networks is that people are not involved with the neighbourhood population as a whole but rather with the people they meet in various neighbourhood settings. In terms of opportunities for meeting, the neighbourhood is a collection of settings which attract particular segments of a (neighbourhood) population. In this way, we can think about how neighbourhood settings facilitate the formation of relationships, and how they might stimulate boundary-crossing (i.e., interethnic or interclass) relationships. In particular, policy makers and practitioners can think about the clientele that various neighbourhood settings attract: do they serve only resource-poor people or a mixed population, and is it possible to attract a more mixed population? Particularly in mixed neighbourhoods, neighbourhood settings—settings such as facilities and associations that attract mainly residents—should attract a mixed population, because these will be the places where boundary-crossing relationships might develop. I have argued that boundary-crossing ties in particular are difficult if not impossible to control. Therefore we can presume that boundary-crossing ties remain setting-specific (instead of developing into friendships). Settings should thus facilitate the formation and maintenance of setting-specific ties (e.g. through meetings, activities, volunteering, or other ways that get people organized or together, see RMO, 2005; Small, 2009). For example, community centres and the activities they offer should be made attractive for both resource-poor and resource-rich parents, especially in mixed neighbourhoods. This might increase the price beyond the budgets of resource-poor families, but this could be solved, for example, by asking resource-rich parents to 'sponsor' a resource-poor fellow-parent in their neighbourhood (cf. the idea of mentorship: Veldboer *et al.*, 2008: Chapter 7).

For families with young children, the selection of tenants and buyers of social housing based on lifestyle may prove fruitful (cf. RMO, 2005: 49). For none of the other categories of people (singles, couples without children) does it seem to matter much in what kind of micro-neighbourhood they live, because they are less inclined anyway to form more intense or intimate ties with their direct neighbours. For parents with young children, forming new ties in the neighbourhood setting may not in the first place provide access to valuable resources but a nearby network is essential for practical support (cf. RMO, 2009). The formation of locality-based relationships that go beyond 'just neighbours' may require more effort from parents living in multi-ethnic or stigmatized neighbourhoods. Therefore, parents in multi-ethnic poor neighbourhoods may benefit from local child-related settings where they can meet other parents.

Social capital follows from resources, not the other way around
Another recommendation concerns the way in which we think about 'social capital'. Too often, social capital is imagined as a cure for all sorts of problems such as poverty, crime and lack of political voice. However, policy makers and practitioners should realize that social capital follows from the acquisition of other resources, and not the other way around. Resource-rich networks are formed through acquiring and deploying cultural and economic capital—education, work, and social and political participation. Social capital emerges from class-exclusive networks; if networks were not segregated along socio-economic lines, we would not be talking about the benefits of certain networks over other networks. This means that if policy makers and practitioners want somehow to facilitate the acquisition of social capital, they have to support and stimulate the acquisition of other forms of capital (education, skills, knowledge, wealth, etc.) and, thus, participation in work-related, study-related and associational settings. This is not to say that all resource-poor people must become like resource-rich people and that policy should 'uplift' all who have bounded networks. Rather, the government should ensure equal opportunities for those who wish to 'uplift' themselves, ensure the accessibility of basic resources and denounce nepotism.

If policy makers and practitioners choose to stimulate and support work, study and associational membership, they should also think about how participation benefits networks most. They should not only support participation, but also embeddedness in resource-rich networks. For example, skills and knowledge can be acquired through distance learning, but if someone is short of resource-rich ties, then education at school is better, because it offers opportunities to get to know fellow-students and teachers. Learning on the job is better than taking a course with other unemployed people, because through such a course people get to know only other unemployed people (cf. Perri 6, 1997: 11). Plus, on the job training may additionally provide training in networking (ibid: 9). Forming setting-specific ties in this respect is just as valuable as colleagues-turning-friends, and work- and study-related settings can thus support the maintenance of relationships. Ultimately, the needs and wishes of people should be the leading consideration. For example, for parents with young children who can rely on family members and friends, there is little need to stimulate their ties to fellow-residents. When young parents lack a (local) support network, participation in neighbourhood settings might be beneficial. For most people, however, locality-based relationships remain rather superficial ties, and that is also how many people like it, so putting effort into transforming these relationships into stronger ties may be a waste of time, while other routes to resourceful relationships are easier and more beneficial.

Segregation is more than spatial segregation

Finally, in efforts to reduce socioeconomic (and ethnic) segregation, policy makers and practitioners should put more effort into reducing segregation through other settings than the neighbourhood. Too much emphasis is put on the (possible) negative effects of poverty (and ethnic) concentration in certain areas of cities. For example, in the 'integration letter' of the Dutch Minister for Housing, Communities and Integration (17 November 2009), neighbourhoods and schools are mentioned as settings in which people from different backgrounds can meet. This is, however, a very limited view of the problem of socioeconomic segregation. This is not to deny the importance of schools or to deny the importance of neighbourhoods and public places for public familiarity (see Blokland, 2003b, 2008). But one wonders why, when it comes to efforts to reduce socioeconomic and ethnic segregation through creating meeting opportunities, there is such a focus on neighbourhoods. As this study confirms again, neighbourhoods play a relatively limited role in many people's everyday lives. Furthermore, such an appeal addresses only people living in mixed neighbourhoods. Segregation through neighbourhoods is obviously one of the most visible forms and manifestations of socioeconomic segregation, but there needs to be an understanding that spatial segregation is inseparable from other forms of segregation in society—through work, through leisure, through participation in social and political organizations. Moreover, neighbourhood settings, even those in mixed neighbourhoods, have limited ability to stimulate interethnic and interclass ties. First, because neighbourhood settings attract a small and specific share of the neighbourhood population. Second, because boundary-crossing relationships as such are difficult to stimulate and 'the neighbourhood' will often fail to create a focus of activity that engages people and draws them together. As it is highly unlikely that there will be, in the short-run, a situation in which people's networks are not sorted along lines of education, occupational level and lifestyle, it is more realistic to put efforts into facilitating boundary-crossing relationships that evolve around people's concerns (e.g. political or policy-related issues), and everyday needs (e.g. child care and health care) (cf. RMO, 2005; Veldboer *et al.*, 2008). Finally, an appeal to the involvement of resource-richer people is justified, to their engagement as such and to their capabilities to deploy their resources.[97]

---

97   In the latest 'integration letter' of the Minister for Housing, Communities and Integration (17 November 2009), migrants and their children are urged to take responsibility for their life. The Minister argues that they have to take more responsibility than other citizens have to do. Such an appeal should, however, go out to resource-rich people

9.4 Questions for further research

Many questions remain, and new questions have emerged. Such questions concern, for example, the longitudinal effects of moving to other neighbour-hoods or living in changing neighbourhoods, generalization to other cities or countries, how personal networks change, how networks of households rather than individuals provide access to resources, and how the Internet and particularly social networking sites support new and old networks. I suggest that the following questions need further research.

Spatial segregation: metropolitan vs. suburban habitus?
First, differentiating the metropolitan habitus may mean differentiating along lines other than neighbourhood choice. In this study (Chapter 7), I compared two residential groups. It may be more fruitful to differentiate them along different lines, or more fine-grained lines. Perhaps we would find that some of them engage in different settings, making an effort to support their deprived fellow-residents, but without maintaining personal relationships with them. Second, the question remains whether and how the metropolitan habitus differs from a 'suburban' habitus. Put differently, does the metropolitan habitus encompass more than just a choice for city life? What does it mean that people see themselves as a 'city mouse' rather than a 'country mouse' (see Hummon, 1986), and is it just a self-image or does it mean something in the everyday reality of engagement with others and relationships with people from different backgrounds and positions?

Related to these questions, we can ask whether resource-poor families in suburban neighbourhoods might more easily become part of the networks of resource-richer fellow-residents than resource-poor families in mixed urban neighbourhoods. This touches on a classic question of how inclusionary residents in urban versus suburban areas are. In such a comparative study, we should in particular focus on the (different) role of neighbourhood settings—which are perhaps more numerous in urban neighbourhoods but perhaps more inclusive in suburban neighbourhoods, but they might just as well be less or equally inclusive. In any case, such a study should go beyond the question of how neighbourhood composition as such matters, and focus on how neighbourhood settings and their composition matter for bringing together categories of people.

Reading place: categorization, identification, rules of relevancy
We need more insight into how places and their images play a role in how people 'read' others in these places (neighbourhood settings and public spaces, but this may be relevant for other places). Too often, still, processes of categorization, identification and boundary making are described as 'place-less'—as if the physical setting in which people encounter each other in it-

self does not matter. Place, then, is a 'context', but it does not do any analytical work. However, most of our 'sign-reading' relies on visible cues—about others and about their and our environment—and thus visible characteristics of settings are likely to have a place in these sign-reading operations. Seeing a man in a suit in a business district is different from seeing the same man in a rundown alley. Seeing a group of coloured young men sitting on a bench in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood is different from seeing the same group performing in a poetry slam—even when this happens in the same neighbourhood. The way in which places are read is thus contingent on what happens in these places. This is particularly relevant if we want to understand how people deal with encountering 'others': people who are not like them in one way or another. How do they estimate this, and how does the setting and the physical site in which the encounter takes place affect their judgment?

Furthermore, neighbourhoods—and other settings—play a role in shaping rules of relevancy: expectations, norms, boundaries of relationships. Interaction is thus not the same in different places and this may in turn affect the formation of relationships. This relates to Allport's four conditions of the contact thesis, and Pettigrew's (1998) fifth condition of 'friendship potential'. In Chapter 6, I have suggested how this might work out; it might work out differently in different places and different settings. The neighbourhood is not just a setting but a setting in which particular interaction, encounters and relationships are formed. Comparing boundary-crossing ties within different kinds of settings (e.g. neighbourhood, workplace, club) will provide more insight into the particularities of specific settings in shaping relationships, and their potential for stimulating boundary-crossing ties.

Measuring personal *giving* networks
The data for this study, as in most network studies, is about personal networks of ties that have offered support to respondents. In order to gain more insight into the exchange of resources we should also focus on personal giving networks: who do people help, with what, how often and why? This will provide a fuller understanding, particularly for understanding how resource-rich people deploy their resources. It might explain why the homogeneity of personal networks is asymmetric: resource-poorer respondents had more heterogeneous networks than resource-rich respondents. How is this related to civil society?

Setting-specific ties: networking and boundary-crossing relations
We need to know more about the formation, maintenance and value of setting-specific ties—whether in the neighbourhood or other settings. As Small (2006, 2009) has begun to show, neighbourhood settings may (partly) explain what has been interpreted as neighbourhood effects, and participation in some settings may counter possible negative neighbourhood effects. This

question falls into two sub-questions: first, what is the role of settings in opportunities to expand the network as such, and second, what is the role of settings in facilitating the formation of boundary-crossing ties? Other settings that may bring together resource-poor and resource-rich people may be: employees' councils in mixed-level companies (e.g. universities, departments), political associations, particularly at local level (as at this level there will be more lower-educated people involved), child-care centres, health centres and community schools (*brede scholen*).

In relation to neighbourhood effects, we should examine how (non-)participation in settings mediates 'effects' of neighbourhood composition on network composition and quality (cf. Small, 2004). The 'neighbourhood', as an area of hundreds or thousands of people, generates few relationships. Settings in the neighbourhood do facilitate tie formation, and it is these settings on which we should focus in order to understand how neighbourhoods matter for networks and life chances, particularly because neighbourhoods differ in the number and kinds of facilities and associations. Furthermore, neighbourhood settings may draw homogeneous or mixed populations, which may structure tie formation. This is particularly relevant in mixed neighbourhoods.

Studies on networks have time and again found that networks differ in form, composition and resourcefulness, and that this has consequences for people's life chances, but we still know too little of how these differences arise and how they are contingent on different opportunities in life. Important in this regard is the question whether resource-poorer people indeed maintain setting-specific ties rather than developing ties that transcend settings. Allan (1998a) suggests that this pattern may have changed, as resource-poor people benefit from more up-to-standard housing and family and leisure activities in general have become privatized. However, the present study has shown that the networks of resource-richer people are still larger, more varied and more resourceful. This suggests that there are still differences in how people form and maintain networks. The question therefore remains whether resource-poor people show a tendency not to transform setting-specific ties into 'friendships' or friend-like ties—ties that are maintained beyond the setting in which they are formed—and whether this is associated with material circumstances (money, mainly), as Allan suggests (2008). Resource-poor people are still today limited in their resources and still try to control reciprocal exchanges (see Blokland and Noordhoff, 2008; Curley, 2008). Differences in forming and maintaining relationships may also be associated with cultural capital. To what extent is 'networking' a skill that people rich in cultural (and economic) capital command through the (lifelong) socialization process? If active networking and maintaining ties beyond the initial setting is becoming more important, for example, because public and semi-public settings less self-evidently provide embeddedness in a network (see below), then people who are less inclined to 'network' may be left behind.

Social change: segregated settings and unequal opportunities for networking
I suggested in Chapter 8 that it is not employment as such that is valuable for expanding networks, but that particular employment arrangements and work settings may be more conducive to forming and maintaining ties than others. More generally, settings may have changed, but also the extent to which people are embedded in and securely tied to settings. What is the impact of social changes on how settings have changed and their role in facilitating the formation of setting-specific and setting-transcending relationships? There are two broad themes that describe the transformation of society that may be of importance for how networks are formed and resources are exchanged: privatization and polarization of the labour market.

Privatization (see Allan, 1998a; Blokland, 2003b) refers, among other things, to the less self-evident role of public and semi-public settings in organizing social relationships and activities. Relationships have more and more become a matter of 'choice' instead of contingent on and embedded in particular settings, and are maintained in private settings rather than in public settings. If resource-poor people indeed rely more on setting-specific ties, what does it mean that family, work, associations and church no longer self-evidently facilitate networks? People of course still move in and out of settings, but when their involvement in these settings is less focused on maintaining ties—because relationships with friends are embedded in other settings, or because people engage in settings only with old friends and not to meet new people—the settings function in the first place as fulfilling needs (services, goods) and their by-product of forming relationships is less self-evidently produced. Furthermore, privatization also means that people are freer to get involved in a number of different settings, and thus choose to form their networks through engaging with people they like and with whom they share interests. This may result in more socioeconomically segregated settings, as interests and tastes are tightly linked with cultural and economic capital. To what extent is privatization associated with institutional segregation, and how does this affect the formation of networks and the exchange of resources?

Polarization of the labour market refers to the growing inequality between high-skilled and low-skilled workers (Sassen, 2001; Kalleberg, 2009). Much of the literature on polarization is on wage inequality and the flexibility and growing insecurity of employment relations. Flexibility of the labour market means that employment has become less secure, it is less often full-time and employees may have fewer opportunities to partake in work-related activities such as training and get-togethers. If low-skilled workers are particularly affected by the flexibility of employment (see e.g. Sassen, 2001: 289; Kalleberg, 2009), this might mean that they are most affected in terms of opportunities to form relationships and expand their network. The significance of (types of) employment is even larger for professional networks of setting-specific ties and colleagues-of-colleagues (or more generally, 'second order' ties),

and acquaintanceships formed at school or through the workplace. To what extent is the polarization of the labour market associated with variations in opportunities to form resourceful networks? Does this affect immigrants, ethnic minorities, women and parents more than other workers?

9.5   Epilogue: place matters

In this study I have argued that spatial segregation does not structure relations between the resource-poor and resource-rich directly, that is, not through hampering or facilitating meeting opportunities. Rather, spatial segregation, but also spatial integration, has a role in confirming boundaries, or, in other words, through its acquired meaning, neighbourhood composition has a role in keeping categorical relations in place. This study should be placed in its proper spatial and periodical perspective. That spatial segregation in Dutch cities is not severe now, and that there is no evidence for 'neighbourhood effects', should not be taken as a definitive answer to the question of whether 'place matters'. Place matters, not because we have no choice but to move through physical space, but because we rely on physical markers to make sense of the world around us. However, these physical markers do not have meaning in themselves; people attribute meaning to them. Policy has a role in shaping the meaning of places—through defining places as 'bad neighbourhoods', 'problem places' and 'no-go areas'. That we—policy makers, practitioners, academics and residents—talk in such ways about places proves that place matters.

Although there is a strong tendency to regard the people in 'problem places' as responsible for their troubles (e.g. through notions of a 'culture of poverty'), in effect policies also tend to reduce people's troubles to a problem of place. This happens when the goal is to 'improve' neighbourhoods through restructuring and gentrification, without considering too much that the replacement of people does nothing to 'improve' their lives. Urban policy should be linked with efforts to reduce and prevent segregation in all its aspects. That where people live is not significant for their personal network or their socioeconomic status proves (again) that other life domains are far more important in the formation of segregated networks and socioeconomic inequality. Spatial segregation is visible and perhaps most easily dealt with, but—in this time and place—it is dealing with manifestations, rather than with root causes, of segregation and inequality. Policy makers need to consider spatial segregation as an inseparable part of segregation of the rich and poor in general.

Through television, the Internet and other media, we know more about the 'other' than we did before. But the TV can be turned off, and the Internet shows us only what we wish to see. Life outside your doorstep cannot be turned off. This may be the most important reason to prevent spatial seg-

regation: that we know of the existence of the 'other' and are aware of others' everyday troubles. If segregation is indeed caused more through other domains of life—work, leisure, politics—then the neighbourhood may indeed be the easiest way to get people together—or at least to prevent furthering disengagement with each other. The policy of mixing should not be only about reducing poverty and ethnic concentration, however. Stigmatizing poverty—whether through conservative or liberal 'othering' (see Young, 2007: 5-6)—counters efforts to moderate boundaries between socioeconomic and ethnic categories. In the light of moderating boundaries, the spatial concentration of affluence is just as worrisome and undesirable. This thus calls for a different way of thinking about how place matters: less in terms of the 'pathologies' of places as driving opportunities (Amin, 2007: 105), and more in terms of the intertwining of spatial segregation with other forms of segregation. For example, repression of certain categories of people (homeless people, or youths, particularly of non-Western origin) is a very effective way of furthering the process of 'othering' and thus such repressive policies counter efforts to bring people together or to get people engaged with the troubles of others (which we can also speak of as 'solidarity'). Policy makers and practitioners should thus think more carefully about how their—usually well-meant—policies counteract their overall goals. The role of scholars in the field of urban studies, then, is to measure the everyday urban life against the ideal of the inclusive city.

Methodology
Studying personal networks

A.1 A mixed-methods research approach

The study is based on data on personal networks, collected through a survey and in-depth interviews among residents of three neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. The mixed methods approach follows an 'integrative logic', through which each method is intended to produce data and offer insights on specific parts of a main research question (Mason, 2006). Different methods are used for examining different dimensions of a research problem and thus to answer different sub-questions; in this way the different methods aim, in combination, to give better insight into the main research question: 'To what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce the formation of unequal networks?'. In this way, a mixed methods approach aims to capture a complete, holistic picture of the question at hand (see Jick, 1979; Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela, 2004).

Surveys are usually labelled as 'quantitative research', as they mainly consist of closed-end questions and they generate numerical data, while non-numerical data from in-depth interviews or observations are usually labelled as 'qualitative research'. According to Babbie (2001: 36), quantifying data enables researchers to summarize, compare and make generalizing statements, while qualitative data gives insight into questions of 'how' and 'why'. Basically, quantitative data provides insight into associations between (dependent and independent) variables which allows for comparisons, while quantitative data offers insight into the mechanisms through which variables are related. Gathering and analysing qualitative and quantitative data thus has different purposes.

This distinction may be somewhat misleading though, when it is interpreted as indicating the 'detailedness' of data: it suggests that quantitative data provides a superficial description, while qualitative data provides more details of the phenomenon that is researched. The distinction between quantitative and qualitative data, however, says more about the form of data and techniques of measurement and analysis, than about the extent of detail. Therefore, Schuyt's (1995) classification of 'extensive' versus 'intensive' (based on Peirce) may be more useful:

> The *intension* of a concept indicates the characteristics of an object, [while] the *extension* of a concept indicates which objects possess these characteristics. (...) The intension of the concept 'elephant' indicates the characteristics *big, grey mammal* with a *long nose*. The extension of the concept 'elephant' includes all in reality observable objects of this species. (Schuyt, 1995: 89-90, emphasis in original).

Applied to this study, network data are predominantly numerical and network analysis is predominantly a statistical procedure, but the data itself offers a detailed description of the support networks of respondents—in this

way it is intensive rather than extensive data. Network data, as used in this study, is thus quantitative intensive data.

Still, even though the network survey offers detailed data on personal support relationships, the data is suitable for comparing patterns and finding associations and patterns rather than gaining insight into mechanisms and processes. Therefore the data from the social network survey is used mainly to test a number of hypotheses (based on literature) about associations between neighbourhood composition and personal networks and to find patterns that may suggest associations. Because the network data is standardized, the survey enables comparison of personal networks and relationships among social categories (e.g. neighbourhoods, classes). Part of the key question is whether and to what extent neighbourhood composition and (aspects of) personal networks are associated. This question requires comparison of personal networks of people living in differently composed neighbourhoods and thus requires comparable data. A structured questionnaire ensures that questions to and answers from interviewees are standardized and thus more or less similar.

The question of how neighbourhood composition may be significant or insignificant nevertheless remains unanswered. Association may suggest a mechanism (e.g. neighbourhood use or job setting). For example, people's use of neighbourhood facilities may indicate that different residential categories never get to meet each other as their daily routines are differently orientated (that is, predominantly within or rather outside the neighbourhood). Without closer examination of how variables are connected, however, there looms the danger of spurious relations. Therefore, the statistical analysis should be based on and interpreted in connection with literature and other studies that provide insight into the question at hand. Furthermore, the in-depth interviews offer additional insight into some of the questions, notably, how relationships and networks are formed and maintained, how access to resources was acquired, and perceptions of difference in personal relationships.

Mixed methods can be applied in various ways, regarding the order of methods, the role of methods and the purpose of mixing (Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela, 2004: 165-167). Initially, I went from survey-based hypothesis testing (e.g. comparing network localness, network quality and network heterogeneity) to examining in-depth cases (the questions for the in-depth interviews were based on knowledge gaps or new questions following my analysis of the survey responses). I first collected all the survey data, searched for patterns and tested several hypotheses based on the literature (e.g. with regard to network poverty and heterogeneity). Based on results from these analyses, I formulated the remaining relevant questions and decided on topics for the in-depth interviews. Nevertheless, when I had done the interviews, I started looking at personal networks differently, which led me back to the survey data to examine certain new questions. The data collection is

thus sequential, while the analysis is parallel. In the final stage of analysis, I analysed both datasets in relation to each other. For example, the in-depth interviews revealed that part of people's local networks is not locality-based ties. This led me to analyse the composition of the local networks based on the survey data and dig deeper into the ways in which locality-based ties may be formed (Chapter 4). Another example is that I analysed how networks are formed based on the in-depth interviews, and further examined the differences between different network forms (family-based, friend-based and mixed networks) based on the survey data (Chapter 8). I thus analysed the data in a dialectic process of going back and forth between the survey data and interview data.

Throughout the book, there is no clear separation of the survey and interview data; I strived for an integration of the two datasets in such a way as to prevent domination of one dataset or the other. They thus have an equal role, although their role in what they demonstrate obviously differs (survey data shows statistical associations, while interview data provides insight into processes). The purpose of a mixed methods approach was knowledge-based (rather than topic- or method-related): the different data may complement each other in giving insight into theoretical and empirical questions. I thus tried to combine insights on 'how' questions with insights regarding the prevalence and association with other variables.

A.2 Network analysis: starting points

The technique of mapping personal networks is a common technique in the field of social network analysis (SNA). Network analysis has its roots in different disciplines (see, for a detailed overview, Knox *et al.* (2006)). Generally, network analysts distinguish 'total' or 'whole' networks from 'ego-centred' networks (e.g. Craven and Wellman, 1973: 62; Marsden, 1990: 438; Scott, 1991). The focus of this study is on ego-centred networks. A focus on total networks would investigate, for example, the connections between all the residents of a particular neighbourhood. An ego-centred approach examines (all or a segment of) the relationships of one person (ego) and the characteristics of the people with whom this person is connected (alters, network members).

This study focuses on those network members who have played a role in helping people in one or another way. The goal of mapping personal networks was not so much to map people's entire network, but rather to gain information about various support situations, to depict the network of supportive ties, and to gain insight into variations in resources in networks. My main interest is in patterns of ego networks rather than single relationships, although these are not fully distinguishable because networks are of course made up of single relationships. In Chapter 4, the focus is on single relation-

ships, and the analysis regards characteristics of single ties. Chapters 5, 7 and 8 focus on networks, and the analysis regards characteristics of networks, while Chapter 6 focuses on both networks and single (locality-based) ties. When the focus is on networks as a whole, the characteristics of single ties in a network are aggregated to the level of the network.

Network analysis means analysing patterns in networks—such as size, form, composition, interconnectedness, and clustering. For example, we might want to gain insight into variations in the proportion of women in networks, or the proportion of 'close' relationships. Network analysis is largely based on standardized questions and procedures to map personal networks. Several theoretical ideas are at the basis of the questionnaire: to measure the relative importance of ties in the neighbourhood and the relative significance of boundary-crossing ties in the neighbourhood, we need to know about the entire network.

A first starting point for the measurement of networks is the idea that, in order to understand the relative importance of neighbourhoods as (possibly) affecting relationships, it is necessary to examine total personal networks, rather than only local networks. Only through comparing local relationships with non-local relationships and taking local relationships as part of personal network, it is possible to say something about the significance of neighbourhood. This idea was first proposed by Barry Wellman (1979; and Leighton, 1979). According to Wellman, 'neighbourhood' and networks should not be examined as being the same. Wellman was concerned with the practice of social scientists of examining networks from a territorial perspective and focusing on the bounded population of the neighbourhood (a focus on 'total networks'). Often starting from a concern for local solidarity, scholars concluded that 'community' ceased to exist—what Wellman has termed the 'community lost' argument (Wellman, 1979: 1204). However, this perspective, Wellman argues, easily confuses and intertwines personal relationships with 'normative and spatial predilections' (ibid.), confusing a decrease in local ties with a decrease in social relationships, lack of social cohesion, or engagement with society. By not taking into account relationships with people who live outside the neighbourhood, one may mistakenly interpret the lack of local ties as lack of social embeddedness and thus underestimate people's embeddedness within networks. Wellman therefore proposed a 'network analytical perspective' that is 'principally concerned with delineating structures of relationships and flows of activities' (Wellman, 1979: 1203; see also Guest, 2000, on the mediate community).

A second starting point of this study is the idea that studying only (local) relationships of and among residents of a mixed neighbourhood offers little insight into the relative prevalence of boundary-crossing ties. For example, several studies have examined whether residents of a mixed neighbourhood or housing complex maintain more boundary-crossing ties (e.g. Bro-

phy and Smith, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Kleinhans *et al*., 2000; Good-
child and Cole, 2001; Cummings *et al*., 2002; van Beckhoven and van Kem-
pen, 2003; Kleit, 2005; for an overview see: Kleinhans, 2004; Bolt and Torrance,
2005; Joseph *et al*., 2007). Several of these studies found that different residen-
tial categories (by class, ethnic origin, tenure) hardly interact with each oth-
er. It is only a small step to conclude that living in a mixed neighbourhood
does not stimulate boundary-crossing relationships. However, what is prob-
lematic of several of the (single) case studies is not so much that results can-
not be generalized (see Kleinhans, 2004: 383)—they can offer valuable and
detailed insights into the mechanisms through which co-residents interact or
not—but that it is difficult to say whether there is 'much' or 'little' interac-
tion (see Blokland, 2004: 42). If one examines interaction in mixed neighbour-
hoods exclusively, there is no reference point against which one can com-
pare the extent to which residents of homogeneous neighbourhoods interact
with each other. It is possible that, in particular cases, people do have sever-
al boundary-crossing relationships but that the absolute number of these ties
is small. Hence, whether this is to be seen as 'more' or 'less' than in homoge-
neous neighbourhoods is impossible to know (ibid.). Is network homogeneity
of 75 per cent extreme or average? Comparison with other residential catego-
ries, living in other neighbourhoods, and mapping total networks instead of
local relationships, would perhaps have confirmed that, no matter where they
live, people generally have relationships with people who are quite similar to
them; or the opposite, that the number of boundary-crossing ties is small, but
still greater compared with people living in homogeneous neighbourhoods.

In this study, I compare network characteristics such as localness, resource-
fulness, forms and homogeneity as a proportion of total networks (a stand-
ardized measure) among categories of people living in different neighbour-
hoods (for an understanding of relative localness, resourcefulness, etc.). In
this way, the study follows the logic of neighbourhood effect studies (does
neighbourhood composition matter in addition to other, individual-level,
variables?) but it is not a neighbourhood effect study in its approach. Char-
acteristics of the neighbourhood are not included in the statistical analyses
and thus not 'controlled for'. It is arguable that, by not controlling for neigh-
bourhood composition, differences in neighbourhoods that may be associ-
ated with the composition of the population—infrastructure, facilities—are
obscured. However, if these neighbourhood characteristics would indeed have
an effect on the composition of networks, we would find this by comparing
categories of residents living in different neighbourhoods. For the question of
whether and to what extent neighbourhood composition—in one way or the
other—matters for network composition, a comparative analysis among cate-
gories of respondents is thus justified. As I found no differences in networks,
we can logically infer that neighbourhood composition has no 'independent'
effect on networks (although the possibility remains that particular variables

rule out or way up against other factors, but controlling for neighbourhood characteristics is not necessarily better equipped to deal with these sorts of complicated processes).

Mapping networks: name generators

There are various ways to map and measure networks (see, for an overview and comparison, van der Gaag and Snijders, 2003; van der Gaag, 2005). The study further is based on the idea that, in order to understand whether and how personal relationships provide or have provided access to valuable resources, a focus on actual exchange relationships is needed—in contrast to, for example, 'interaction' or 'knowing' someone.[1]

The exchange method was first used in Claude Fischer's study *To Dwell Among Friends* (1982). In an earlier paper, McCallister and Fischer (1978) argued that (then) current measures of personal networks had several limitations. Previous studies usually used name-eliciting methods asking interviewees to name people they feel close to or with whom they socialize in their free time. These methods tend to sample certain sectors of networks at the expense of the rest (e.g. network members who live nearby and whom people see often, at the expense of long-distance relationships). Furthermore, these measures would be, according to McCallister and Fischer, vulnerable to measurement error, as questions are open to different interpretations (what is 'feeling close to'?). In addition, bad memory easily results in errors when people are not probed to think about things that are not at the forefront in their memories. McCallister and Fischer proposed the following question form:

> Often people rely on the judgement of someone they know in making *important* decisions about their lives—for example, decisions about their family or their work. Is there anyone whose opinion you consider *seriously* in making important decisions? (IF YES:) Whose opinion do you consider? (ibid.: 135, emphasis in original)

This question form is also followed in the questionnaire for this study (see also the *Survey of Social Networks of the Dutch*, Völker, 1999). Through 'name generators', respondents are asked about who has helped them with a certain specified task or problem: the question thus generates a name. Below I discuss the validity and reliability of mapping networks in general and of this procedure compared to other procudes (i.e. resource and position generator). For now, we should realize and that, as most methods, this method provides a representation of actual networks.

A disadvantage of name generators is that it is very time-consuming to ask

---

1   Other approaches are: the role-relation approach, the affective approach, the interaction approach (McCallister and Fischer, 1978; van der Poel, 1993).

specifically about several details of each and every network member. For the purpose of this study—understanding variations in network quality—name generators (and perhaps resource and position generators) are preferred over more vague questions about contact or interaction. In some studies, people are asked whether they have 'contact' with certain others without specifying the form or content of this contact: does it refer to knowing someone by face, close friendships, getting together in a venue regularly, visiting each other, having mutual friends? The Dutch SVPA dataset (2002) on the position of people of non-Western origin, for example, asks whether people have ever visited Dutch friends or neighbours, whether they sometimes associate with Dutch people in their free time, and whether in their free time they have more contacts with people from their 'own' ethnic group or with Dutch people (or with both equally). Several recent Dutch studies have found that ethnic minorities in their 'free time' socialize with Dutch people less often when they live in a neighbourhood with a greater share of people of non-Western origin (e.g. Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Such questions, however, tell us little about people's access to resources. Say, for example, that a Turkish man spends much of his free time visiting the mosque and the Turkish teahouse, where he, as we would expect, meets many people of his 'own ethnic group' and not so many Dutch people. However, this man might have a Dutch colleague who helped him find his job, or a Moroccan neighbour who helped him with odd jobs in the garden. He may not spend much time with these two people in his free time, but they do offer access to resources and support. Leaving 'contact' undefined thus raises the question whether the survey has captured those relationships through which resources are, or can be, exchanged. Asking about specific events and support situations makes it possible to include these 'more distant' network members in personal networks.

A.3 The survey: outline and name-generating questions

The social network survey was originally designed and carried out in Cool (n=210) in 2001 by Talja Blokland (Blokland, 2004).[2]

In Hillsluis and Blijdorp, 104 and 100 people were interviewed, respectively. I adjusted the survey on some topics but most of the questions remained similar to those asked in the Cool survey (see below). Because I wanted to

---

Table A.1 Name generators and descriptive statistics (network members)

Pre-question	Name generator	Sum	%	Missing
2. How did you get your job? [show answer card]	Someone helped me Someone told me about vacancy	83	3	5
3.	Does someone babysit in the evenings? [1]	41	3	2
Do you volunteer at school?	Did someone (other than teacher) ask you?	13	0	5
4. How did you get your house? [show answer card]	Someone found it for me I knew the landlord/owner I knew the former residents	78	3	5
	Is there a neighbour you particularly trust?	496	17	5
6. Are you active for organization / do you do voluntary work?	Did someone ask you to / did you do this together with someone?	101	3	5
7. Did you vote last national elections?	Did someone you know ask you to? / did you do this together with someone	7	0	5
Did you vote last local elections?	Did someone ask you to? / did you do this together with someone?	10	0	5
Did you ever campaign for party?	Did someone ask you to? / did you do this together with someone?	17	1	5
Did you do one of the following things in the last year? ('voice') - Attend demonstration - Attend meeting city council - Attend parents' council - Contact city council - Contact member political party - Contact social worker - Attend neighbourhood meeting - Write letter to newspaper - Sign petition - Donate money collection	Did someone ask you to? / did you do this together with someone?	92	3	5
8.	Did someone help you with small tasks in/around house? (not hired)	377	13	5
	Did someone help you when you were sick, e.g. with groceries? [1]	119	8	2
	Did you borrow groceries or tools? [1]	76	5	2
Do you discuss politics with specific person?	With whom do you talk about politics?	394	13	6
How often do you discuss personal issues? [IF: usually, sometimes]	With whom do you talk about personal issues?	690	23	5
	Whose opinion would you consider about important decision in life?	559	19	5
[show list of network members]	Is there anyone important to you not mentioned yet?	850	28	9
Total network members		2990	100	100

[1] Question only asked in Hillesluis and Blijdorp.

compare the resource-poor segment of the Cool sample with Hillesluisians, and the resource-rich segment of the Cool sample with Blijdorpers, I estimat-

ed that two samples of 100 respondents would be sufficient for analysis. (See Appendix B for sampling, organization of fieldwork and response rate.)

The survey is divided into eight parts: (1) personal information; (2) school and work; (3) children and their school; (4) dwelling and neighbourhood; (5) mobility; (6) social participation and membership; (7) political participation; and (8) social support. The latter theme covers what is usually meant by 'social support': day-to-day aid, emotional support and discussion partners. Each part includes general and more detailed questions. Throughout the survey, several 'name generating' questions were asked (see Table A.1). All the questions were asked in such a way that respondents were not pushed to name a network member. For example, we first asked whether respondents discussed politics or personal matters at all, and then asked for names. With regard to finding a house and job, we offered respondents a card with several answer categories. For getting a job, respondents could indicate that they had applied to an advertisement, gained a promotion internally, got the job through an employment agency, that someone told them about the vacancy, that someone had helped them, or otherwise. For getting a house, the answer categories were: through housing association, through advertisement, through the Internet, through a real estate agency, that they knew the former residents, that they knew the owner or landlord, that someone found the house for them, or otherwise.

The surveys in Hillesluis and Blijdorp are somewhat different from the survey in Cool. I removed one name-generating question from the original survey about e-mail contact, because this question concerns a way of keeping in touch rather than a situation of help. I added the question of whether people had contact through e-mail to the name-interpreting questions (not analysed in this study) and removed all network members in the Cool database who were mentioned only with regard to e-mailing (120 of 1861 cases). In the Hillesluis and Blijdorp surveys, I added three name-generating questions about babysitting, small tasks in and around the house and help in case of sickness, for example, with groceries. These questions, in the original survey, were included in a part with resource-generating questions (which part I removed from the questionnaire). The purpose was to get detailed information about who helps with what; the adding of these questions and the rather large number of name generators justifies this decision. Adding three questions is not likely to have a significant effect on the size and composition of the personal networks. These three questions generated 236 ties, of which 48 (20 per cent) were unique ties. Of all the generated ties of Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers, this is merely 3 per cent. Furthermore, the networks of Hillesluisians and Blijdorpers are not or not substantially larger than the networks of Cool residents, which confirms that adding these name generators does not substantially alter the network characteristics.

Table A.2 Name and tie interpreters, by alter

Name and tie interpreter	Answer categories	Sum	%	Missing
Gender	0. Male	1412	47	17
	1. Female	1578	53	
Type of relationship	1. Partner	169	6	56
	2. Household member	69	2	
	3. Family member not living in the house	857	29	
	4. Colleague	118	4	
	5. Club member	66	2	
	6. Friend	964	32	
	7. Acquaintance	176	6	
	8. Neighbour	483	16	
	9. Other	65	2	
Ethnic origin	0. Non-Western origin [allochtoon]	822	27	29
	1. Native Dutch/Western [autochtoon]	2168	73	
Educational level	0. No education after secondary school	920	26	202
	1. Education after secondary school	2070	74	
Frequency of contact	1. Daily	447	16	247
	2. A few times a week	726	26	
	3. Weekly	508	19	
	4. Every two weeks	336	12	
	5. Monthly	415	15	
	6. Every three months	168	6	
	7. A few times a year	64	2	
	8. Rarely ever	84	3	
Length of relationship [1]	How long have respondent and network member known each other? (in years)	2820 (1-84)	17.20 (14.76)	175
Place of residence	1. Same neighbourhood as respondent	883	32	257
	2. Elsewhere in Rotterdam	850	31	
	3. Elsewhere in Netherlands, < 1 hour drive	557	20	
	4. Elsewhere in Netherlands, > 1 hour drive	314	12	
	5. Abroad	134	5	

[1] Mean, range and S.D. shown.

Name and tie interpreters

When respondents reported a network member, several name- and tie interpreting questions were asked (cf. McCallister and Fischer, 1978: 137-138; Marsden, 1990: 441; van der Gaag, 2005: 82) which report on characteristics of network members and characteristics of the relationships ('tie') between each respondent and network member (see Tables A.2 and A.3). Name and tie interpreters were carried out 'by alter' (taking each network member separately and asking all questions about him or her, going through all network members) and 'by question' (taking a question and asking this for all network members on the list, see Kogovsek and Ferligoj, 2005). The characteristics in Table A.2 were collected 'by alter': immediately after the network member was mentioned, several questions were asked about this person. The characteristics in Table A.3 were collected 'by question': after collecting the network members, respondents were asked to look at the list of network members and indicate, for several question, those network members to whom the question applied or referred. For example, we asked 'to whom on this list do

Table A.3 Name and tie interpreters, by question

Answer categories	Sum	%	Missing
Do you feel close to [network member]?	1460	49	37
Did you visit each other in the last three months?	2089	72	74
Did you have dinner at home in last three months?	1524	52	85
Did you spend time outdoors in last three months?	1176	40	59
Did you have regularly contact through e-mail or MSN? [1]	401	33	231
Are you of the same ethnic/racial/national group? [if any]?	1903	71	319
Do you have the same position in class scheme [if any]?	2163	77	192
Are you of the same religion [if any]?	1969	70	166
Do you share the same leisure activities or interests [if any]?	2478	92	309
Do you generally have the same political opinions?	1619	57	144
Do you expect no contact 5 years from now?	341	12	76

[1] Question only asked in Hillesluis and Blijdorp.

Table A.4 Future mobilization of network members, by alter

Would you ask [network member] in the following situations	Sum	%	Missing
Help find a (new) job?	494	43	212
Babysit?	315	62	864
Help find a (new) house?	576	44	48
Help with small tasks in and around the house?	709	53	23
Help when sick, e.g. with groceries?	652	48	23
Borrow tools or food?	800	59	23
Talk about personal issues?	906	67	23
Consider opinion about an important decision in life?	847	63	23

Note: Questions only asked in Hillesluis and Blijdorp.
N=1369

you feel particularly close?' and 'whom on this list did you visit in the last three months?' (more about the difference between interpreters 'by alter' and 'by question' follows below). Tables A.2 and A.3 show the items, prevalence and missing data.

Future mobilization

Finally, for each individual network member ('by alter'), respondents were asked whether they would ask this person for help with certain specific issues in the future: in case one was looking for a job or house, needing a babysitter, to talk about personal issues, or consider their opinion on important matters (see Table A.4 for items). The future events correspond with the name generators. This part of the survey was only carried out in Hillesluis and Blijdorp. The idea behind this way of questioning was to examine whether and to what extent network members would be asked for any kind of help or rather for specific ends—put differently, whether help from network members is goal-specific or general (Flap and Völker, 2001) and to explore any 'rules of relevance' (Paine, 1969) related to kinds of connections (see Chapter 4).

A.4 In-depth interviews

At the end of survey interviews, people were asked whether they would agree to do a follow-up interview and whether we could get in touch with them again. We then wrote down the name, address, telephone number and if possible an e-mail address. I started contacting people in January 2009. My aim was to conduct 30 in-depth interviews in total, 15 with Hillesluisians and 15 with Blijdorpers. Because I wanted to ask follow-up questions based on the survey, I did not contact any respondents from Cool, because of the long time (eight years) that had passed since the survey. Carrying out part of the survey again would have been too time-consuming (for approach and non-response, see Appendix B).

Initially, I selected people who had been helped finding their job or house, or who were asked to join or volunteered for a social or political association. I was interested to hear more about how that had happened. When I was halfway through the interviews, I also selected people of lower socioeconomic status, because I wanted to include both resource-rich and resource-poor people to gain insight into different life paths and variations in the formation of relationships.

The interviews were semi-structured and consisted of several open-ended questions, following a topic list. I started with asking about general information: did people change jobs or did the household composition change? I then asked several questions about—old and new—network members and neighbours:

- Network members who had helped with finding a job, house or volunteering: how did that happen, how did you meet this person, how and where do you keep in touch, (how) do you support each other?
- Trusted neighbours (mentioned in survey) and/or direct neighbours (if not mentioned in survey): (how) and where do you keep in touch, (how) do you support each other?
- Otherwise important network members (mentioned in survey, final name generator): how important, how did you meet, how and where do you keep in touch, (how) do you support each other?
- New network members: did you meet any new people in the last two years, have any network members become more important?

These questions mainly served as clarification of the information gained through the survey interview, and some additional information on whether and how networks had changed. I was particularly interested in how and in what settings people had met, and how and where they kept in touch. For network members living in the neighbourhood, I wondered whether people had met in the neighbourhood or through other settings, and in which ways the neighbourhood—or geographical proximity—matters for keeping in touch.

I asked how people had maintained contact over the years, because I was interested in how relationships developed from initial meeting onwards.

With regard to neighbours, I wondered which neighbours, if at all, people had reported as 'neighbours I particularly trust' and whether these differed from other, direct, neighbours. What was the role of these direct neighbours, and were people closer to neighbours they had reported as trusted neighbours, and why?

I also asked about perceived similarity and differences. For all or some of the discussed network members, I asked how people thought they were alike, and how they differed from each other. The starting point for this part of the interviews was to explore people's own narratives—'naturally occurring data'—and the extent to which people spontaneously talked about issues that play a major role in theoretical accounts of homophily, such as class, lifestyle and ethnicity (cf. Savage *et al.*, 2005a: 15-16).

Therefore, I left the initial question about similarity and difference completely open, as I wondered what aspects people themselves perceived as important or notable similarities and differences. This question is based on two theoretical ideas. First, the 'homophily principle' (see Chapters 3 and 7): what characteristics matter when we talk about and observe homophily in relationships? Second, the idea of 'interpersonal' versus 'intergroup' interaction (see Chapter 6 and Tajfel, 1982): when do people describe others based on group characteristics (age, ethnicity), and when do others become 'self-containing' entities and do people start talking about personal characteristics such as character and interests? After respondents gave their initial answers, I probed about differences and similarities in lifestyle or way of life, background, milieu and upbringing.

I also repeated the question from the survey about class: 'Sometimes people describe society in classes, such as working, middle or high. If I were to ask you to place yourself in such a scheme, how would you classify yourself?' People could answer: 'working class', 'middle class', higher class', 'other' or 'don't know'. I asked, for several network members, whether people thought that this person belonged to the same class, and why or why not. This question was included because regression analyses on the survey data showed no variation in network homophily based on perceived class position. I wondered what people meant when they said that others had the same or different class position, and how this might relate to their relationship and whether people are close to those in other classes or not. Finally, I asked about the density of the personal network: did people know each other? This data is not analysed for this study.

A.5 Measurement quality: reliability and validity

There are several 'yardsticks against which we judge our relative success or failure in measuring things' (Babbie, 2001: 140-145): the most important are reliability and validity. Reliability refers to whether a technique would repeatedly yield similar results, while validity refers to the extent to which a measure reflects what the concept is intended to measure. I discuss the extent to which the procedure for mapping personal networks are reliable and valid. Validity of the procedure is discussed in general and compared with two other procedures (resource and position generator) for mapping networks.

Reliability

Reliability is mainly about 'subjectivity' of the researcher(s) and about avoiding biases. In this study reliability is guarded through several procedures. First, interviewers were trained (see Appendix B) and instructed to change the question wording as little as possible to ensure as much as possible that all interviewees were asked the same questions in a similar way.

Second, the reliability of name generators has been demonstrated through test-retest procedures (see e.g. Marsden, 1990) through which researchers established that people mostly named the same network members when asked for a second time. Furthermore, by focusing on the exchange of support, the standards for inclusion and exclusion of ties are clearly defined, which makes it a more reliable procedure than, for example, asking about moments of interaction or affectivity (Milardo 1988: 27, in Marin and Hampton 2007: 167). Marin and Hampton (2007) further note that name generators focusing on exchanges are less likely to be interpreted differentially across respondents—provided that they avoid vague terms like 'discuss important matters'. Asking about specific events, such as help with finding a job or house, who asked or joined respondent with volunteering or taking up a function, and who asked or joined respondent with actions of political voice, fulfil the criteria of clearly defined standards for reporting people as network members.

Further, questions about support in the past were formulated in such a way as to avoid biases and socially desirable answering: instead of asking 'Who do you ask for...?', we asked 'Is there anyone you ask for...?' which leaves room for respondents to say that there is no-one they ask (Blokland, 2004). This may prevent over-reporting by interviewees seeking to look more popular or less lonely, as the question 'Who do you ask...?' may imply that everybody has someone to ask help from.

For the questions 'How did you find your job?' and 'How did you find your house?' interviewees were offered a card on which several options for answers were listed. Similarly, for listing their reasons for moving into the neighbourhood interviewees were offered a card with several items. Inter-

viewees were asked to select those reasons that applied to their situation and then list the reasons in order of importance, starting with the most important reason. The interviewers were instructed to help only when a respondent was not able to order the items by themself. This procedure was meant to avoid interviewees listing a broad range of very different reasons, which would be extremely difficult to compare and to order; it thus contributed to standardization and comparability of measurement.

Furthermore, the name generators ask respondents about things they are likely to know: they were asked about events concerning their personal and (often) daily life (compared with, for example, asking about estimations, attitudes and opinions). This increases the likelihood that a measure is reliable. Remembering about events, particularly when they happened a long time ago (e.g. if a person got their job 25 years ago) may nevertheless still be difficult. The thematic ordering of the survey and name generators may have helped the respondents recall people who have helped them, as the question relates to specific contexts. For example, interviewees were asked several general questions about their job and house before they were asked how they got their job or house. This may partly overcome the problem of biased memory. Furthermore, it can be expected that people would remember events that play a large role in their everyday lives. For example, people do not switch jobs every day, or become involved in politics or a parents' association constantly. The in-depth interviews prove that people are quite able to recall these events and talk about what happened in great detail.

Some questions are less reliable due to the nature of the topic. Questions about whether network members have a similar class position as the respondent may generate less reliable data, as some people were confused about this question. However, in this study, I do not use this data as an indication of the socioeconomic position of network members. The data furthermore did not prove useful for estimating network heterogeneity, as the variation in network composition by perceived class position is too small for analysis. This measure is used rather as an indication of perceived difference in characteristics (e.g. lifestyle) in Chapter 6.

Finally, several interviewers of the entered the questionnaires into a database using Microsoft Access software. With the Access database, it is possible to give instructions for each question, such as which values can be entered (e.g. 0=no, 1=yes), which leaves little room for interviewers to deviate from the format. I checked the accuracy of data-entry in the complete database at random and found only minor inaccurate entries.

Validity

A measure is valid when it adequately reflects the concept that is meant to measure (Babbie, 2001: 143)—in this case the survey aims to measure 'personal networks' and general access to resources. Whether a measure reflects a

concept of course depends on how that concept is operationalized (as Babbie (ibid.) notes, 'concepts don't have real meanings'). Put differently, you are likely to measure what you seek to measure. This alone, however, should not determine whether one is successful in measuring a concept: what is valid rather depends on the extent to which measures are based on 'agreements' among both scholars and the people who are the 'subject' of the research (Babbie, 2001: 143-144). I discuss to what extent the name generator method generates a valid measure of personal networks and the resources in the networks, compared with other methods.

Besides the name generator, there are two other popular methods for mapping personal ('ego') networks. A second way of measuring access to resources is through resource generators. The resource generator (van der Gaag and Snijders, 2005) measures whether one has access to a fixed list of resources, covering several domains of life, but without asking the names of network members; rather the ties are indicated by the type of connection (e.g. family, friends, acquaintances). Questions thus focus on whether people know anyone who might help them in hypothetical situations. An advantage of this procedure is that it can be administered quickly and that it may indicate the specific value of certain relationships for specific ends. For example, people are asked whether they know someone who is active in a political party, who can lend them a large sum of money, and who can give a job reference. Variations in access to these resources provide insight into network inequality.

A disadvantage may be that 'knowing' someone does not mean having access to this person's resources and that the resource generator concerns fictional situations. For example, in the *Survey on the Social Networks of the Dutch* (SSND), 'knowing someone' is defined as 'for it to be imaginable that when accidentally met on the street, the name of that person would be known, and a conversation could be started' (van der Gaag and Snijders, 2005: 11). It is however questionable whether this is sufficient contact for the exchange of resources (or, put differently, whether this kind of contact is an 'absent tie' rather than a weak tie, see Granovetter (1973: 1361 note)). Furthermore, people may overestimate the future mobilization of network members (because relationships might change; see e.g. Volker, 1999), and underestimate the extent to which people might gain access to resources through routine activities, thus without mobilizing people (see Chapter 4). The question thus is whether people would actually report distant acquaintances as people they know, and whether these network members provide access to resources. Name-generating questions as formulated in this questionnaire concern actually experienced situations, and thus capture also those network members who might otherwise not be reported, and provide a more realistic picture of actual access to resources.

A third way of measuring access to resources is through the position generator. This procedure presents respondents with a list of occupations and they

are asked to indicate whether they know anyone holding each of the occupations (see e.g. Lin and Dumin, 1986; Pinkster, 2008b). In this way it measures the extent to which people have (potential) access to higher (or lower) positions and thus to (more or less) valuable resource. For example, if one knows a lawyer this would indicate access to valuable resources more than when one knows a housekeeper—a person's job is a good indicator of that person's resources such as educational level, income and knowledge and skills (Erickson, 2004). A variation of this procedure to ask whether people know any people with a college degree, a steady or high-status job, or 'whites' (e.g. Huckfeldt, 1983; Blum, 1985; Rankin and Quane, 2000; Briggs, 2007; Small, 2007). An advantage of this procedure is that the measure is easy to construct and it requires little interview time (van der Gaag, 2005: 199). A drawback is that, while helpful for estimating resources (economic, cultural and symbolic capital) in one's network, this procedure is not useful for estimating network size (van der Gaag, 2005: 199) and for gaining insight in actually mobilized relationships. Furthermore, van der Gaag (ibid.) argues that this method is least independent from respondents' sociodemographic status, which makes it less useful for examining differences in networks among socioeconomic categories. Finally, the problem remains that respondents are asked about people they know, rather than people who can be shown to have been involved in helping.

A disadvantage of name generators is perhaps that mobilized resources say little about future access to resources. According to van der Gaag (2005: 16-17), measuring access to 'social capital' is useful, particularly for comparing the availability of resource among individuals or categories, while measuring the use of 'social capital' is more useful for assessing the context-specificities of mobilizing resources. As name generators ask about already mobilized network members, they thus may be less useful for measuring access to resources. However, the question is whether an estimation of potentially mobilizable resources in the future, as captured through resource and position generators, does a better job in capturing access to resources. All three procedures fall somewhat short in this regard, as I will argue below. For the purpose of this study, two aspects of the three measures are important to consider: what resources are measured and what defines access to resources.

First, to the extent that we would want to know about resources in people's networks, a detailed measure of specific resources provides valuable insights. For sure, the resource and position generators give more detailed insight. However, we may question whether knowing a lawyer is better than knowing a scientist (according to the 'prestige measures' of Sixma and Ultee (1992), a lawyer has higher prestige (86) than a scientist (65), see van der Gaag and Snijders (2003: 26)) and whether we need to distinguish in this detail when we are interested in variations in general resourcefulness of networks. Consider a low-educated person, he or she would probably benefit from knowing either

or lawyer or a scientist. If this person needs legal advice, knowing a lawyer is convenient, but a scientist could just as well help someone find a legal adviser or lawyer, and the scientist is probably more likely to know personally a lawyer and thus can act as a broker for the low-educated person and the lawyer. Furthermore, for indicating access to cultural, economic and symbolic capital, it does not matter that the lawyer is a lawyer and the scientist a scientist; what matters more is that network members with these occupations are both are higher educated, both know their way in bureaucratic organizations and educational systems, know computer and job application skills, and so on. Measuring network members with a high educational level may then be a good (enough) proxy.[3]

The same argument can be made for the resource generator. When it is about measuring access to educational, economic and symbolic capital, people who are active in a political party, who work at the town hall and who can give a good job reference (some items of the resource generator, see van der Gaag and Snijders (2005: 12)) are likely to be higher educated. For measuring general levels of network quality, not specifying occupations and resources may be justifiable.

Second, all three measures have shortcomings in terms of measuring access to resources. However, it is arguable that, in order to gain insight into actual access to general resources, it may be most accurate to measure mobilization of resources and rely on mobilized ties as indicators for future access to resources. Measuring actual help in the past may serve as an indication of both ability and willingness to help in the future—mobilized resources thus may prove a valid indicator of future access. Moreover, the collection of name generating questions in this survey seems to do a good job in measuring a variety of network members, including both strong and weak ties. In Chapter 4, I examined which ties best indicate access to resources, and I concluded that both weak and strong ties and various kinds of connections could provide and have provided access. For the purpose of the study, a more detailed analysis of what other factors and conditions play a role in the exchange of resources would be going further than necessary. What it does tell us, however, is that a sufficient measure of networks should include both strong and weak ties. Name generators may be more equipped to generate weak ties than position and resource generators.

Table A.5 shows, for each of the three procedures, the number of items that generate names or ties, and the percentage of the items for which weak ties were most mentioned and the percentage of items for which weak ties

---

3 Except perhaps if we want to learn more about goal specificity of ties and networks, but then we would also need to know whether the lawyer could be mobilized in other situations than the scientist; we would then need a combination of position and name generators.

Table A.5 Comparison of procedures for generating weak ties [1]	Position generator	Resource generator	Name generator
Number of items	30	30	18
Number of items that generated mostly weak ties	9	2	8
Number of items that generated >33% weak ties	18	5	9
Dataset	SSND '99-'00	SSND '99-'00	Own study
N (respondents)	999	1004	387

[1] Weak ties are acquaintances, work relations, neighbours, club associates and other ties, not being household members, family members or friends.

Source: SSND 1999-2000; Van der Gaag and Snijders, 2003: Tables 2 and 3.

made up more than 33 per cent of the total number of generated ties for that item. The position generator of the SSND has 30 items, and for nine items the reported network members are more often weak ties than strong ties: 18 per cent of the items generated at least 34 per cent of the weak ties. For example, 59 per cent of the estate agents whom respondents claimed to know are acquaintances (20 per cent are friends, 21 per cent are family members). Of the resource generator (also 30 items), only two items generated more weak ties than strong ties, and merely 5 per cent of the items generated at least 34 per cent weak ties. The name generators used for this study consists of 18 items, and for eight items generated names are weak ties more often than strong ties.[4]

Half of the items generated at least 34 per cent weak ties. This suggests that the name generator yields a wider and more varied network than the two other generators. In any case, the name generator does not seem to do worse on this aspect. Perhaps, because 'knowing' someone remains rather broad in the resource and position generator, respondents tend to include more strong ties because they are not sure that they know people well enough to name them. Particularly the resource generator is about access and whether people would mobilize resources—they thus likely limit their choice to stronger ties from whom they know they would receive help, and not mention weaker ties. The collection of name generators thus may better ensure content validity. Content validity (Babbie, 2001: 144) refers to the range of meanings included within a concept. As access to resources happens through both strong and weak ties, the capturing of both of these ties demonstrates the value of including more rather than fewer specific name-generating questions regarding a number of topics.

General limits of mapping networks

In this study, the aim is to analyse variations between respondent categories. However, people vary in the extent to which they include known others

---

4   The name generators of the SSND generated 46 per cent strong ties (van der Gaag, 2005: 188); the name generators in the current study generated 49 per cent strong ties. This suggests that the two studies do not differ much in generating strong or weak ties.

as network members. Not only may some network members be forgotten (not just distant ties but also partners and household members); but more generally the 'criteria for inclusion' differ among people: which network members are regarded as important or noteworthy enough to be reported (see Spencer and Pahl, 2006: 77ff). This question is also important in more formal network analysis (see e.g. Marsden, 1990; Feld and Carter, 2002; Marin, 2004; van der Gaag, 2005). As I read it, Spencer and Pahl's observation is slightly different though, as formal network analysts are concerned with capturing those ties that they want to examine (e.g. not just close ties) and eliminate variations as much as possible, while Spencer and Pahl are concerned with understanding these variations for understanding variations in size and composition of personal networks. Spencer and Pahl (2006) asked about network members who were somehow 'important', so their method is not comparable with name generators and their question leaves more room for variation because 'importance' will be interpreted differently (see Bearman and Parigi, 2004). To some extent my study circumvents this variation in criteria for inclusion, because people were offered name-generating questions that asked about specific events. On the other hand, people could still choose not to mention someone or not to acknowledge help from a particular person. This is particularly problematic when these variations are associated with socioeconomic status (see Chapter 4, and Allan, 1977). However, for the purpose of this study this may be less problematic, as I compare people with comparable positions living in different neighbourhoods. If people in poor neighbourhoods are less inclined to report network members, this would have been reflected in network size or composition. Furthermore, variations in criteria for inclusion might be insightful for understanding differences in networks; in Chapter 4 I address this issue. Nevertheless, many questions of how the formation of networks differ among people of different socioeconomic categories and how this reflects in their mapped networks, remain open (see Section 9.4 Question for further research).

A second general limitation of network analysis, regarding all procedures of network mapping, is that generators map personal networks at one moment in time (to the extent that they are not repeated). In the 'early days' of social network analysis, its strength was found in the focus on flows and processes, as countering the more traditional approaches of analysis of categories or groups (see e.g. Craven and Wellman, 1973; Whitten and Wolfe, 1974). The advancement of SNA thus was not just methodological but also conceptual, as it offers a counterbalance in the structure-agency debate: the focus on interaction and exchange would better fit and explain social phenomena than would a focus on 'inert individuals' (Whitten and Wolfe, 1974: 719) or 'abstract and reified' classifications (Craven and Wellman, 1973: 58). Nonetheless, despite its aim to gain insight into processes and flows, methodologically SNA can be rather 'static' (Marsden, 1990: 437) as network analysis most

often provides 'a snapshot depiction of ties "frozen" at the moment of investigation' (Craven and Wellman, 1973: 63).

The present survey is also vulnerable to this problem: it was carried out at one point in time and inquired mostly about support that had taken place at one point in time. In this way the survey was somewhat inflexible because of its lack of questions on how support ties had developed and will (probably) develop over time. We cannot tell whether network members will provide access to resources in the future. As I have argued above, name generators are perhaps most likely to map a network of ties that may prove useful in the future, because the ties have offered access to resources in the past. Nevertheless, relationships that are useful and resourceful now may not have been possible to mobilize in the past, as relationships form and break (for a Dutch study on changing networks, see Mollenhorst (2009: Chapter 6)). The question of repeated support in the past and in the future is particularly relevant for 'weak' ties as they may be most likely to break (in his study on the networks of bankers in a large organization, Burt (2002) found that within one year, nine out of ten weak ties did not survive). The questions might also underestimate the extent to which people have potential access through resource-richer acquaintances or friends who just happen never to have given some form of support before. This might hold particularly for setting-specific relationships. How networks change is important for understanding differences in network form and quality, and we need to gain more insight into network change. In that respect, the purpose of this study can only be modest. As a cross-sectional comparison of respondent categories across neighbourhoods, the data serves the purposes of the study.

Validity of specific questions

Finally, the survey contains several potentially difficult or vague operationalizations regarding crucial characteristics of network members; type of connection, class position and ethnicity.

Scholars have long been trying to establish what characterizes a particular type of relationship, such as 'friendship' or 'neighbours' (see Chapter 4 for a more theoretical discussion). Although it is generally understood that friendships and neighbouring (and other types of relationships) can have several meanings and manifestations, it can be said that a measurement of type of relationships satisfies at least face validity. Face validity refers to whether measures concur with common agreements. People usually have a (stereo)typical image of what a 'friend' or a 'neighbour' is, which may play a role in how people talk about their friends and neighbours. This is suggested by social-psychological research on 'relationship scripts' (Holmberg and Mac-Kenzie, 2002: 778) which shows that scripts on how relationships normally (should) develop play a role in how people value their actual relationship. Elaborating on this idea, it can be expected that when people talk about their

relationships with others they do so according to several normative relationship scripts. A question of the type of relationship is thus likely to concur with common agreements on what friends, family, colleagues et cetera are (and if neighbours have become friends then people will likely categorize this person as a friend rather than a neighbour)—for instance, generally friendships are relatively more intense relationships than neighbour-ties and generally more forms of support are exchanged through friendships than through neighbouring. However, it is important to keep in mind that the typification of a relationship was directed by several answer categories and might in reality not be that straightforward (this is one of the questions addressed in Chapter 4).

The degree of face validity may be less clear for questions on ethnicity and especially class. First of all, both ethnic and class categories are neither given nor objective categories but constructed categories, initially based on academic categorizations which have been taken up by non-academics. So it is only possible to determine whether people do or do not have a grasp of how to interpret a constructed category. It is likely that people grasp the general idea of the category 'ethnicity' because it has become a much talked-of topic in politics as well as in a broad range of media. Talking about *allochtonen* and *autochtonen* in the Netherlands has become so frequent and normal that it is highly unlikely that someone would not have at least an idea of what *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* generally refer to. Nevertheless, people varied in their response to the question of whether their network members were allochtoon or autochtoon: some answered immediately, while others reflected more and had doubts, for example, in the case that someone clearly had immigrant parents but was him/herself born in the Netherlands.[5]

Class, on the other hand, is a concept that is less frequently used in political or public debates in the Netherlands. Rather, it is more common to talk about 'low/middle/high income groups' or 'underprivileged' (*kansarm*) and 'privileged' (*kansrijk*) groups. However, we may expect that people have an idea of their class position relative to other positions in a class scheme. On the other hand, measures of the educational level of ties (whether network members have had education after secondary school) and residential location can be said to be more 'objective' measures, as interviewees are more accurate about observable features than about attitudes (Marsden, 1990: 451).

The questions on ethnicity and class are used only to indicate perceived differences in relationships (Chapter 6). For a measure of the socioeconomic position of network members, the question of whether network members

---

5 I did not systemically note which interviewees doubted for what reasons, but I think this is important to mention because it may give an idea of the variation in people's interpretation and answers to questions and to avoid the impression that this question was straightforwardly answered by all interviewees. An investigation into the way in which people perceive the ethnicity of the people with whom they socialize would be worthwhile.

have had tertiary education (question wording: 'education after high school') is used. This is a more straightforward and less normative question than ethnicity and class position, and measures more directly network members' resources (particularly cultural capital, which is in turn strongly related to economic and symbolic capital).

A.6 Generalization

There are several ways to generalize study findings: through induction and through abduction (Schuyt, 1995: 83-88; Aliseda, 2006). Both induction and abduction reason from specific to general, but in different ways. Induction generalizes from specific observations to general observations, while abduction generalizes from specific observations to a general rule (Schuyt, 1995: 85). Induction thus makes a prediction for further observations and need not be based on theory, while abduction relies on theory to construct explanations (Aliseda, 2006: 35). Through abduction, we reason that a specific observation is a special case of a general rule. In this way, generalization through abduction says something about the characteristics of the observation rather than about the prevalence of the specific observation in the wider population (Schuyt, 1995: 86).

According to Schuyt (1995: 86-87), social science too often offers only inductive generalization, while 'it is more important to know *how* exactly various characteristics are associated and how and why these characteristics often go together, than to know for *how many* members of a class a non- or under-examined characteristic holds true' (emphasis in original). This is what the current study aims to do: to give insight into *how* spatial segregation and the formation of personal networks are connected. The study aims to give insight into the various factors (describe in various strands of literature) that may play a role in materializing this connection. The goal is to develop a theoretical argument about the various characteristics of spatial segregation and personal networks, and draw together different ideas about this link in order to come to a more complete understanding of how spatial segregation reproduces inequality, or not.

That neighbourhood effects in the Netherlands are negligible or nonexistent has been demonstrated and argued before. So why study the 'effects' of spatial segregation? Theoretically and practically it is valuable to know why these effects do not appear. Theoretically, because we learn more about the role of the neighbourhood and geographical proximity for the formation of networks in people's everyday lives, and the mechanisms through which inequality may or may not be reproduced. Practically, because a deeper investigation into the relative role of the neighbourhood may illuminate more urgent problems and perhaps ways to programme (neighbourhood) settings

in such a way that they better cater to the needs of people—inside and outside their neighbourhood. Studying how spatial segregation and personal networks are linked thus provides valuable insight even when 'neighbourhood effects' fail to occur.

Empirical generalization was not the aim of the study, but the study does provide insight into the personal networks of segments of people living in the three research areas. The survey includes different segments of the urban population, focusing on the resource-poor in a poor and mixed neighbourhood, and the resource-rich in an affluent and mixed neighbourhood. In this way, the survey does not intend to generalize to the three neighbourhood populations, let alone to a broader urban population, although segments of the urban population are represented in the survey. I have distinguished and compared different categories of respondents, and findings may be generalizable to other people living in similar kinds of neighbourhoods (in Western cities) and occupying a similar position in (Western) society. Moderatum generalization (Payne and Williams, 2005: 306) thus may be possible: other studies will likely find similar basic patterns and tendencies, but the findings will not be identical because the details of these patterns are contingent on the social processes in which they are embedded. Empirical generalization is further limited to the current period, as we know that the role of the neighbourhood has changed considerably. This means that establishing that spatial segregation has no direct 'effect' on personal networks now, does not mean that it will not have an effect in the future. If spatial segregation, or segregation in other domains of life, or inequality in general, increases, the role of the neighbourhood and its composition for the formation of personal networks and boundary-crossing ties may change.

Appendix B # Fieldwork
Sampling, organization and non-response

B.1 Sampling and approach to respondents

The data on 210 people living in Cool were gathered by Talja Blokland and a team of students, in May-June 2001. Respondents were selected through systematic sampling (Babbie, 2001: 197-200). All households in Cool received an introduction letter, while respondents were selected by ringing the bell of every third door. Interviews were carried out on the spot or during an appointment at a later point in time. If people were not at home, interviewers returned twice or tried to contact them by telephone. If the residents could not be reached, interviewers moved on to the next door.

Together with a team of ten students, I carried out the surveys in Hillesluis and Blijdorp in March-April 2007. Respondents for the Hillesluis survey were initially selected through simple random sampling. I sent introduction letters to 404 randomly selected addresses. Among these addresses, respondents were approached by ringing doorbells. In case of absence, we tried to return to the same house at different times, a maximum of two times. We also tried to reach people by telephone, but found that very few addresses were in the phonebook. The original sample was complemented by another 116 addresses through selecting the dwellings three doors to the left of the people who had refused (those residents had not received an introduction letter). Near completion of the survey, I modified the sampling design and selected respondents through stratified sampling (Babbie, 2001: 201-202) to ensure an even number of people of native Dutch and non-Western origin, to be able to compare these two categories. Therefore, the sample for Hillesluis includes a greater proportion of people of Dutch origin compared with the neighbourhood population. Furthermore, surveys usually fail to include people living in extreme poverty or who are extremely isolated. Even though we initially sampled addresses randomly, the sample may not be representative on this point. We interviewed 104 people in Hillesluis. Two interviews were carried out in Turkish by a Turkish-speaking interviewer. (See below for response rate.)

Respondents for the Blijdorp survey were selected through systematic sampling. I divided the total number of dwellings by the number of respondents I needed for the sample (400, assuming a response rate of 25 per cent) which resulted in selecting every seventh dwelling for sending an introduction letter. The eventual sample consisted of 367 addresses. We then carried on with the same procedure as in Hillesluis. People who were not at home were approached twice or by telephone (more addresses could be found in the phonebook so a number of interviews were planned by telephone). We interviewed 100 people in Blijdorp.

Because the structure of the questionnaire is rather complicated, we carried out face-to-face interviews. Interviews lasted between 40 minutes and two-and-a-half hours; most interviews lasted around one or one-and-a-half

hours. Interviews were carried out right away or at a later point in time, all but one (in Hillesluis) in people's homes. Before the interview started, we explained that we would ask about specific people that the respondent knows and had received help from, and that we would ask their first names. We also explained that these names would not be entered into the computer but would only be written down for the moment because we would ask some follow-up questions later in the interview and that by writing down the names it would be easiest to remember who is who. We encountered no absolute refusal for reporting network members, although some people preferred (even after ensuring anonymity) to describe network members in another (recognizable) way instead of giving their first name (e.g. 'brother', 'best friend', or initials).

After the interviews we asked whether we could approach respondents again for a follow-up interview. Of the 104 Hillesluisians, 59 agreed to our request; of the 100 Blijdorpers, 74 did. Excluding students, people who had moved to another neighbourhood, foreign-speaking people and one missing address, I had 122 potential respondents. I started approaching these respondents again in January 2009. I started in Hillesluis, sending 15 potential respondents a letter with some results from the survey and a request for a second interview, I then rang their doorbells and tried to make an appointment. I then selected 15 potential respondents in Blijdorp, sent each of them a letter and went to their house. I selected 15 potential respondents again in Hillesluis, and so on. During January–April 2009, I carried out 30 in-depth interviews with 15 Hillesluisians and 15 Blijdorpers (see Section B.4 for non-response).

B.2 Recruitment, training and supervision of interviewers

Initially we hoped to find Sociology students of the Erasmus University Rotterdam who would help out with the survey and write their Master's thesis based on the data. Not enough students applied for this; eventually one Master's student (Marieke de Kogel) wrote her thesis based on the Cool, Hillesluis and Blijdorp data. Talja Blokland distributed a job advertisement among Sociology students (Faculty of Social Science) and I asked Richard Staring (senior lecturer at the Criminology department) to distribute (online) the advertisement among Criminology students (Faculty of Law). In the advertisement I asked for Bachelor 3 and Master's students in Sociology, Criminology and Psychology. About 15 responded, some of whom sent me an application letter; others came to the introduction meeting.

During the introduction meeting in February 2007, Talja Blokland and I explained what the study was about and what the interviewing would involve.

Next, all students who were still interested participated in a training session lasting 3 hours. During this training, we went through the questionnaire and the students practised the questionnaire in teams of three (by turns in the role of interviewer, respondent and observer). In advance, I had urged them to practice the questionnaire at home with friends or family members and assigned them parts of the *Handbook Surveys and Structured Interviews* (Baarda *et al.*, 2000) to read. Initially, I started interviewing with eight students; later on, one former student and a Turkish-speaking student joined us.

To ensure the quality of the interviews, after the first interview conducted by each student, we went through the questionnaire together and I asked them about the interview in general and difficulties in particular. After the first week of interviewing, we gathered to share, discuss and evaluate interviewing experiences, in particular how to deal with difficulties. Between the fieldwork in Hillesluis and Blijdorp there was a second evaluation meeting, during which we also discussed how to best organize the survey in Blijdorp. During the interview period I checked questionnaires sample-wise and regularly asked students about their experiences. Students were paid for each completed interview.

B.3 Organization of survey

We interviewed during the day and at night, on weekdays and on the weekends. Interviewers were provided with a list of addresses to complete in order to register where they had rung the doorbell with success, who refused and who was not at home (so we could return later). Every day I updated the address lists so we knew where we had already been and where to return. At a later point, I provided 'appointment cards', because we discovered that people were not always home when we returned for an appointment. When we made an appointment, we wrote down the date and time, and gave my name and telephone number to the future respondent, so he or she could telephone in case the interview could not go ahead. We also asked for respondents' names and telephone numbers so we could call them in case this was necessary— this way we hoped that respondents would be less inclined to fail to show up for an interview.

B.4 Non-response

Interviewers were provided with response forms, to be filled out for every address we visited. On the form, interviewers could indicate whether people were not at home or did not answer the door, whether they had made an appointment or carried out the interviews, or whether people refused to collab-

Table B1.1 Response rate and nonresponse

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp
Initial sample	520	2098	367
Approached (door/phone; net sample)	421	700	367
Response net sample (percentages)			
Interviews	25		27
Refusals	31		31
Not at home	32		33
Made appointment, not at home	11		10
Does not speak Dutch	4		0
Total	100		100
Reason of refusal (percentages)			
- not interested in the study	33		35
- negative attitude towards university	1		1
- negative attitude towards social science in general	0		0
- never has time	23		19
- does not know anything about the neighbourhood	0		0
- does not want to be bothered unasked for	2		4
- other reasons	21		24
- don't know reason	20		17
Total	100		100
Number of refusals	132		115

Table B1.2 Response rate and nonresponse for follow-up intervieuws

	Hillesluis	Blijdorp
Potential respondents	52	70
Approached by letter	40	33
- Interviewed	15	15
- Moved	9	5
- Refused	3	1
- Not at home	6	3
- Not approached	7	8
Response rate	38%	46%

orate. Students had to explain that they were from the Erasmus University Rotterdam (and carry their ID and student pas with them), and refer to the introduction letter. If people had no time to do the interview right away, we tried to make an appointment.

If people refused, we asked whether we could interview a household member. If that was also not possible, we asked for the reason of refusal (see below). Furthermore, we filled out information about those people who answered the door, such as their ethnic background ('clearly Dutch' or 'clearly non-Dutch'), whether they spoke Dutch or another language (so we could perhaps send a foreign-speaking interviewer), gender, age category and other remarkable information.

In Cool, approximately 700 households were initially approached for an interview and 210 of them were interviewed (response rate of 30 per cent). In Hillesluis, initially 404 addresses received an introduction letter, later 116 more addresses were added. Of these 520 addresses, we never visited 109 (5 had no doorbell, 6 were not residential premises); the net sample thus consisted of 421 addresses. We carried out 104 interviews, which is a response rate of 25 per cent. In Blijdorp, initially 313 addresses were included in the sample; another 54 were added later. We carried out 100 interviews, which is a response rate of 27 per cent. Table B.1 shows the reasons for non-response and refusals. The people who refused to cooperate did not deviate significantly from the neighbourhood population and sample for characteristics such as gender, ethnic origin and age.

I approached potential respondents for follow-up, in-depth interviews from January 2009 on. Table B.2 shows the non-response and response rates for the in-depth interviews for Hillesluis and Blijdorp.

Appendix C # Key features of respon- dents of in-depth inter- views

Table C1.1 Key features of respondents of in-dept interviews in Hillesluis

Fictitious name	Year of birth	Marital status, children at home	Educational level	Job status/(former) occupation	Ethnic origin	Years in neigh- bourhood
Kareem	1970	Married, 3	Secondary	Environment inspector	Moroccan	11-20
Kristel	1977	Married, 2	Secondary	Homecare worker	Dutch	11-20
Murat	1973	Married, 1	Medium vocational	Administrative	Turkish	21-30
Claudia	1962	Married, 1	Secondary	Childcare	Dutch	21-30
Madu	1978	Co-habiting, 1	High vocational	Creative therapist	Indonesian	0-2
Anita	1950	Married, 2	Secondary	Management assistant	Dutch	31-40
Jeffrey	1975	Single, 1	Secondary	Refuse collection	Surinam	11-20
Wibbe	1960	Single, 1	Low vocational	Building inspector (self-employed)	Dutch	41-50
Hafida	1973	Co-habiting, 2	High vocational	Nurse	Moroccan	11-20
Cor	1929	Single	Secondary	RE (expedition)	Dutch	51+
Umaima	1969	Single, 2	Low vocational	UN (administrative)	Pakistan	31-40
Hendrik	1949	Single	Academic	UN (teacher, doorkeeper)	Dutch	11-20
Rosita	1959	Single	Low vocational	UN (administrative)	Antillean	11-20
Riet	1946	Married	Secondary	RE (shop assistant)	Dutch	31-50
Maureen	1971	Single, 6	Primary	UN (cleaning)	Antillean	11-20

UN=unemployed; RE=retired.

Table C1.2 Key features of respondents of in-dept interviews in Blijdorp

Fictitious name	Year of birth	Marital status, children at home	Educational level	Job status/(former) occupation	Ethnic origin	Years in neigh- bourhood
Carlo	1971	Married, 1	High vocational	Information management	Italian	6-10
Cees	1947	Married, 1	Academic	Trade and pension fund (self-employed)	Dutch	11-20
Willem	1963	Married, 2	Academic	Minister church	Dutch	11-20
Mirjam	1974	Married, 2	Secondary	Housewife	Dutch	31-40
Jannie	1950	Single	Low vocational	UN (dry cleaning)	Dutch	21-30
Vivien	1958	Married, 1	Academic	GP	French	11-20
Els	1969	Co-habiting	High vocational	Social worker	Dutch	3-5
Daniel	1965	Single	High vocational	ICT manager	Dutch	11-20
Petra	1977	Married	Academic	Legal council	Dutch	3-5
Maarten	1977	Married	Academic	Policy advisor	Dutch	3-5
Liesbeth	1973	Co-habiting, 3	Academic	Coach communication skills (self-employed)	Dutch	6-10
Stefan	1968	Co-habiting	Academic	Consultant	Dutch	11-20
Bernadette	1957	Co-habiting	High vocational	Middle management	Dutch	31-50
Ruth	1947	Married	High vocational	RE (teacher, childcare)	Polish	11-20
Dominique	1970	Single	High vocational	Contract settler	Dutch	11-20

UN=unemployed; RE=retired.

Appendix D Descriptive statistics for personal networks

(appendix to Section 2.3)

Table D1.1 Name-generating questions and descriptive statistics

Name generators	Network members			Respondents			
	Sum	Mean	S.D	Range	Mean	S.D	% resp.
Help to get job	83	0.03	0.16	0-3	0.22	0.46	20
Babysit unexpectedly [1]	41	0.03	0.17	0-2	0.20	0.47	17
Asked to volunteer at school	13	0.00	0.07	0-5	0.03	0.30	2
Help to get house	78	0.03	0.16	0-1	0.21	0.41	21
Is there a neighbour you trust?	496	0.17	0.37	0-6	1.30	1.44	62
Volunteer together or asked	101	0.03	0.18	0-11	0.20	0.91	11
Urged to vote nationally	7	0.00	0.05	0-1	0.02	0.13	2
Urged to vote locally	10	0.00	0.06	0-2	0.03	0.18	2
Asked to work on campaign	17	0.01	0.08	0-2	0.04	0.22	4
Political voice together or asked	92	0.03	0.17	0-7	0.25	0.73	17
Help with small tasks in house	377	0.13	0.33	0-11	0.99	1.43	51
Help when sick [1]	119	0.08	0.27	0-4	0.61	0.76	46
Borrow groceries/tools [1]	76	0.05	0.22	0-5	0.39	0.72	29
Talk about politics	394	0.13	0.34	0-8	1.03	1.36	54
Talk about personal matters	690	0.23	0.42	0-14	1.81	1.84	77
Consider opinion for decision	559	0.19	0.39	0-12	1.46	1.46	75
Otherwise important person	850	0.28	0.45	0-15	2.23	2.63	70
Total ties	**2990**			0-28	7.81	4.43	

[1] Question only asked in Blijdorp and Hillesluis survey. Questions about babysitting and volunteering at school only asked to parents (involves volunteering at children's school).

Table D1.2 Name-generating questions and descriptive statistics

	Hillesluis	Cool	Blijdorp	All
Total network (number)	4.35	7.14	7.35	6.49
S.D.	2.73	4.46	3.70	4.07
Range	1-17	1-28	1-18	1-28
Type of connections (number)				
Family members	2.09	2.25	2.59	2.30
Friends	0.98	2.92	3.33	2.53
Colleagues	0.13	0.42	0.32	0.32
Club members	0.18	0.25	0.03	0.17
Acquaintances	0.43	0.51	0.33	0.44
Neighbours	0.42	0.62	0.55	0.55
Other ties	0.13	0.19	0.19	0.17

Note: Household members and "trusted neighbours" excluded (see text Chapter 2.3).

Table D.3 Mean size of personal network and number of connections, by occupational category

	Never worked	Low-skilled job	Medium-skilled job	High-skilled job
Total network (number)	4.15	4.75	7.12	8.25
S.D.	2.25	2.50	4.92	4.17
Range	1-12	1-17	1-24	1-28
Type of connections (number)				
Family members	1.85	2.02	2.63	2.39
Friends	0.91	1.12	2.80	4.11
Colleagues	0.03	0.31	0.24	0.48
Club members	0.12	0.06	0.27	0.21
Acquaintances	0.06	0.41	0.57	0.46
Neighbours	1.00	0.71	0.41	0.40
Other ties	0.18	0.13	0.21	0.19

Notes: Household members and 'trusted neighbours' excluded (see text Section 2.3).

Summary[1]

Unequal networks
Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city

Gwen van Eijk

1 Introduction

This study connects the idea that 'place matters' and the idea that 'relationships matter'. The central question in this study is whether and how spatial segregation of resource-poor and resource-rich people reproduces the formation of unequal networks. Following relational sociologists Tilly (1998, 2004, 2005) and Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1992), my starting point for answering this question is the idea that resources such as income, influence and information, are exchanged through relations, among which personal relationships such as with friends, family members, colleagues, club members and neighbours. Through socioeconomically bounded networks—socioeconomically homogeneous networks—, resources are exchanged among resource-rich people rather than between resource-rich and resource-poor people. Through exclusive networks, resources thus are not evenly distributed or equally accessible, and in this way, personal networks reproduce inequality in valuable resources. Ultimately, unequal networks reproduce inequality.

Within this theoretical framework, my focus is on urban studies and debates on spatial segregation, networks and relationships. While it is generally assumed that patterns of spatial segregation are the manifestation of socioeconomic inequality, the reversed link is much debated. The question remains: to what extent does spatial segregation reproduce or exacerbate inequality? One way through which this may happen is through the formation of personal networks and inequality in the resourcefulness of networks. To what extent and how does living in a poor neighbourhood contribute to the formation of resource-poorer networks? Does living in a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood stimulate the formation of ties across socioeconomic boundaries, and thus the exchange of resources? Does living in an affluent neighbourhood benefit its, already wealthy, residents? These questions are central in this study. The key question is:

To what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks? And, the other way around, to what extent and how does spatial integration reduce the formation of unequal networks?

---

1   The paragraph numbers in this summary follow the chapter numbering of the book.

My interest is in the first place in the formation of personal networks. The formation of networks is often assumed by urban scholars, rather than empirically and theoretically examined. Furthermore, this study focuses on both the resource-poor and the resource-rich, living in different neighbourhoods, in order to gain more insight into how networks form unequally and how differently composed neighbourhoods matter. If neighbourhoods have a role in shaping networks, it makes sense to simultaneously study effects of concentrated affluence. Different strands of literature have addressed the question of poverty and affluence concentration, and mixed neighbourhoods; in essence, these studies focus on the same question: how spatial segregation is related to segregation of socioeconomic categories. This study brings together these literatures.

2 Data

The study is based on intensive quantitative and qualitative data on the personal networks of 382 people living in three different neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, the second largest city of the Netherlands (the methodology is briefly explained in the Introduction and Chapter 2 and elaborated in Appendix A). Of 382 people, the personal networks were mapped (through name generators) to gain insight into the size, composition and quality of networks, and mobilized resources. Thirty follow-up in-depth interviews gathered data on how relationships had formed and were maintained, access to resources (e.g. getting a job, political involvement) and about perceptions of difference in personal relationships.

3 Connecting places and networks: four aspects of relationship formation

Based on Claude Fischer's (1977, 1982) choice-constraint model, I theoretically examine how personal relationships are formed and how we can understand the role of the neighbourhood. Fischer's choice-constraint model claims, in brief, that people choose to socialize with others—usually others who are in some respect similar to themselves—but that the contexts in which people live their everyday lives structure the opportunity to meet certain others. I identify four aspects that (jointly) shape the formation of how relationships: (1) meeting opportunities ('context'); (2) social identification ('choice'); (3) the meaning attributed to context—or the intertwining of context and social identification; and (4) the meaning of relationships—the so-called rules of relevancy that shape expectations and exchanges within relationships.

In terms of meeting opportunities, the neighbourhood is a collection of set-

tings rather than a setting in its entirety. Settings such as the local school, clubs and neighbourhood associations, as well as the micro-neighbourhood of adjacent fellow-residents are 'foci of activity' (Feld, 1981, 1998) that draw together selections of people and thus 'structure' interaction between people. For understanding the role of the neighbourhood in the formation of relationships and networks, we need to understand whether and how people participate in various settings and whether they form new ties or rather maintain old ties in these settings.

With respect to the aspect of 'choice', I address the question of how people assess that other are like them or not. The tendency for people to socialize with others who are in some way like them—e.g. for socioeconomic status, ethnic origin, gender, age, life-course stage (the homophily principle, Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; McPherson *et al.*, 2001)—is not just a matter of individual preferences but involves processes of categorization and social identification (de Swaan, 1997; Jenkins, 2000; Blokland, 2003). Differences inferred from sociodemographics may not necessarily play a role in whether people perceive similarity and dissimilarity, and, the other way around. Furthermore, perceptions of differences and boundaries are often 'borrowed' (Tilly, 2004) from boundaries formed in other settings and institutional arrangements. This means that 'context' comes into play when we want to understand identifications.

The third aspect of relationships formation refers to the meaning of the setting: processes of categorization, identification and boundary making occur in relation to the setting in which interaction takes place (cf. Fuhse, 2009). People attribute meaning to settings and the people in these settings and this means that compositional differences in settings' populations are not just statistical differences. The socioeconomic and ethnic composition may become 'social markers' for the status of the neighbourhood. The status of a neighbourhood may affect the formation of locality-based ties: when people feel uncomfortable with the presence of others they may withdraw from socializing with their fellow-residents. On the other hand, for some the neighbourhoods' diversity and its 'urbanness' will be an asset and attract particular kinds of people.

The fourth aspect of the formation of relationships is the 'meaning' of relationships itself and this is, I suggest, related to the setting in which relationships are formed. If we see relationships as a continuous exchange of joint events (Emerson, 1976), it is possible to theorize how 'rules of relevancy' (Paine, 1969; Allan, 1998: 75) emerge. Rules of relevancy refer to the boundaries of what is expected and acceptable in a relationship. This means that not all relationships are useful or important for access to resources. Furthermore, the formation of relationships and its rules may be shaped by the setting in which relationships initially form. For example, the setting of the micro-neighbourhood generates a particular kind of connection—that between fel-

low-residents—but it also generates a particular kind of relationship: neighbouring, which involves balancing proximity and privacy.

The four aspects of the formation of relationships jointly shape relationships. What is important is that the setting plays a role in various ways: not just as a statistical fact but also through offering a frame of reference for categorizing others and through co-shaping rules of relevancy. Based on this understanding, I identify three ways in which neighbourhood composition may matter for the formation of relationships and networks. First, through structuring meeting opportunities (this question is worked out in Chapter 5); second, through the meaning that people attribute to neighbourhood composition (Chapter 6); and third, through whether a choice for a particular neighbourhood composition indicates a tendency to form certain kinds of relationships (Chapter 7).

4 Access to resources: what kind of relationships act as 'brokers'?

Chapter 4 addresses a question of more conceptual and methodological nature: what are resourceful networks and what kinds of relationships make possible the exchange of resources? Following ideas developed in social capital theory, a resource-rich network consists of (1) a network of people, plus (2) access to (3) resources (cf. Foley and Edwards, 1999; van der Gaag and Snijders, 2003). The aspect of 'network' is operationalized through measuring network size, and the aspect of 'resources' is operationalized through measuring the presence and number of higher educated network members (those with tertiary education). This chapter focuses particularly on the aspect of 'access' and challenges the idea that 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973) are particularly or only valuable. I argue that there is no reason to rule out strong ties as bridging ties. Burt's (1992, 2000) concept of 'brokerage' is more clear and useful for understanding access to resources: brokers are people who connect different networks and having brokers in one's personal network—whether strongly or weakly related—is potentially beneficial in terms of accessing new and valuable resources. The network data in the survey confirms this.

I further explore the possibility that both sociable (intimate) and setting-specific (non-intimate but perhaps more frequently maintained) relationships can act as brokers and can thus be 'useful' connections. I suggest that the types of connections—indicated by labels such as 'friends', 'colleagues' and so on—are poor indicators of what may be and is exchanged through relationships. Brokers may provide access to resources in two ways: through the exchange of resources embedded in routine activities connected to specific settings, and through making an effort to help someone, which is related to the 'closeness' of relationships. When a personal relationship is neither

embedded in a setting nor intimate, exchange of resources is difficult and less likely to happen. In both cases, the exchange of resources is a by-product of relationships maintained for other purposes (cf. Coleman, 1988). I conclude that it makes little sense, empirically and theoretically, to operationalize weak or strong ties or particular kinds of connections exclusively as indicating access to resources. Therefore, the analyses focus on resource-rich network members (those with tertiary education).

5 Sociospatial isolation and network poverty

Chapters 5 to 7 take up three ways in which spatial segregation may affect the (unequal) formation of personal networks. Chapter 5 addresses how neighbourhood composition matters through structuring meeting opportunities. This is one way in which 'neighbourhood effects' may arise: living in a poor neighbourhood might be disadvantageous for the quality of personal networks because resource-poor people living in these areas have fewer opportunities to meet and form relationships with resource-rich people, compared with resource-poor people living in socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods. Based on the work of Wilson (1987, 1996) on 'social isolation', I tease out several conditions under which 'neighbourhood effects' on networks might occur. The first is that the level of spatial segregation is severe enough to affect people's networks; the second is that personal networks are formed in neighbourhood settings. Logically, the neighbourhood composition can only have an impact on personal networks when these are formed with fellow-residents. This is an important variable to include even more so because we know that network localness—or geographical dispersal—is associated with socioeconomic status (Wellman, 1979, 1979; Fischer, 1982; Logan and Spitze, 1994; Mulder and Kalmijn, 2004). We thus need to include a measure of network localness in the analysis, as well as distinguish local ties (including friends and family members living in the neighbourhood) from locality-based ties (ties with fellow-residents that are formed in settings in the neighbourhood).

Based on analyses on network localness and the number of higher educated network members, I conclude that living in a poor neighbourhood has no negative effect on the resourcefulness of personal networks. Higher network localness among resource-poor respondents is caused by a lack ties with non-local people rather than by a greater number of locality-based ties (they thus do not seem to 'compensate' for the lack of non-local ties). Network localness is further related to whether respondents move to or stay in a neighbourhood to be near family members or stay where one is born and bred. This indicates that part of the local networks is not locality-based: ties with local family members and friends are rather maintained in the neighbourhood. This fur-

ther suggests that a distinction between the 'locally fixed' resource-poor and the 'locally disengaged' resource-rich is not accurate: resource-poor people are in general not more inclined to form locality-based ties and resource-rich people may just as well maintain (old) ties in their neighbourhood. Considering that locality-based ties constitute only a small part, if any, of the total network, the neighbourhood composition can only have minor effect on the resourcefulness of networks. To conclude, spatial segregation as such does not seem to structure meeting opportunities between the resource-rich and the resource-poor. Rather, the neighbourhood is important for understanding how networks are maintained.

The in-depth interviews further show that relationships form in particular neighbourhood settings, particularly the micro-neighbourhood of adjacent and opposite dwellings. If these settings are homogeneously composed, a 'mixed neighbourhood' may do very little for boundary-crossing relationships.

6 Relationships with fellow-residents: diversity, ethnicity, otherness

In Chapter 6, I examine another connection of neighbourhood composition and relationships. I examine whether and how the neighbourhood as meaningful place and as co-shaping 'rules of relevancy' play a role in the formation of relationships. The analyses zoom in on relationships that are formed in the micro-neighbourhood: one's immediate neighbours. I take up two ideas about how neighbourhood diversity and reputation has a negative effect on the formation of locality-based relationships. The first is Putnam's thesis that neighbourhood diversity may result in a feeling of discomfort with diversity (Putnam, 2007). The second is that the (perceived) negative reputation of the neighbourhood might 'rub off', so to speak, on fellow-residents, resulting in disidentification with fellow-residents and withdrawal (Wacquant, 2008). Because neighbourhoods differ for levels of (perceived) diversity and reputation, these variations may, partly, explain network inequality if the neighbourhood for some fails to function as a setting in which they can expand their personal network. My interest is not in the first place in interethnic relationships but rather in identifying variations in the functioning of the neighbourhood as a setting in which people form new relationships. Nevertheless, because Hillesluisians are likely to have neighbours of different ethnic origin, the focus is drawn to interethnic relationships.

The survey data shows that the three residential categories are just as likely to report a neighbour as network member, although Blijdorpers were more likely to mention two neighbours. Having young children and age is positively associated with reporting neighbours. This suggests that neighbour-

hood diversity or reputation has no negative effect on the formation of locality-based relationships. However, when we examine only parents in the three neighbourhoods—as a category of residents that are most likely to form locality-based ties and to form ties that are more intimate or more frequent—we find that parents in Hillesluis are significantly less likely to report a neighbour. I suggest that neighbourhood diversity is not associated with 'neighbouring' (i.e. maintaining rather superficial relations) but it may be associated with the formation of 'bonds' among fellow-residents—relationships that go beyond small favours and friendly but superficial interactions. It may be that for developing 'friend-like' relationships, greater diversity in lifestyles among fellow-residents hinders the formation of such relationships. For maintaining 'just neighbour' ties, on the other hand, similarity may not be that important.

The in-depth interviews further show that ethnic origin plays a role in how respondents in Hillesluis describe their neighbours and in how they assess and explain differences in lifestyle. People from different ethnic backgrounds thus are almost automatically perceived as having a different lifestyle. I suggest that this categorical stereotyping may be particularly difficult to overcome in the micro-neighbourhood, as this setting requires balancing proximity and privacy. The micro-neighbourhood lacks 'friendship potential' (Pettigrew, 1998). Thus, two factors may hinder the formation of locality-based relationships in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods: first, the neighbourhood is not a very sociable environment, and second, the reading of ethnic differences as lifestyle differences. I concluded by pointing out the bright side and downside of neighbouring (which relationship is structured according to certain rules of relevancy). The downside is that the setting of the micro-neighbourhood is not facilitative in getting beyond reading ethnicity as lifestyle, as it lacks 'friendship potential'. Put differently, divergent backgrounds and lifestyles become a barrier for relationships to change from transactions (exchange of goods and services) and attachments (good neighbouring) into bonds (affective relationships). The bright side is that, exactly because the micro-neighbourhood lacks friendship potential, diversity (or reputation) has little impact on the practice of neighbouring, as similarity and sociability is not a necessary requirement for friendly (but distant) interaction and exchanging small favours.

7 Choosing diversity: urban seekers, taste and diversity in personal networks

In Chapter 7, I consider another debate about neighbourhood diversity: that some people move to or stay in the city and that they choose to move into a mixed neighbourhood. I addressed the question of whether their liking for diversity indicates a tendency to form more boundary crossing relation-

ships. This question is addressed notably in studies on gentrification and so-cial mixing. Segments of the new middle class—those who choose, instead of fleeing from, life in the city—would like to rub shoulders with 'others'. How-ever, this has been criticized as gentrifiers show little engagement with their poorer fellow-residents. The networks of diversity-seeking urbanites and ur-ban-seekers living in homogeneous neighbourhoods have not been compared before. In this chapter, I examine the metropolitan habitus (Bridge, 2001; But-ler, 2002) of two resource-richer categories: one living in mixed Cool, the oth-er living in homogeneous Blijdorp. I connect this question to Bourdieu's (1984) understanding of 'habitus' and taste as 'match-maker'. As habituses reflect and develop from cultural and economic capital (education, upbringing, fi-nancial position), the sorting of relationships along socioeconomic lines re-flects the sorting among tastes. If choosing diversity is (cf. Savage et al., 2005), a way of distinction, it may not be surprising that diversity-seekers do not get involved with their poorer fellow-residents.

The survey data confirms, in part, that resource-rich Cool residents and Blij-dorpers are different segments of the new urban middle class: the first cat-egory is generally younger, more often single and also slightly lower educat-ed. Furthermore, by choosing for the inner city, often for its cultural facili-ties, Cool residents seem to choose more for 'where the action is'. By mov-ing into a homogeneous neighbourhood near the inner city, Blijdorpers, how-ever, seem to choose a more 'conservative' mode of urban life. We can thus understand this as two different articulations of the metropolitan habitus. Nevertheless, both may claim to have a liking for diversity (as opposed to the homogeneity of suburbs or Vinex-locations).

The survey network data shows, however, that the personal networks of resource-rich Cool respondents and Blijdorpers are equally heterogeneous (or rather: homogeneous): respondents living in Cool are not more likely to form boundary-crossing relationships. Higher-educated and high-skilled respond-ents in general have fewer boundary crossing ties, compared with resource-poorer people. This suggests that a liking for diversity, translated in choos-ing to live in a mixed neighbourhood, does not indicate a tendency to form more relationships with resource-poorer people or to make resources accessi-ble. The 'new middle class' in Cool is just as (un)likely to do so as their coun-terpart living in Blijdorp. I suggest that this confirms that choosing diversity may be a way of distinguishing oneself, rather than connecting with less-for-tunate people, and a way of drawing boundaries among the resource-rich and confirming boundaries between the resource-rich and the resource-poor.

8 The formation of unequal networks: settings, participation and social capital

In Chapters 5 to 7, I show how neighbourhoods consolidate boundaries rather than structure meeting opportunities. In Chapter 8, I broaden the focus to include settings of work, study and associations as these settings seem more important in facilitating and structuring the exchange of resources. I examine how personal networks are formed and expanded and how variations in network formation and networks forms may explain differences in network quality.

Personal networks are the collection of people's relationships that have developed in different settings at different stages throughout people's life-course (Hannerz, 1980; Spencer and Pahl, 2006). Life-course stages and transitions offer opportunities to expand the network (Feld, 1981; and Carter, 1998). People vary in the extent to which they participate in settings and in the extent to which they add new relationships to their networks later in life. Based on the in-depth interviews, I distinguish 'bounded' networks and 'evolving' networks. These different modes of network formation result in different network forms. An example of bounded networks is the family-based networks, which include more family members than any other kinds of connections. An example of evolving networks are friend-based networks, which include mainly friends, and 'mixed' networks, which include a variety of connections and in which neither family nor friends are dominant. The survey data show that resource-poorer respondents are significantly more likely to have a family-based network, while resource-richer respondents are significantly more likely to have a friend-based network. They are equally likely to have a mixed network, although the mixed networks of resource-rich and resource-poor respondents differ for form, variety and quality. Half of the Hillesluisian respondents have a family-based network; nearly half of the Blijdorp respondents have a friend-based network. Comparing network forms provides insight into how unequal networks emerge. The survey data show that family-based networks are significantly smaller and include fewer higher-educated network members. Furthermore, family-based networks show significantly less network variety: they include fewer types of connections; this suggests that they reach fewer networks.

Based on the network data, I suggest that the formation of relationships and the expansion of personal networks depend on people's participation in certain settings. In addition, the opportunity to develop relationships with resource-rich people in these settings matters. Following Bourdieu (1986), I suggest that 'social capital' should be understood as embeddedness in resource-rich networks. The formation of unequal networks seems contingent on three factors: first, people's own resources indicated by their educational and occupational level; second, the extent to which people expand

their network beyond a 'bounded' network—and thus form evolving networks which include network members from a variety of settings (either as sociable or setting-specific ties); and third and most important, the combination of one's own resources and network expansion. Participation in settings as such does not necessarily yield resourceful networks when people are not able to capitalize on opportunities, for example when the setting itself is not conducive to relationship formation or when the setting does not facilitate the formation of ties with resource-rich people. This reflects in the quality of resource-poorer respondents' friend-based and mixed networks: even though their networks are expanded beyond the family setting, these networks do not include as many higher-educated ties. Resource-rich respondents are embedded in networks which increases the opportunity to form relationships with people who provide—either through making an effort or through routine activities—access to valuable resources.

9 Conclusion

We can now return to the key question: to what extent and how does spatial segregation reproduce or reinforce the formation of unequal networks? And does spatial integration decrease inequality in networks? Living in poor neighbourhoods does not seem to increase network inequality in itself, because living in a poor neighbourhood does not result in resource-poorer networks and the neighbourhood plays a negligible role in network formation. The composition of neighbourhoods thus does not reproduce or reinforce inequality in network composition or resourcefulness. For parents, and perhaps for people who have few other opportunities to expand their network, living in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood may hinder the expansion of the network. However, what is worrisome is the lack of opportunities to form relationships as such. In addition, choosing to live in a mixed neighbourhood does not reflect a tendency to form more boundary-crossing relationships. Spatial integration thus does not decrease inequality. The neighbourhood has a negligible role in facilitating or stimulating relationships between resource-rich and resource-poor people.

Based on the study results, we can conclude that the neighbourhood composition does not have an 'independent effect'—to use the language of neighbourhood effect studies—on inequality (that is, through the mechanism of personal networks). However, neighbourhoods and their composition do have a role in keeping in place and perhaps reinforcing boundaries between resource-poor and resource-rich people. Spatial segregation and integration thus are significant for understanding the relation between resource-rich and resource-poor categories. If where and among whom you live increasingly becomes a marker of 'taste', than this taste may confirm old boundaries

between socioeconomic categories and create new boundaries within socioeconomic categories. Choosing certain places, as marking milieu and upbringing, and combinations of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984), confirms and reinforces boundaries between those who are rich in resources and those who are not. This means that spatial integration is by no means an indication for socioeconomic integration. Therefore, I conclude, place matters, but not through its role in structuring meeting opportunities but through its role as 'social marker'.

Recommendations

My recommendations concern the way we think about (effects of) neighbourhood composition and the preconditions for reducing segregated and unequal networks. The study suggests that mixing policies will have little or no impact on people's personal networks. Increasing spatial segregation between the poor and rich should be avoided, however, in order to maintain the absence of neighbourhood effects. In addition, there may be other good and important reasons to do so—for example, creating physically attractive neighbourhoods for everyone, increasing feelings of safety and satisfaction, and unlinking the association of poor neighbourhoods with 'problems'.

In terms of opportunities for meeting, the neighbourhood is a collection of settings which attract particular segments of a (neighbourhood) population. In this way, we can think about how neighbourhood settings facilitate the formation of relationships, and how they might stimulate boundary-crossing (i.e. interethnic or interclass) relationships. In particular, policy makers and practitioners can think about the clientele that various neighbourhood settings attract: do they serve only resource-poor people or a mixed population, and is it possible to attract a more mixed population? Particularly in mixed neighbourhoods, neighbourhood settings—settings such as facilities and associations that attract mainly residents—should attract a mixed population, because these will be the places where boundary-crossing relationships might develop. These will likely be setting-specific relationships and settings should thus facilitate the development of such relationships.

Another recommendation concerns the way in which we think about 'social capital'. Too often, social capital is imagined as a cure for all sorts of problems such as poverty, crime and lack of political voice. However, policy makers and practitioners should realize that social capital follows from the acquisition of other resources, and not the other way around. Resource-rich networks are formed through acquiring and deploying cultural and economic capital—education, work, and social and political participation. Social capital emerges from class-exclusive networks; if networks were not segregated along socioeconomic lines, we would not be talking about the benefits of certain networks over other networks. This means that if policy makers and practitioners want somehow to facilitate the acquisition of social capital, they have to

support and stimulate the acquisition of other forms of capital (education, skills, knowledge, wealth, etc.) and, thus, participation in work-related, study-related and associational settings.

Finally, in efforts to reduce socioeconomic (and ethnic) segregation, policy makers and practitioners should put more effort into reducing segregation through other settings than the neighbourhood. Too much emphasis is put on the (possible) negative effects of poverty (and ethnic) concentration in certain areas of cities. As this study confirms again, neighbourhoods play a relatively limited role in many people's everyday lives. Segregation through neighbourhoods is obviously one of the most visible forms and manifestations of socioeconomic segregation, but there needs to be an understanding that spatial segregation is inseparable from other forms of segregation in society—through work, through leisure, through participation in social and political organizations.

Questions for further research

I describe five questions for further research. First, regarding the engagement and networks of diversity-seekers, the question remains whether and how the metropolitan habitus differs from a 'suburban' habitus. Comparing the resource-rich living in cities and those living in suburbs and villages might provide new insights on when and where resource-rich people get involved with their less fortunate fellow-residents or citizens.

Second, we need more insight into how places and their images play a role in how people 'read' others in these places (neighbourhood settings and public spaces, but this may be relevant for other places). Too often, still, composition is treated as a statistical fact. Related to this, we need insight into how places shape the rules and boundaries within relationships: what is expected and what is accepted, and what resources might be exchanged.

Third, in order to gain more insight into the exchange of resources we should also focus on personal *giving* networks: who do people help, with what, how often and why? This will prove helpful for understanding how, when, where and for whom resource-rich people deploy their resources.

Fourth, we need to know more about the formation, maintenance and value of setting-specific ties—whether in the neighbourhood or other settings. This question falls into two sub questions: first, what is the role of settings in opportunities to expand the network as such, and second, what is the role of settings in facilitating the formation of boundary-crossing ties? We still know too little of how differences in network quality arise and how they are contingent on different opportunities in life.

Fifth and final, settings may have changed, but also the extent to which people are embedded in and securely tied to settings. What is the impact of social changes on how settings have changed and their role in facilitating the formation of setting-specific and setting-transcending relationships? There

are two broad themes that describe the transformation of society that may be of importance for how networks are formed and resources are exchanged: privatization (of social relationships) and polarization of the labour market. These need attention in studies on networks and social capital.

Samenvatting[1]

Ongelijke netwerken
Ruimtelijke segregatie, relaties en ongelijkheid in de stad

Gwen van Eijk

1 Inleiding

Het creëren van sociaal-economisch gemengde buurten is een gangbare strategie in stedelijk beleid, zowel in Nederland als in Europa en Noord-Amerika, om grootstedelijke problematiek te lijf te gaan. Het tegengaan van armoedeconcentratie—bijvoorbeeld door vervanging van een deel van de goedkope (huur)woningen door duurdere (koop)woningen (woningdifferentiatie), door het stimuleren van gentrification (of 'gentripunctuur'), of door de instroom van lage inkomensgroepen te reguleren via de 'Rotterdamwet'—lijkt vele doelen te dienen. Zo moeten sociaal-economisch gemengde buurten onder meer de 'liftfunctie' van de stad waarborgen. Vanuit deze visie op de stad biedt de stad vele mogelijkheden en kansen voor bewoners om 'vooruit te komen' via school, werk en vrije tijd (VROM-raad, 2006). Vaak wordt gedacht dat mensen die wonen in een armoedebuurt niet optimaal gebruik kunnen maken van de liftfunctie van de stad, of dat het bestaan van kansarme buurten deze functie ondermijnt. In het Actieplan Krachtwijk (2007), benoemt het Ministerie van Wonen, Wijken en Integratie bijvoorbeeld het "ontbreken van relevante sociale netwerken en contacten" als één van de vele maatschappelijke problemen die spelen in Nederlandse achterstandsbuurten. Het Ministerie acht mede daarom de concentratie van kansarme groepen in buurten onwenselijk, al wordt wel ingezien dat gemengde buurten geen garantie zijn voor meer overbruggende contacten of gemengde netwerken.[2]

   Hoewel niet wordt uitgewijd over wat 'relevante' netwerken en contacten zijn, wordt in deze context vaak gezegd dat kansarmen in achterstandsbuurten te weinig 'sociaal kapitaal' kunnen opbouwen waardoor zij onvoldoende mogelijkheden hebben om vooruit te komen (zie bijv. VROM-raad, 2006). Het wonen in een buurt met veel arme huishoudens zou contacten met kansrijke mensen belemmeren. Die contacten met kansrijke mensen zijn waardevol, zo is het idee, omdat zij toegang verschaffen tot hulpbronnen zoals banennetwerken of informatie over (bij)scholing en studie, vaardigheden op gebied van solliciteren en communicatie, en invloed op politieke besluitvorming. Er

---

1 De nummering van de paragrafen in deze samenvatting volgt de hoodstuknummering van het boek.

2 Zie Memorie van Toelichting bij de begroting van WWI voor 2010, pagina 16.

wordt aldus een verband verondersteld tussen armoedeconcentratie in buurten enerzijds, en de kwaliteit van persoonlijke netwerken anderzijds.

Deze studie gaat in op dit verband. Op basis van theoretisch onderzoek en empirisch onderzoek onder bewoners van drie buurten in Rotterdam, onderzoek ik in hoeverre en hoe sociaal-ruimtelijke segregatie—het bestaan van '(kans)arme' en '(kans)rijke' buurten—samenhangt met de vorming van ongelijke netwerken. In deze samenvatting bespreek ik kort de opbouw van het boek, het theoretisch kader en de onderzoeksvragen, en de belangrijkste conclusies. Ik sluit af met enkele aanbevelingen voor beleidsmakers en professionals en vragen voor vervolgonderzoek.

Opbouw van het boek

Op basis van empirisch en theoretisch onderzoek wordt in deze studie een aantal stadssociologische thema's onderzocht. Enerzijds wordt een aantal gangbare hypothesen en ideeën tegen het licht gehouden en kritisch onderzocht op hun houdbaarheid, zoals in hoeverre er een buurteffect op netwerken bestaat en of bewoners van een gemengde buurt meer gemengde netwerken hebben. Anderzijds wordt op basis van de literatuur en gegevens een aantal van deze ideeën verder theoretisch ontwikkeld om tot een beter begrip te komen van de relatie tussen ruimtelijke segregatie en netwerken. In elk hoofdstuk wordt aan de hand van relevante theorieën een specifiek debat met betrekking tot de buurtsamenstelling besproken. Op basis van de empirische gegevens over persoonlijke netwerken onderzoek en ontwikkel ik een aantal ideeën binnen dit debat.

Na de theoretische inleiding en de vraagstelling in hoofdstuk 1, en de introductie van de drie onderzoeksbuurten en respondenten in hoofdstuk 2, volgt in hoofdstuk 3 van het proefschrift een theoretische bespreking van de samenhang tussen buurtsamenstelling en de totstandkoming van persoonlijke relaties. Aan de hand van deze theoretische uiteenzetting kom ik tot drie manieren waarop buurtsamenstelling althans theoretisch samenhangt met de vorming van netwerken. Deze drie manieren worden theoretisch en empirisch uitgewerkt in hoofdstukken 5, 6 en 7.

Alvorens dit uit te diepen, sta ik in hoofdstuk 4 stil bij de vraag wat een 'kansrijk' netwerk eigenlijk is: wat definieert een netwerk rijk aan hulpbronnen? In het bijzonder ga ik in op de vraag wat voor soort relaties nodig zijn om toegang tot hulpbronnen te verkrijgen. De centrale vraag in dit hoofdstuk is dus van meer conceptuele aard, hoewel deze vraag ook theoretisch en empirisch wordt uitgewerkt.

In hoofdstukken 5, 6 en 7 komen drie mechanismen die (mogelijk) buurtsamenstelling en netwerkvorming verbinden. Hoofdstuk 5 gaat in op vermeende (negatieve) 'buurteffecten' op netwerken en de sociaal-ruimtelijke isolement these. Hoofdstuk 6 gaat in op de betekenis van de buurt als 'multi-etnische' buurt en/of 'probleembuurt' voor burenrelaties. Hoofdstuk 7 gaat in op

de keuze van kansrijke stadsbewoners voor een gemengde buurt.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat in op de vraag welke andere factoren, behalve de buurt en buurtsamenstelling, een rol spelen bij de vorming van ongelijke netwerken. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook het concept van 'sociaal kapitaal' kritisch tegen het licht gehouden. In hoofdstuk 9, tot slot, volgen de conclusies met betrekking tot de centrale onderzoeksvraag, aanbevelingen voor beleid en praktijk, en vragen voor vervolgonderzoek.

Theoretisch kader en onderzoeksvragen

In meer academische termen gaat dit onderzoek over de vraag in hoeverre en hoe ruimtelijke segregatie (negatieve) gevolgen heeft voor de vorming van persoonlijke netwerken, de totstandkoming van overbruggende relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken,[3] en toegang tot waardevolle hulpbronnen. Met ruimtelijke segregatie wordt bedoeld dat de stedelijke populatie niet gelijkmatig over de stad is verdeeld: een goed deel van de kansarme en kansrijke stedelingen woont geconcentreerd in zogenaamde achterstandsbuurten en voorstandsbuurten.[4]

Voorts weten we uit onderzoek dat persoonlijke netwerken ongelijk zijn in grootte, in reikwijdte, in samenstelling en in toegang tot waardevolle hulpbronnen zoals informatie, invloed, inkomen en vermogen, kennis en vaardigheden. Met andere woorden, de 'netwerkkwaliteit' is ongelijk. Het hebben van een minder groot en minder gevarieerd netwerk, met kleinere reikwijdte en minder toegang tot waardevolle hulpbronnen is, theoretisch althans, nadelig voor de sociaal-economische positie van mensen. Het is daarom van belang te weten hoe netwerkongelijkheid ontstaat en in hoeverre en hoe sociaal-ruimtelijke segregatie daarin een rol speelt.

Een verbijzondering van de vraag naar ongelijkheid in netwerkkwaliteit is de vraag naar de aanwezigheid van overbruggende relaties. We weten uit onderzoek dat mensen vooral relaties aangaan met mensen van gelijke sociaal-economische positie: kansarme mensen hebben vooral relaties met andere kansarmen, en kansrijke mensen hebben vooral relaties met andere kansrijken. Met andere woorden, kansrijken en kansarmen hebben veelal gescheiden persoonlijke netwerken. Dat is problematisch, omdat een gebrek aan

---

3 In dit onderzoek spreek ik over kansarmen en kansrijken als aanduiding voor (grove) categorieën mensen die minder of meer economisch, cultureel en symbolisch 'kapitaal' tot hun beschikking hebben (zie Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, en Wacquant, 1992 voor definities). Kansrijke mensen hebben in het algemeen meer inkomen en vermogen (economisch kapitaal), hebben vaker hooggeschoold werk, een hoger opleidingsniveau, meer vaardigheden, meer kennis van de geaccepteerde normen en omgangsvormen (cultureel kapitaal), en meer invloed op besluitvorming of status of aanzien (symbolisch kapitaal), dan kansarme mensen. Deze categorieën kunnen worden gelezen als 'hogere klasse' en 'lagere klasse'; ik geef de voorkeur aan de terminologie kansrijk en kansarm omdat deze termen geen hiërarchische verhouding veronderstellen.

4 Achterstandsbuurt verwijst hier en verder in dit onderzoek naar een buurt met relatief (meer dan gemiddeld) veel kansarmen; een voorstandsbuurt is een buurt met relatief veel kansrijken; in een gemengde buurt zijn beide categorieën evenredig aanwezig.

overbruggende relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken verhindert dat hulpbronnen gelijkmatig worden verdeeld over de populatie.[5] Hulpbronnen zijn dus niet voor iedereen in gelijke mate toegankelijk. We kunnen daarom stellen dat gescheiden netwerken een rol spelen in het voortbestaan van sociaal-economische ongelijkheid.[6]

De vraag is nu, in hoeverre en hoe in dit proces ruimtelijke segregatie van belang is. Door veel stadssociologen en sociaalgeografen wordt aangenomen dat ruimtelijke segregatie een gevolg is van sociaal-economische ongelijkheid. Het omgekeerde verband is in het wetenschappelijke en politieke debat echter nog altijd onderwerp van discussie: in hoeverre is ruimtelijke segregatie (mede) de oorzaak van ongelijkheid? Met andere woorden, heeft ruimtelijke segregatie op zichzelf weer gevolgen voor de sociaal-economische positie van mensen? Versterkt het bestaan van achterstandsbuurten en voorstandsbuurten ongelijkheid in sociaal-economische zin? Over dit omgekeerde verband en de mogelijke mechanismen bestaan nog veel onbeantwoorde vragen; dit onderzoek geeft inzicht in een aantal van deze vragen.

In dit onderzoek beperk ik mij tot de meer specifieke vraag in hoeverre en hoe ruimtelijke segregatie de vorming van ongelijke netwerken bestendigt of verergert. Meer concreet gaat het om vragen als: hebben mensen die in achterstandsbuurten wonen, ten opzichte van mensen met een gelijke sociaal-economische positie die in gemengde of voorstandsbuurten wonen, netwerken die van 'mindere kwaliteit' zijn? Dat wil zeggen, zijn hun netwerken minder groot en verschaffen zij minder toegang tot waardevolle hulpbronnen? Anderzijds, profiteren mensen die in voorstandsbuurten wonen van een (nog) groter netwerk en meer toegang tot hulpbronnen? Met betrekking tot de verbijzondering van het theoretisch uitgangspunt, kunnen we vragen: in hoeverre hindert ruimtelijke segregatie de totstandkoming van overbruggende relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken, en, andersom, in hoeverre stimuleert het bestaan van gemengde buurten (ruimtelijke integratie) de totstandkoming van overbruggende relaties?

Samengevat luidt de centrale onderzoeksvraag:

In hoeverre en hoe bestendigt of bevordert ruimtelijke segregatie de vorming van ongelijke netwerken? En, andersom, in hoeverre en hoe vermindert ruimtelijke integratie de vorming van ongelijke netwerken?

Deze vraag wordt empirisch en theoretisch onderzocht in mijn onderzoek. De centrale onderzoeksvraag valt uiteen in vijf deelvragen:

---

5 Ook economische relaties (transacties, arbeidsrelaties) en institutionele arrangementen (uitkeringen, subsidies) spelen een rol bij de (her)verdeling van hulpbronnen; deze mechanismen worden in dit onderzoek buiten beschouwing gelaten.

6 Deze theorie is onder meer uitgewerkt door Charles Tilly (1998) in zijn werk over relationele sociologie en voortdurende ongelijkheid, en Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986) over verschillende vormen van kapitaal (economisch, cultureel, symbolisch en sociaal kapitaal) en de reproductie van ongelijkheid.

1. Hoe kunnen we de samenhang tussen buurtsamenstelling en persoonlijke netwerk-
en theoretisch begrijpen? (Hoofdstuk 3)
2. In hoeverre, hoe, en voor wie is de buurtsamenstelling, via het structureren van
ontmoetingskansen, van belang voor de vorming van kansrijke persoonlijke netwerk-
en? (Hoofdstuk 5)
3. In hoeverre, hoe, en voor wie is de buurtsamenstelling, middels de betekenis van de
buurt, van belang voor de vorming van buurtgebonden relaties en mogelijkheden om
het netwerk uit te breiden? (Hoofdstuk 6)
4. In hoeverre, hoe, en voor wie is de keuze voor een gemengde buurt een indicatie
voor meer overbruggende relaties en dus een meer gemengd net werk? (Hoofdstuk 7)
5. Welke factoren, naast de buurt, spleen een rol in de vorming van ongelijke persoon-
lijke netwerken? (Hoofdstuk 8)

De toegevoegde waarde van dit onderzoek is tweeledig. Ten eerste ligt het
zwaartepunt van dit onderzoek niet bij de voor- en nadelen van bepaalde ty-
pen netwerken maar bij de *vorming* van ongelijke netwerken. De voorde-
len van een kansrijk netwerk zijn onderzocht en bevestigd in talloze studies
naar netwerken, relaties en 'sociaal kapitaal' (voor een recent Nederlands on-
derzoek, zie bijvoorbeeld Pinkster, 2008a). Ik ben echter geïnteresseerd in de
vraag hoe de buurtsamenstelling een rol speelt bij hoe persoonlijke netwer-
ken worden gevormd. In onderzoek naar grootstedelijke problematiek is de
vorm en kwaliteit van netwerken vaak onderwerp van studie; zelden krijgt
de totstandkoming van netwerken dezelfde empirische en theoretische aan-
dacht. In dit onderzoek ga ik in op de verschillende manieren waarop ruimte-
lijke segregatie theoretisch samenhangt met ongelijke netwerken en in hoe-
verre er empirisch onderbouwing is voor de veronderstelling dat deze samen-
hangen.

   Een tweede toegevoegde waarde betreft de aandacht voor zowel kansar-
me als kansrijke groepen, die wonen in verschillend samengestelde buurten.
Deze focus brengt twee voordelen met zich mee. Allereerst, om te weten wat
'kansarme' netwerken zijn en hoe deze zich vormen, dienen we ook te weten
hoe 'kansrijke' netwerken eruit zien en hoe deze worden gevormd. Een twee-
de voordeel is dat we, naast een vergelijking van kansarmen die wonen ofwel
in een achterstandsbuurt ofwel in een gemengde buurt, een vergelijking kun-
nen maken van kansrijken die wonen in een voorstandsbuurt en kansrijken
die wonen in een gemengde buurt. Deze focus betekent ook dat we verschil-
lende wetenschappelijke debatten bij elkaar kunnen brengen die de (moge-
lijke) gevolgen bespreken van het wonen in bepaalde buurten en, algemener,
het bestaan van ruimtelijke segregatie. Daarmee krijgen we een completer
beeld van de problematiek.

   Tot slot, Nederlandse debatten over ruimtelijke segregatie richten zich vaak
op etnische concentratiebuurten en (het gebrek aan) overbruggende relaties
tussen allochtone en autochtone Nederlanders. Echter, wanneer het gaat om
de uitwisseling van en toegang tot waardevolle hulpbronnen, zijn niet zozeer

etnisch-overbruggende relaties van belang als wel overbruggende relaties tussen kansarme en kansrijke groepen. Ook onder autochtone Nederlanders bevinden zich kansarmen, en een (groeiend) deel van de allochtone Nederlanders, ook die van niet-westerse afkomst, heeft een sterke sociaal-economische positie (Dagevos en Gijsberts, 2005). Etnische afkomst is daarom een slechte indicator voor de sociaal-economische positie van mensen. Vanuit het oogpunt van de verdeling van hulpbronnen, zijn etnisch-overbruggende relaties niet vanzelfsprekend waardevoller. Tot slot kunnen we stellen dat zelfs wanneer het gaat om 'sociaal-culturele integratie'—waaronder het leren van normen, taal, gepast gedrag en democratische waarden—relaties met kansrijke mensen, die veeleer over deze kennis en vaardigheden beschikken, van belang zijn, ongeacht of zij van autochtone of allochtone afkomst zijn.

2 Data en methodologie

Dit onderzoek is gebaseerd op kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve gegevens over de persoonlijke netwerken van 382 mensen die in drie verschillend samengestelde buurten in Rotterdam wonen.[7]

De drie buurten zijn geselecteerd op basis van de sociaal-economische samenstelling van de buurtbevolking. De gegevens in de buurt Cool zijn al in 2001 verzameld door Talja Blokland (zie Blokland, 2004). Cool is een buurt in het stadscentrum met een gemengde samenstelling qua sociaal-economische positie en etnische achtergrond van de bewoners. De buurt is deels gegentrificeerd met behulp van beleidsinvesteringen in de woningvoorraad en faciliteiten. Daarnaast heb ik twee sociaal-economisch homogene buurten geselecteerd: Hillesluis en Blijdorp. In deze buurten heb ik in 2007 samen met een team studenten gegevens verzameld. Hillesluis is een buurt in Rotterdam-zuid met overwegend kansarme bewoners: relatief veel laag- of niet-opgeleide mensen, relatief veel mensen met laag- of ongeschoold werk, relatief veel werklozen en bijstandsgerechtigden, en relatief veel eenoudergezinnen. Het merendeel van de bevolking is bovendien van niet-Nederlandse of niet-westerse afkomst, wat kenmerkend is voor achterstandsbuurten in de Nederlandse steden.[8] Blijdorp is een buurt vlakbij het stadscentrum met overwegend hoger opgeleide bewoners met midden- en hooggeschoolde banen. Een relatief

---

7 De methodologie met betrekking tot verzameling van de gegevens wordt beknopt beschreven in de inleiding en hoofdstuk 2 van mijn proefschrift en uitvoerig in Appendix A. In hoofdstuk 2 is een beschrijving van de drie onderzoeksbuurten en de respondenten opgenomen.

8 Omdat etnische afkomst in Nederland nog altijd samenhangt met sociaal-economische positie (d.w.z. mensen van niet-westerse afkomst hebben relatief vaker een zwakke sociaal-economische positie), verschillen de buurten voor etnische samenstelling; de nadruk van dit onderzoek ligt echter op de verschillen in sociaal-economische samenstelling (zie ook onder Onderzoeksvragen).

groot deel van de woningvoorraad bestaat bovendien uit koopwoningen.

De gegevens over de persoonlijke netwerken zijn verzameld door middel van mondeling afgenomen enquêtes en diepte-interviews. Naast gegevens over de respondenten en hun dagelijks leven (op het gebied van kinderen en hun school, werk, buurt en woning, sociale participatie en politieke participatie), zijn de persoonlijke netwerken van de respondenten in kaart gebracht. Dit is gedaan met behulp van zogenaamde naamgeneratoren (zie ook Völker, 1999). In de enquête vroegen wij de respondenten wie hen heeft geholpen, voor zover van toepassing, met het vinden van een baan of woning, met wie of door wie zij zijn gevraagd om vrijwilligerswerk of bestuursfuncties voor sociale of politieke verenigingen op zich te nemen, en met wie of door wie zij zijn gevraagd politieke invloed uit te oefenen bijvoorbeeld door te demonstreren, een politieke partij aan te schrijven, een petitie te ondertekenen. Daarnaast vroegen wij naar persoonlijke en meer emotionele steun: wie helpt met klusjes in huis, met wie praten deze mensen over persoonlijke problemen, aan wie vragen ze advies. Door middel van achttien naamgeneratoren kregen we een eerste beeld van de persoonlijke netwerken. Voor een gedetailleerder beeld vroegen wij vervolgens naar verschillende kenmerken van de netwerkleden, zoals het type relatie (familie, vriend, collega, buur, etc.), opleidingsniveau, woonplaats, frequentie van contact en gevoel van betrokkenheid. Bij deze vervolgvragen hanteerden wij in totaal achttien indicatoren. Tot slot vroegen wij of respondenten dachten dat zij, in een achttal situaties, (ook) in de toekomst een beroep op elk van hun netwerkleden zouden doen.

Daarnaast heeft in 2009 met een aantal van de geënquêteerden, te weten 15 Hillesluisers en 15 Blijdorpers, een diepte-interview plaatsgevonden, uitgevoerd door mijzelf. Daarin is gevraagd naar het ontstaan en het onderhouden van relaties, naar specifieke hulpsituaties en naar percepties van verschillen tussen respondent en netwerkleden.

3 Het verbinden van buurt en netwerken: relatievorming en de rol van de buurt

In hoofdstuk 3 van mijn proefschrift bespreek ik hoe persoonlijke relaties tot stand komen en hoe de buurt daarin een rol speelt. Een gangbaar idee in studies naar relaties en netwerken is dat mensen kiezen om relaties aan te gaan met bepaalde anderen—voornamelijk anderen die in bepaalde aspecten lijken op henzelf—, maar dat de contexten waarin mensen hun alledaagse levens leiden, hun keuzes en mogelijkheden om anderen te ontmoeten beperken.[9]

Op basis hiervan bespreek ik vier aspecten die een rol spelen in de vorming

---

9 Het 'choice-constraint' model (Fischer, 1977, 1982).

van relaties:

- ontmoetingskansen: de statistische samenstelling van een setting ('context') structureert wie wij wel en niet zullen ontmoeten;
- sociale identificatie: onze 'keuze' voor, meestal, mensen die op ons lijken is een reflectie van processen van categorisering en identificatie;
- de betekenis van de context: de (samenstelling van de) setting biedt tevens een referentiekader voor identificatie (of niet) met anderen;
- de betekenis van relaties: ontmoetingen en interacties ontwikkelen zich tot relaties (of niet) op basis van (ongeschreven) regels en verwachtingen op basis van eerdere interacties en ten aanzien van 'gepast' gedrag.

De vier aspecten samen spelen een rol in de vorming van persoonlijke relaties. Samenvattend kunnen we stellen dat relaties nooit een gevolg zijn van ontmoetingskansen of individuele keuzes alléén; ook van belang zijn sociale identificatie—voorafgegaan door categorisering en in relatie tot de setting waarin mensen elkaar ontmoeten—en een idee van wat 'gepast' is gegeven eerdere interacties, de setting en het netwerk van mensen waarin interacties mogelijk zijn ingebed.

Op basis van het hierboven gestelde is het belangrijk in te zien dat de buurtsamenstelling op verschillende manieren een rol speelt of kan spelen bij de vorming van relaties en netwerken. De buurtsamenstelling structureert niet alleen ontmoetingskansen, maar biedt ook een kader voor categorisering en identificatie en voor omgangsregels. Hier op voortbordurend, kunnen we de samenhang tussen buurtsamenstelling en persoonlijke netwerken op drie manieren begrijpen. Een eerste manier betreft ontmoetingskansen: het is denkbaar dat de buurtsamenstelling ontmoetingskansen structureert en zo de vorming van overbruggende relaties mogelijk maken dan wel hinderen. Een tweede manier betreft de betekenis van de buurtsamenstelling en de invloed die hiervan uitgaat op de interacties en relaties tussen buurtgenoten. Een derde manier betreft de keuze voor een bepaalde buurtsamenstelling en in hoeverre deze keuze ook tot uiting komt sociale identificatie en de vorming van relaties.

4   Toegang tot hulpbronnen via zwakke en sterke relaties: wie zijn 'bruggenbouwers'?

Voordat we overgaan tot gedetailleerde studie van de drie vragen met betrekking tot de buurtsamenstelling, bespreek ik in hoofdstuk 4 van mijn proefschrift een vraag van meer conceptuele aard: wat karakteriseert een 'kansrijk' netwerk? Voor een onderzoek naar de ongelijke vorming van persoonlijke netwerken is het noodzakelijk te weten wat voor soort netwerk en wat voor soort relaties toegang geven tot waardevolle hulpbronnen zoals inkomen, in-

vloed en informatie. Volgen we de ideeën ontwikkeld in netwerk theorieën en sociaal kapitaal studies, dan kunnen we stellen dat een netwerk dat rijk is aan hulpbronnen zich als volgt kenmerkt: (1) er is een netwerk van mensen, met (2) toegang tot (3) hulpbronnen.

De aanwezigheid en grootte van het netwerk (1) kunnen we meten door het aantal netwerkleden te tellen. De aanwezigheid van hulpbronnen (3) kunnen we meten door het aantal netwerkleden te tellen dat een opleiding na de middelbare school (MBO-niveau en hoger) heeft gevolgd. Opleiding wordt algemeen gezien als een goede indicator voor iemands sociaal-economische positie en dus voor de hulpbronnen die iemand ter beschikking heeft: hoger opgeleide mensen hebben vaker een baan, een hoger inkomen en vermogen, vaardigheden die waardevol zijn in maatschappelijk en politiek verkeer, kennis van instituties in de samenleving (onderwijs, politiek, overheid) en van de geaccepteerde omgangs- en gedragsnormen in de samenleving.

Maar wat bepaalt de toegang (2) tot hulpbronnen van netwerkleden? Bijvoorbeeld, wanneer is het 'kennen' van een ambtenaar op het stadhuis voldoende om toegang te hebben tot de invloed (een hulpbron) die deze ambtenaar heeft op besluitvorming? Vaak wordt in deze context verwezen naar de 'strenght of weak ties' these van Mark Granovetter (1973) dat stelt dat 'zwakke' (minder intieme, minder frequente) relaties instrumenteel 'sterk' zijn omdat ze verschillende netwerken overbruggen. Ook minder intieme relaties (kennissen, bijvoorbeeld) kunnen waardevol zijn voor toegang tot hulpbronnen en voor 'vooruitkomen'. Deze gedachte wordt echter nogal eens omgedraaid: men veronderstelt de waarde van zwakke relaties. Echter, dat overbruggende relaties meestal zwak zijn wil niet zeggen dat de meeste zwakke relaties dus netwerkoverbruggend en waardevol zijn. Om deze en andere redenen die in het hoofdstuk worden besproken, heeft het concept 'brokers' de voorkeur (letterlijk: makelaars; Burt, 1992). Makelaars, of 'bruggenbouwers', zijn mensen die individuen en netwerken met elkaar verbinden die anders niet met elkaar verbonden zouden zijn. Iemand die bruggenbouwers kent heeft in potentie toegang tot de hulpbronnen die in andere netwerken zijn gelegen. Ik betoog en laat zien dat relaties met bruggenbouwers niet noodzakelijk 'zwakke' relaties zijn: ook 'sterke' (intieme of frequente) relaties kunnen een overbruggende functie tussen netwerken vervullen. Bijvoorbeeld, respondenten hebben vrienden of familieleden die weer een eigen netwerk hebben van (gedeeltelijk) andere vrienden, kennissen en collega's. Of een relatie zwak of sterk is, is dus minder van belang dan de overbruggende functie van een relatie.

Daarnaast betoog ik in hoofdstuk 4 dat zowel sociabele als settingspecifieke relaties toegang tot hulpbronnen kunnen verschaffen. Relaties met vrienden en met sommige familieleden zijn vaak sociabel: we onderhouden deze relaties omdat we de omgang met deze personen prettig vinden, en organiseren activiteiten om de relatie te onderhouden. Settingspecifieke relaties zijn

relaties die we onderhouden binnen een bepaalde setting of gerelateerd aan bepaalde activiteiten. De meeste collega's gaan alleen op de werkvloer met elkaar om, bijvoorbeeld. Settingspecifieke relaties kunnen sociabele relaties worden wanneer mensen samen activiteiten ondernemen los van de setting waarin de relatie is ontstaan. Sociabele relaties zijn vaak breed inzetbare relaties: we vragen veel van onze familieleden en vrienden, en geven verschillende soorten steun terug. Settingspecifieke relaties zoals buren, collega's, kennissen en clubgenoten zijn meer begrensd: we vragen minder en hulpvragen zijn vaak specifieker en bijvoorbeeld gerelateerd aan de setting waarin de relatie wordt onderhouden. Collega's kunnen we bijvoorbeeld bij uitstek vragen om hulp bij werkgerelateerde problemen, maar het is minder vanzelfsprekend hen in te schakelen bij persoonlijke problemen (tenzij collega's vrienden of 'vriend-achtig' zijn geworden). Dus niet alleen de relatie zelf maar ook de setting waarin de relatie is ingebed speelt een rol bij de mate waarin we toegang hebben tot andermans hulpbronnen. Enerzijds faciliteren gezamenlijke activiteiten binnen een setting de uitwisseling van hulpbronnen, zeker wanneer het routineuze activiteiten betreft. Anderzijds zijn familiebanden en vriendschappen waardevol voor toegang tot hulpbronnen omdat mensen met wie we een meer intieme band hebben bereid zijn zich voor ons in te zetten.

Met oog op het vaststellen wat voor soort relaties toegang bieden tot hulpbronnen, concludeer ik dat niet correct zou zijn om alleen intieme of juist alleen zwakke relaties, of alleen sociabele of juist alleen settingspecifieke relaties als indicatoren voor 'toegang' te nemen. Met andere woorden, de 'strength of weak ties' these, ook wel verwoord met het concept 'bridging social capital' biedt een te nauw begrip van wat waardevolle relaties zijn. Hoewel specifieke vormen van hulp mogelijk via bepaalde typen relaties wordt gegeven, is het voor dit onderzoek niet zinvol om de ene ofwel de andere relatie uit te sluiten als waardevol netwerklid. Via zowel sociabele (vaak intieme) en settingspecifieke (vaak minder of niet intiem) relaties kunnen mensen toegang tot hulpbronnen verkrijgen. Voor het meten van kansrijke netwerken, betekent dat, dat ik in dit onderzoek vooral focus op relaties met kansrijke netwerkleden (gemeten als die netwerkleden die een opleiding na de middelbare school hebben genoten) en overbruggende relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken.

5 Ontmoetingskansen: sociaal-ruimtelijk isolement en netwerkarmoede

In hoofdstuk 5 van het proefschrift bespreek ik een eerste manier waarop we de samenhang tussen ruimtelijke segregatie en buurtsamenstelling enerzijds en de vorming en kwaliteit van persoonlijke netwerken anderzijds kunnen begrijpen, namelijk via ontmoetingskansen. Hier sluit ik aan bij William

J. Wilsons (1987, 1996) these over 'sociaal isolement'—of liever sociaal-ruim-telijk isolement. Onderdeel van deze these is de gedachte dat het wonen in een buurt met een concentratie van kansarme huishoudens nadelig is voor de kwaliteit van persoonlijke netwerken, omdat kansarmen—doordat de buurt (nagenoeg) homogeen is—minder mogelijkheden hebben om met kansrij-ke mensen in contact te komen. Kansarme mensen in gemengde (of kansrij-ke) buurten zouden daartoe meer mogelijkheden hebben. Dit is een van de manieren waarop zogenoemde 'buurteffecten' kunnen ontstaan: het wonen in een achterstandsbuurt heeft dan extra negatieve gevolgen voor de (toch al kansarme) bewoners. Leven in sociaal-ruimtelijk isolement betekent dat mensen in armoedebuurten uitsluiting ondervinden langs lijnen van sociaal-economische status en woonplaats; de vraag is nu in hoeverre en hoe dat bij-draagt aan 'netwerkarmoede' (d.i.,netwerken die minder toegang bieden tot waardevolle hulpbronnen).

Overeenkomstig de these kunnen we de volgende voorwaarden ontrafelen voor het ontstaan van buurteffecten, via de buurtsamenstelling, op persoon-lijke netwerken. Een eerste voorwaarde is dat de sociaal-ruimtelijke segre-gatie van zodanig niveau is dat het wonen in een armoedebuurt de kansen om kansrijken te ontmoeten significant verkleint. Nederlandse onderzoekers, onder wie Sako Musterd (2005) hebben betoogd dat in Nederlandse steden, alsook in andere Europese steden, kansarme groepen niet in extreme mate gesegregeerd van de rest van de populatie wonen. Wanneer we kijken naar de bevolking van Hillesluis, zien we dat ook daar bewoners met een sterke-re sociaal-economische status wonen. Dat is al een belangrijk aanwijzing dat de buurtsamenstelling op zich geen sterk effect kan hebben. Echter, voor die kansarme bewoners voor wie het dagelijks leven zich grotendeels in de buurt afspeelt (of: ruimtelijk is begrensd) door gebrek aan participatie in ande-re settings, neemt de invloed van de buurtsamenstelling, in theorie althans, toe. Die gedachte leidt tot een tweede voorwaarde voor het ontstaan van een buurteffect op netwerken: dat relaties zich vormen binnen de buurt. Het iso-lement van kansarmen die buurteffecten ondervinden is immers niet alleen sociaal-economisch maar vooral ook ruimtelijk. In dit verband dienen we relaties die in de buurt worden onderhouden (familieleden en vrienden die in de buurt wonen) te onderscheiden van relaties die zijn gevormd in de buurt (buurtgenoten). Immers, logischerwijs kan de buurtsamenstelling alleen invloed hebben op de samenstelling van netwerken wanneer mensen relaties met buurtgenoten vormen via participatie in buurtsettings zoals de micro-buurt, buurthuis en de lokale school. Deze tweede voorwaarde voor het ont-staan van buurteffecten is temeer belangrijk omdat we uit onderzoek weten dat de geografische spreiding van netwerken samenhangt met de sociaal-eco-nomische positie van mensen: kansarme mensen hebben minder gespreide netwerken dan kansrijke mensen (zie voor Nederlands onderzoek Mulder en Kalmijn, 2004; Pinkster, 2008a).

Om nu eventuele buurteffecten in Hillesluis, Cool en Blijdorp te kunnen begrijpen, moeten we dus een maat voor de 'lokaliteit' van netwerken meenemen in de analyse van de verzamelde netwerkgegevens. Deze maat laat zien dat gemiddeld één op zes netwerkleden in dezelfde buurt als respondent woont, en dat het aandeel netwerkleden dat in de buurt woont (inclusief familieleden, vrienden, enzovoorts) toeneemt naarmate de sociaal-economische positie van respondenten zwakker is. Het aantal hoger opgeleiden in het netwerk, als maat voor de kwaliteit van het netwerk, loopt af naarmate de sociaal-economische positie van respondenten zwakker is. Ik vind in mijn onderzoek echter niet dat de verschillen in netwerklokaliteit en -kwaliteit statistisch samenhangen met de buurt waarin respondenten wonen. Anders gezegd, de netwerkgegevens laten zien dat de netwerken van Hillesluisers (de zgn. achterstandsbuurt) niet significant afwijken van de netwerken van mensen met een vergelijkbare sociaal-economische positie in de andere twee buurten (Cool en Blijdorp, de gemengde buurt respectievelijk de voorstandsbuurt). Mijn onderzoek suggereert dat er geen zelfstandig 'effecten' uitgaan van de buurtsamenstelling op de lokaliteit en kwaliteit van de persoonlijke netwerken. Gegeven dat Hillesluis een van de armste buurten van Rotterdam en Nederland is, ondersteunt deze bevinding het argument dat ruimtelijke segregatie van onvoldoende niveau is om 'buurteffecten' te genereren.

Voorts wijst de lokaliteit van de netwerken op een deel van de verklaring waarom sommige respondenten een kansarm(er) netwerk hebben: de lokaliteit van de netwerken van kansarme respondenten is bovengemiddeld, maar dat heeft te maken met het gebrek aan relaties met mensen die buiten de buurt wonen. Tussen kansarme en kansrijke respondenten is nauwelijks verschil in het aantal relaties met mensen in de buurt. Met ander woorden, kansarme respondenten onderhouden niet noodzakelijk een groter *aantal* relaties met mensen die in de buurt wonen; nog anders gezegd, zij compenseren een toch al klein netwerk niet door meer relaties met buurtgenoten aan te gaan. Daarnaast laten de onderzoeksgegevens zien dat netwerklokaliteit statistisch samenhangt met de keuze om vlakbij familieleden te wonen of daar te gaan of blijven wonen waar men is geboren en getogen. Dit suggereert dat een deel van de netwerkleden in de buurt geen buurtgenoten zijn maar mensen die respondenten al eerder kenden—zoals familieleden en schoolgenoten die ook in de buurt zijn blijven wonen. Verdere analyse van de netwerkdata en de diepte-interviews bevestigt dit patroon: gemiddeld de helft van de lokale relaties blijkt niet in de buurt te zijn gevormd.

Concluderend kunnen we op basis hiervan stellen dat lokaliteit en kwaliteit van netwerken veeleer samenhangen met hoe en waar mensen hun netwerken onderhouden en in hoeverre zij relaties aan gaan met mensen in andere settings. Verschillen in het onderhouden en uitbreiden van persoonlijke netwerken verklaren deels de verschillen in netwerkkwaliteit; de buurt

waarin men woont, is daarbij niet van belang. De onderzoeksresultaten suggereren voorts dat het onderscheid tussen mensen die sterk aan de buurt zijn gebonden enerzijds, en mensen die sterk geografisch mobiel zijn anderzijds, niet moet worden overdreven. Uit dit onderzoek blijkt namelijk enerzijds niet dat kansarme mensen veel meer relaties met buurtgenoten aangaan, terwijl anderzijds ook kansrijke mensen (oude) relaties in hun buurt blijken te onderhouden. De verschillen zitten vooral in het al dan niet hebben van relaties met mensen die buiten de eigen buurt wonen.

Tot slot bekijk ik in hoofdstuk 5 van het proefschrift in hoeverre, waar en hoe buurtrelaties—relaties met buurtgenoten—worden gevormd. Dit zijn immers de relaties waar de buurtsamenstelling mogelijk een rol speelt bij ontmoetingskansen tussen kansarmen en kansrijken. Een klein deel van de geïnterviewde bewoners blijkt buurtgenoten te ontmoeten via de bewonersorganisatie en buurtcentra. Wanneer deze buurtsettings echter een specifieke categorie mensen aantrekt of bij elkaar brengt, omdat ze in bepaalde behoeften voorzien, zullen ze niet of nauwelijks bijdragen aan de vorming van overbruggende relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken. Dit soort settings in gemengde buurten dienen dan dus wel een gemengde populatie aan te trekken, willen ze de vorming van overbruggende relaties faciliteren. Voorts laten de interviews zien dat buurtrelaties meestal worden gevormd in de microbuurt, welke ook vaak homogeen is qua sociaal-economische samenstelling, óók in zogenaamde gemengde buurten. Bovendien heeft de woningvoorraad mogelijk invloed op de mate waarin naaste buren contact hebben met elkaar. In microbuurten met koopwoningen (gangbaar in Blijdorp) zijn bewoners regelmatig in contact via de Vereniging van Eigenaren. Hoewel er niet direct hechte relaties hoeven te ontstaan, verwordt de microbuurt zo wel een setting waarin settingspecifieke relaties worden onderhouden en de uitwisseling van hulpbronnen zoals informatie wordt vergemakkelijkt. In buurten met veel sociale huurwoningen ontbreekt deze structuur. Een zeer klein deel van de bewoners participeert in projecten zoals Opzoomeren, maar deelname daaraan is vrijwillig (in tegenstelling tot verplichte deelname aan de VvE) en bijeenkomsten zijn minder regelmatig. We kunnen dus concluderen dat microbuurten interacties en relaties tussen buurtgenoten verschillend structureren, met in potentie verschillende gevolgen voor de uitwisseling van hulpbronnen.

Overwegende dat relaties die in de buurt met buurtgenoten worden gevormd slechts een klein deel van de totale persoonlijke netwerken uitmaken, kan uit het onderzoek worden geconcludeerd dat de buurtsamenstelling slechts een geringe invloed heeft op de samenstelling en kwaliteit van netwerken. De samenstelling van de buurt voorgesteld als statistische ontmoetingskans biedt dan ook geen verklaring voor het bestaan van netwerkarmoede en ongelijke netwerken.

6 De betekenis van de buurt: burenrelaties, etniciteit en 'anders-zijn'

In hoofdstuk 6 van mijn proefschrift onderzoek ik een tweede manier waarop buurtsamenstelling mogelijk van invloed is op de vorming van relaties en netwerken, te weten via de betekenis die de buurtsamenstelling voor de bewoners heeft. De nadruk ligt hierbij op relaties die worden gevormd in de microbuurt.

Achterstandsbuurten—buurten met relatief veel kansarme bewoners— zijn vaak ook multi-etnische buurten en kampen nog al eens met een negatieve reputatie. Zo ook Hillesluis, waar in 2007 twee derde van de populatie van niet-westerse afkomst is. Hillesluis staat bovendien bekend als probleembuurt. Op basis van literatuur kunnen we beargumenteren dat de etnische diversiteit in de buurt en de negatieve reputatie negatieve gevolgen kunnen hebben voor de vorming van buurtrelaties. Ten eerste, in multi-etnische buurten voelen mensen zich mogelijk ongemakkelijk in de nabijheid van medebewoners die er, in de perceptie, andere leefgewoonten en normen op nahouden, wat er mogelijk toe leidt dat mensen vinden dat ze niet 'passen' in de buurt en zich afzijdig houden van omgang met buurtbewoners (vgl. Putnam, 2007). Ten tweede, het wonen in een achterstandsbuurt heeft mogelijk negatieve gevolgen wanneer de negatieve reputatie van een buurt slecht afstraalt op bewoners en mensen zich om die reden distantiëren van medebewoners en afzijdig houden (vgl. Wacquant, 2008). Verschillen in (gepercipieerde) buurtsamenstelling en reputatie verklaren mogelijk, deels, ongelijkheid in netwerken wanneer het wonen in bepaalde buurten verhindert dat mensen hun netwerk uitbreiden door relaties met buurtgenoten aan te gaan.

De enquête laat zien dat Hillesluisers en Cool-bewoners, in vergelijking met Blijdorpers, vaker zeggen dat hun medebuurtbewoners in het algemeen een andere 'leefstijl' hebben. Hillesluisers voelen zich bovendien vaker onveilig in hun buurt, wat een indicatie is voor het ervaren van problemen in de buurt. Aan de hand van Bloklands (1998: 115-147) typologie van relaties, onderzoek ik het voorkomen van verschillende vormen van buurtrelaties. De netwerkleden die genoemd worden als 'buren' zijn vaak 'verbindingen' en 'transacties': nabuurschap (praatje maken, groeten) en uitwisseling van kleine diensten (lenen van eten of gereedschap en hulp in noodsituaties). Een (kleiner) deel van de burenrelaties kan worden gekarakteriseerd als 'banden': meer intieme en sociabele relaties.

Op basis van de twee genoemde thesen, is de verwachting dat mensen die in Hillesluis wonen (multi-etnische 'probleembuurt') minder buurtrelaties aangaan dan mensen in Blijdorp (homogene probleemloze buurt). Blijdorpers profiteren mogelijk meer van hun buurt als setting waarin zij hun netwerk kunnen uitbreiden. Echter, de enquête laat zien dat respondenten in Hillesluis even vaak een buur als netwerklid noemen als respondenten in Cool en

Blijdorp. Er is dus geen verschil tussen de drie bewonersgroepen en dus geen grond om aan te nemen dat buurtdiversiteit of buurtreputatie negatief van invloed is op de vorming van burenrelaties. Oudere bewoners en ouders met jonge kinderen (tot 13 jaar) noemen wel vaker een buur als netwerklid.

Als we nu deze laatste categorie respondenten, de ouders, in de drie buurten vergelijken vinden we echter wel dat ouders in Hillesluis significant minder vaak een buur als netwerklid noemen. Op basis hiervan suggereer ik dat buurtsamenstelling niet zozeer samenhangt met nabuurschap in de vorm van 'verbindingen' en 'transacties' (d.i., veelal oppervlakkige relaties) maar mogelijk wel met de vorming van 'banden' tussen buurtgenoten—relaties die verder gaan dan kleine diensten en vriendelijke contacten. Voor de vorming van meer intieme relaties is overeenstemming in leefstijlen belangrijker, en (gepercipieerde) verschillen in leefstijl hinderen mogelijk de transformatie van zwakke relaties naar sterkere relaties. Overeenstemming in leefstijlen is mogelijk minder belangrijk wanneer mensen meer afstandelijke relaties onderhouden (zoals de meeste burenrelaties), maar is wel belangrijk voor de vorming van vriendschappen of 'vriend-achtige' relaties.

De vraag is nu hoe dit samenhangt met algemene percepties over de buurt of dat de verklaring veeleer moet worden gezocht in de interacties tussen buurtgenoten. In dit verband onderzoek ik vervolgens in hoeverre en op basis van welke kenmerken respondenten hun buren als 'anders' dan wel als 'mensen zoals wij' beschouwen. De interviews laten zien dat geïnterviewde Hillesluisers geneigd zijn om hun buren te beschrijven in termen van etnische afkomst en om etnische afkomst te interpreteren als 'cultuur'. Zij vatten 'cultuur' vervolgens op als 'leefstijl' en de stap naar een veronderstelling dat mensen van andere etnische afkomst ook een andere leefstijl hebben, en dus 'anders' zijn, is zo gemakkelijk gemaakt. De scheidslijnen van Blijdorpers— die overwegend te maken hebben met autochtone Nederlandse buren—worden veeleer getrokken op basis van leeftijd en gezinsvorm, en geïnterpreteerd als duiding van levensfase, generatie en leefstijl. Het trekken van scheidslijnen op zich is niet zorgelijk, omdat het ons helpt mensen met gelijke interesses en leefstijlen te selecteren. Het is echter wel zorgelijk wanneer dit selectieproces gebeurt op basis van etnische afkomst omdat men—mogelijk onterecht—veronderstelt dat etnische afkomst gelijk staat aan leefstijl. Waar leeftijd en gezinsvorm vrij accurate tekens zijn van leefwijze, is etnische afkomst dat veel minder.

Mijn argument is dat het in de setting van de microbuurt moeilijk is om voorbij stereotypering gebaseerd op etnische categorieën te gaan. Immers, deze setting vereist het zoeken naar een balans tussen nabijheid en privacy en dat betekent vaak vriendelijke interacties met tegelijk enige afstand. Ook de verwachtingen over gepast gedrag binnen de setting speelt dus een rol in hoe interacties en relaties zich ontwikkelen. In dit verband betoog ik dat de microbuurt 'vriendschapspotentie' (Pettigrew, 1998) mist. Samengevat kunnen

we stellen dat twee factoren de vorming van meer intieme burenrelaties in multi-etnische buurten verhinderen. De eerste is het gegeven dat de micro-buurt niet een bijzonder sociabele setting is; de tweede factor is het gegeven dat verschillen in etnische afkomst worden geïnterpreteerd als verschillen in leefstijl. Dit verklaart mogelijk waarom ouders in Hillesluis minder buren als netwerkleden noemen.

In conclusie kunnen we stellen dat 'nabuurschap' in etnisch gemengde buurten een zonzijde en een schaduwzijde met zich meebrengt. De schaduw-zijde is dat de setting van de microbuurt het voorbijgaan aan het interpreteren van etnische afkomst als leefstijl niet vanzelfsprekend bevordert, omdat de setting vriendschapspotentie mist (men probeert vaak enige afstand te houden). De zonzijde is echter dat, precies omdat de microbuurt geen vriend-schapspotentie heeft, de buurtdiversiteit of buurtreputatie niet noodzakelijk negatieve gevolgen heeft voor de praktijk van nabuurschap, omdat gelijkheid en sociabiliteit geen noodzakelijke voorwaarde zijn voor vriendelijke (maar afstandelijke) interacties en uitwisseling van kleine diensten.

Voor de uitwisseling van waardevolle hulpbronnen, echter, zijn meer dan oppervlakkige relaties nodig. Als het wonen in een multi-etnische buurt de vorming van deze relaties niet bevordert, heeft dat mogelijk negatieve gevolgen voor de mate waarin mensen hun netwerk kunnen uitbreiden. Dat is vooral een probleem voor mensen die beperkt participeren in andere settings (school, werk, verenigingen) en dus beperkte mogelijkheden hebben om nieu-we relaties te vormen. Met andere woorden, voor mensen die aangewezen zijn op de buurt voor sociale contacten, is het wonen in een multi-etnische buurt mogelijk nadelig. Echter, in termen van netwerkkwaliteit moet worden opgemerkt dat het gebrek aan relaties op zich aandacht verdient en de situ-atie die maakt dat sommige mensen zijn aangewezen op de buurt voor het aangaan van persoonlijke relaties.

Een tweede opmerking betreft de rol van de microbuurt in het facilite-ren van overbruggende relaties. Zoals we zullen zien in hoofdstuk 7 van het proefschrift, trekken mensen ook scheidslijnen op basis van sociaal-eco-nomische positie ('klasse'). De resultaten van dit onderzoek met betrekking tot etnisch-overbruggende relaties in de buurt suggereert dat overbruggen-de relaties tussen kansarmen en kansrijken in de buurt niet vanzelf tot stand zullen komen, mede vanwege de aard van de setting.

7 Kiezen voor diversiteit: smaak en diversiteit in persoonlijke netwerken

In hoofdstuk 7 van mijn proefschrift beschouw ik een derde manier waarop buurtsamenstelling en netwerken mogelijk zijn verbonden, aan de hand van het stadssociologische debat over diversiteit en gentrificatie (d.i., de 'opwaar-

dering' van een achterstandsbuurt door de instroom van kansrijke bewoners) en mengingsbeleid (bijvoorbeeld door herstructurering). We zien ook in Nederland een toegenomen voorkeur voor vestiging in de stad: een segment van kansrijke stedelingen verkiest de stad boven (homogeen) dorp en Vinex-wijk en kiest voor een (etnisch- en sociaal-economisch) gemengde buurt. De 'nieuwe middenklasse' die kiest voor gemengde stadsbuurten vestigt zich juist daar omdat ze graag in de nabijheid van mensen die 'anders' zijn verkeren. De vraag die ik in het hoofdstuk opwerp is in hoeverre deze keuze voor diversiteit een indicatie is voor, of zich vertaalt in, het aangaan van meer overbruggende relaties. Hebben deze diversiteitkiezers meer gemengde netwerken, dan zij die kiezen voor homogene woonbuurten? Ander onderzoek heeft reeds laten zien dat kansrijken ('gentrifiers') in gemengde buurten nauwelijks omgaan met hun kansarmere medebuurtbewoners. De netwerken van kansrijken die kiezen voor diversiteit en diegenen die kiezen voor homogeniteit zijn echter nog niet eerder systematische vergeleken. In hoofdstuk 7 vergelijk ik de 'stedelijke habitus' (Bridge, 2001; Butler, 2002) van twee kansrijke categorieën: de ene woonachtig in de gemengde buurt Cool, de andere woonachtig in homogeen Blijdorp.

Deze onderzoeksvraag kunnen we koppelen aan de these van Bourdieu (1984) over 'habitus' en smaak als 'koppelaars' (match-makers). Deze these houdt het volgende in. Habitus verwijst naar een bepaalde grondhouding van mensen ofwel patronen in denken en voelen die het handelen vormen. Deze patronen uiten zich in een bepaalde leefstijl en smaken en vormen zich op basis van, en reflecteren, cultureel en economisch kapitaal (opleiding, opvoeding, financiële positie). We kunnen de uitsortering van relaties langs lijnen van sociaal-economische status (zgn. 'homophily principle') zien als een manifestatie van uitsortering op basis van smaak en leefstijl. Als we kiezen voor diversiteit begrijpen, zoals met name Mike Savage en collega's (2005) hebben betoogd, als een manier voor kansrijken om zich te onderscheiden van anderen, dan kunnen we ook begrijpen waarom zij niet of nauwelijks relaties aangaan met kansarmere mensen (die immers vaak een andere leefstijl zullen hebben).

Nadat ik op basis van de diepte-interviews laat zien dat ook kenmerken van 'smaak' en leefstijl een teken van 'anders-zijn' zijn, ga ik over tot een vergelijking van de kansrijke respondenten in enerzijds Cool en anderzijds Blijdorp. Deze vergelijking laat zien dat deze twee categorieën bewoners twee verschillende segmenten van de stedelijke middenklasse zijn: kansrijke respondenten in Cool zijn in het algemeen jonger, vaker alleenstaand en zonder kinderen en lager opgeleid. Voorts, door te kiezen voor het stadscentrum, vaker vanwege culturele faciliteiten, geven zij blijk van een voorkeur voor stedelijk leven. Zij hebben bovendien relatief minder relaties in de buurt en meer relaties met mensen die elders in de stad wonen, wat suggereert dat zij meer georiënteerd zijn op de stad dan op hun buurt. Kansrijke respondenten in

Blijdorp, daarentegen, waarderen de nabijheid van de stad en haar faciliteiten en lijken een veiligere modes van het stedelijke leven te verkiezen. Zij hebben gemiddeld meer relaties met mensen in de hun buurt (overigens niet per se buren) en omschrijven hun buurt bijvoorbeeld vaker als een 'dorp'. We kunnen aldus twee verschillende articulaties van de 'stedelijke habitus' onderscheiden, hoewel beide een smaak voor 'diversiteit' kunnen claimen en een afkeer van de homogeniteit van dorpen en Vinex-wijken.

Echter, de verschillende articulaties van de stedelijke habitus lijken weinig te betekenen voor het al dan niet aangaan van overbruggende relaties: kansrijke respondenten in Cool en Blijdorp noemen even vaak kansarme mensen als netwerkleden.[10] In het algemeen hebben hoog opgeleide en hooggeschoolde respondenten zelfs minder overbruggende relaties, in vergelijking met kansarmere respondenten. Daaruit kunnen we concluderen, in overeenstemming met ander onderzoek, dat een smaak voor diversiteit, tot uiting komend in een keuze voor een gemengde buurt, niet begrepen moet worden als een tendens om meer overbruggende relaties aan te gaan en aldus hun hulpbronnen toegankelijk te maken. Middenklassers die graag onder mensen verkeren die 'anders' zijn, wijken in hun relaties dus niet af van het 'homophily principle'. Dit suggereert tevens dat kiezen voor diversiteit meer te maken heeft met 'onderscheiden' en minder met het aangaan van bindingen met kansarme mensen, en met het trekken van scheidslijnen binnen de categorie van kansrijken en het bestendigen van scheidslijnen tussen de kansrijken en kansarmen. Dat betekent, tot slot, dat de buurt wel degelijk van belang is om te begrijpen hoe scheidslijnen tussen en binnen sociaal-economische categorieën in stand worden gehouden.

8 De ongelijke vorming van netwerken: settings, participatie en sociaal kapitaal

Ik heb betoogd dat de onderzoeksresultaten laten zien dat en waarom buurtsamenstelling niet zozeer ontmoetingskansen blijken te structureren (hoofdstuk 5 van het proefschrift) maar wel scheidslijnen tussen categorieën mensen bevestigen (hoofdstukken 6 en 7). In hoofdstuk 8 van mijn proefschrift verbreed ik de analyse van de netwerkvorming naar andere settings zoals familie, werk, studie en verenigingen. De vraag is, als de buurt slechte een minimale rol heeft in netwerkvorming, en dus een minimale rol in het ontstaan van ongelijke netwerken, welke settings doen er dan wel toe? Het betreffende

---

10 Dit is gemeten door te kijken naar het aandeel netwerkleden dat een ander opleidingsniveau heeft, dat is, wel of geen opleiding na de middelbare school, dan respondent zelf. Aangezien de meeste kansrijke respondenten (geselecteerd aan de hand van het beroepsniveau) een dergelijke opleiding hebben genoten, gaat het hier vooral om het aandeel lager opgeleiden in het netwerk.

hoofdstuk vangt aan met een gedetailleerde beschrijving van hoe persoonlijke netwerken worden gevormd en hoe netwerken zich uitbreiden. Vervolgens bespreek ik hoe verschillen in netwerkvorming en verschillende netwerkvormen kunnen verklaren waarom netwerken variëren in kwaliteit.

Persoonlijke netwerken zijn een verzameling van de persoonlijke relaties die mensen in minder of meer settings en tijdens één of meerdere levensfasen hebben gevormd (Hannerz, 1980; Spencer en Pahl, 2006). Levensfases en -transities bieden mogelijkheden om het netwerk uit te breiden: tijdens de studie ontmoet men studiegenoten, op de werkvloer ontmoet men collega's, via vrijwilligerswerk en verenigingswerk ontmoet men clubgenoten, enzovoorts. Mensen verschillen echter in de mate waarin zij participeren in settings en in de mate waarin zij nieuwe relaties aan hun netwerk toevoegen gedurende hun leven. Sommigen vormen de meeste relaties als ze tieners en twintigers zijn en voegen weinig relaties toe nadat ze zijn gesetteld, terwijl anderen voortdurende nieuwe relaties aangaan en hun netwerk constant uitbreiden. Sommige netwerken vormen zich in een of twee settings en blijven vaak relatief klein ('gebonden' netwerken), waar andere netwerken zich vormen in meerdere en verschillende soorten settings en voortdurend uitbreiden en uitdijen ('ontwikkelende' netwerken). Veel netwerken nemen overigens een middenpositie in; het onderscheid verheldert vooral de manier waarop netwerken zich verschillend ontwikkelen.

Deze verschillende modi van netwerkvorming resulteren in verschillende netwerkvormen. Een voorbeeld van gebonden netwerken zijn familienetwerken, waarin familieleden talrijker zijn dan andere typen relaties. Een voorbeeld van ontwikkelende netwerken zijn vriendennetwerken (vrienden zijn het talrijkst) en gemengde netwerken (een variëteit aan relaties; familie en vrienden overheersen niet). De enquête laat zien dat kansarme respondenten significant vaker een familienetwerk hebben, terwijl kansrijke respondenten vaker een vriendennetwerk hebben. Beide categorieën hebben overigens even vaak gemengde netwerken, hoewel de gemengde netwerken tussen beide variëren van vorm, samenstelling en kwaliteit. Netwerkvorm hangt bovendien statistisch samen met de kwaliteit van het netwerk, gemeten aan de hand van de grootte, variëteit (of: reikwijdte) en aantal hoger opgeleide netwerkleden (d.i., met een opleiding na de middelbare school). Familienetwerken zijn bijvoorbeeld significant kleiner, tellen minder hoogopgeleide netwerkleden en zijn minder gevarieerd: ze tellen minder verschillende typen relaties en geven dus in potentie toegang tot minder typen hulpbronnen.

Verdere analyse van de netwerken laat zien dat respondenten nauwelijks variëren in het *aantal* familieleden in hun netwerk—blijkbaar is het onderhouden van relaties met een bepaald aantal (veelal eerstegraads) familieleden een algemeen patroon. Voor andere relaties tekenen zich verschillen af die statistisch samenhangen met sociaal-economische positie: met arbeidsmarktpositie, opleiding en participatie in verenigingen. Samengevat kunnen

we stellen dat de vorming van relaties en de uitbreiding van persoonlijke netwerken samenhangt met (en afhangt van) participatie in bepaalde settings. Dat verklaart waarom kansrijke mensen in het algemeen grotere en meer gevarieerde netwerken hebben: zij participeren vaker in meer en verscheidene settings (studie, werk, verenigingen). Opleiding- en beroepsniveau hangen positief samen met netwerkgrootte, het aantal hoogopgeleide netwerkleden, netwerkvariëteit en netwerkhomogeniteit (wat kansrijken nog meer bevoordeelt).

Echter, niet alleen participatie in deze settings is van belang, maar ook de mogelijkheid om relaties met kansrijke mensen aan te gaan doet ertoe voor een kansrijk netwerk. Uitbreiding van het netwerk naast een kern van familie- en gezinsleden op zichzelf levert nog geen kansrijk netwerk op. Het hebben van 'sociaal kapitaal' betekent vooral dat mensen zijn ingebed in netwerken van kansrijke mensen (vgl. de betekenis van het concept zoals beschreven door Bourdieu, 1986). Variatie in netwerkvorm verklaart deels de ongelijkheid in netwerkkwaliteit. Echter, hoewel vriendennetwerken en gemengde netwerken in het algemeen kansrijker zijn, geldt dit in beduidend mindere mate voor de vriendennetwerken en gemengde netwerken van kansarmere respondenten. Uitbreiding van het netwerk is voordelig, maar meer nog voor kansrijke mensen dan voor kansarme mensen. Noodzakelijk voor een kansrijk netwerk is dus participatie in bepaalde settings waar men relaties met kansrijke mensen kan vormen.

9 Conclusie

In hoofdstuk 9 breng ik de deelconclusies bij elkaar en beantwoord ik de centrale onderzoeksvraag: in hoeverre en hoe bestendigt of bevordert ruimtelijke segregatie de vorming van ongelijke netwerken? Of, andersom, in hoeverre en hoe vermindert ruimtelijke integratie de vorming van ongelijke netwerken? Op basis van het onderzoek kunnen we concluderen dat, ten eerste, de buurtsamenstelling geen rol heeft in het structureren van ontmoetingskansen tussen kansrijken en kansarmen. Dat betekent dat sociaal-ruimtelijke segregatie geen directe gevolgen heeft voor de vorming en kwaliteit van persoonlijke netwerken. We kunnen dan ook stellen dat sociaal-ruimtelijke integratie (gemengde buurten) geen rol speelt in de totstandkoming van overbruggende relaties en meer gemengde netwerken. Ten tweede kunnen we concluderen dat de buurt als betekenisvolle plek—etnische diversiteit en armoedeconcentratie vertaald in gevoelens van ongemak en de ervaring van stigma—sommigen een referentiekader verschaft op basis waarvan zij zich distantiëren van hun medebuurtbewoners, maar dat de negatieve interpretatie van buurtsamenstelling geen significante rol heeft in de vorming van burenrelaties. Ten derde kunnen we concluderen dat de buurtsamenstelling wel een rol heeft als

indicatie voor smaak en leefstijl en in die hoedanigheid hebben buurten een rol in processen van categorisering, sociale identificatie en, dus, het trekken van scheidslijnen (bij wie willen wij horen, hoe kunnen wij ons onderscheiden?). Dat betekent dat zowel ruimtelijke segregatie als ruimtelijke integratie van belang zijn om de verhouding tussen sociaal-economische categorieën te begrijpen.

Met betrekking tot ontmoetingskansen, dienen we te begrijpen dat de 'buurt' niet zozeer een setting in zijn geheel is maar een verzameling settings, zoals bijvoorbeeld de lokale school, verenigingen en buurtorganisaties, en de 'microbuurt' van aangrenzende woningen en bewoners. Buurtsettings structureren interacties tussen mensen. Om de rol van de buurt voor de vorming van relaties en netwerken te begrijpen, moeten we dus begrijpen in hoeverre en hoe mensen participeren in verschillende settings en in hoeverre zij in deze settings nieuwe relaties vormen of veeleer oude relaties onderhouden in deze settings. Voorts dienen we te begrijpen dat buurtgebonden netwerken niet noodzakelijk ook kansarme netwerken zijn, en dat kansarme netwerken niet noodzakelijk voortkomen uit een 'buurtgeoriënteerde leefwijze', zoals soms wordt gedacht. Het is eerder zo dat een kansarm netwerk ontstaan vanuit een gebrek aan participatie in settings die niet familie- of buurtgebonden zijn. Dat is een cruciaal verschil in het begrip van sociaal-ruimtelijk isolement en voert onze aandacht naar de (verschillende) manieren waarop mensen hun netwerken vormen en onderhouden.

Met betrekking tot de invloed van de betekenis van de buurt op burenrelaties, dienen we een onderscheid te maken tussen algemene ideeën en gevoelens ten aanzien van de buurt en de buurtpopulatie enerzijds, en de dagelijkse praktijk anderzijds. Er is veel aandacht, vanuit wetenschap en praktijk, voor interacties en relaties in multi-etnische buurten. Daarbij wordt weinig aandacht geschonken aan het soort setting dat de buurt is en de manier waarop mensen in een dergelijke setting met elkaar omgaan. De microbuurt is echter niet zomaar een 'context' en we kunnen de interacties tussen mensen niet begrijpen als onafhankelijk van de context waarin zij plaatsvinden. Mijn onderzoek laat zien dat, in tegenstelling tot wat vaak wordt gedacht, bewoners in een multi-etnische probleembuurt niet minder vaak relaties met buurtgenoten hebben. We moeten dus voorzichtig zijn met aannames over 'gebrek aan sociale cohesie' op basis van algemene gevoelens van onvrede en onveiligheid.

Tot slot, met betrekking tot de keuze voor een gemengde buurt, kunnen we concluderen dat die keuze geen indicatie is voor, of zich niet vertaald in het aangaan van meer overbruggende relaties. Kansrijke(re) mensen die zich in een gemengde buurt vestigen hebben immers niet meer gemengde netwerken dan kansrijke(re) mensen die zich in een homogene welvarende buurt vestigen. Bovendien geven beide groepen blijk van een 'stedelijke habitus' en een wens zich te onderscheiden van mensen die kiezen voor 'homogeniteit'

en 'eenheidsworst'. Met andere woorden, praten over diversiteit is nog geen diversiteit 'doen'. De stedelijke diversiteitkiezers, net als kansrijken in het algemeen, gaan bovendien relatief weinig relaties aan met buurtgenoten. Hun dagelijkse levens omvatten zoveel meer dan hun buurt—studie, werk, vrije tijd—dat een keuze voor diversiteit pas verschil maakt wanneer deze keuze ook een keuze voor betrokkenheid bij buurtsettings en buurtgenoten zou inhouden. Dat lijkt echter niet zo te zijn.

In meer algemene zin kunnen we buurtsamenstelling op twee manieren begrijpen: (1) als een statistisch gegeven met betrekking tot een verzameling mensen die een woonplek delen, en (2) als iets dat betekenis geeft aan deze verzameling mensen die een woonplek delen. In de eerste zin gaat onze aandacht uit naar statistische ontmoetingskansen; in de tweede zin gaat onze aandacht uit naar hoe mensen scheidslijnen trekken tussen 'mensen zoals wij' en mensen die 'anders' zijn. Wanneer we nu de diverse stadssociologische debatten over sociaal-ruimtelijke gevolgen en de bevindingen van dit onderzoek beschouwen, kunnen we stellen dat het begrijpen van buurtsamenstelling als statistisch feit het minst bijdraagt aan ons begrip van de gevolgen van ruimtelijke segregatie. Dit is vooral zo omdat ruimtelijke segregatie in Nederland niet zodanig van niveau is dat het op zichzelf sociaal-economische categorieën verdeelt. We kunnen aldus concluderen dat de buurtsamenstelling geen 'onafhankelijk effect'—om met buurteffect onderzoekers te praten—heeft op ongelijkheid (althans, niet via het mechanismen van persoonlijke netwerken).

Echter, het is duidelijk dat buurten en de samenstelling van buurten een rol spelen in het bestendigen en wellicht bekrachtigen van scheidslijnen tussen kansarme en kansrijke categorieën mensen. Ruimtelijke segregatie en integratie zijn belangrijk om de relatie tussen deze categorieën te begrijpen. Als waar en tussen wie je woont in belang toeneemt als symbool voor smaak en leefstijl, dan heeft de buurt een rol in het bevestigen van oude scheidslijnen tussen categorieën en het creëren van nieuwe scheidslijnen binnen categorieën mensen. Kiezen voor bepaalde plaatsen, als symbolisering van milieu en opvoeding en combinaties van cultureel en economisch kapitaal, bevestigt en bekrachtigt scheidslijnen tussen diegenen die rijk zijn in hulpbronnen en diegenen die dat niet zijn. In de woorden van Simon Parker en collega's (2007: 917): klasse plaatst mensen in verschillende typen buurten, en dat resulteert vervolgens weer in ruimtelijke patronen van klasse. Echter, dat geldt niet alleen voor ruimtelijke segregatie: we dienen ruimtelijke integratie niet te begrijpen als een indicatie voor sociaal-economische integratie; het is veeleer zo dat (bepaalde typen) gemengde buurten nieuwe vormen van sociaal-economische patronen kunnen bevestigen. Ruimtelijke segregatie en integratie als ruimtelijke patronen zijn, ondanks dat ze geen 'effect' hebben op netwerken, onmiskenbaar van belang om patronen van associatie en relaties tussen categorieën mensen in de samenleving te begrijpen.

Aanbevelingen voor beleid en praktijk

De aanbevelingen betreffen enerzijds de manier waarop we over sommige za-ken (zijn gaan) denken, en anderzijds de randvoorwaarden om gesegregeer-de en ongelijke netwerken te verminderen. Daarbij moeten we in gedachten houden dat, ten eerste, relaties en zeker overbruggende relaties zich moeilijk laten sturen, en, ten tweede, dat relaties niet noodzakelijkerwijs de belang-rijkste manier zijn waarop waardevolle hulpbronnen worden uitgewisseld. Andere maatregelen zijn dus noodzakelijk om een meer evenredige uitwisse-ling en gelijke toegang tot hulpbronnen te waarborgen, zoals voorzieningen in het kader van de verzorgingstaat.

Gemengde buurten: met welk doel?

Hoewel dit onderzoek geen evaluatie van mengingsstrategieën betreft, geeft het onderzoek geen aanleiding veel te verwachten van gemengde buurten (door woningdifferentiatie of gentrificatie) voor toegang tot hulpbronnen en overbruggende relaties. Echter, mijn aanbeveling is niet om te stoppen met buurtmenging, aangezien er andere redenen kunnen zijn om te streven naar gemengde buurten. Als we aannemen dat ruimtelijke patronen zoals buurtse-gregatie scheidslijnen bevestigen dan wel versterken, is dat op zich voldoen-de reden om sterk gesegregeerde buurten tegen te gaan. Echter, daarbij moe-ten we in gedachten houden dat gemengde buurten geen teken zijn van so-ciaaleconomische integratie. Scheidslijnen tussen bevolkingscategorieën kun-nen blijven bestaan ook wanneer die scheidslijnen niet ruimtelijk worden uit-gedrukt. Het gevaar van een sterke focus op gemengde buurten als route naar meer integratie en gelijkheid, is dat zodra ruimtelijke segregatie is verdwe-nen, we denken dat segregatie, netwerk armoede en isolement ook zijn op-gelost. Beleidsmakers doen er daarom goed aan om te bedenken welke pro-blemen ze willen en kunnen oplossen met ruimtelijke menging, en welke op-lossingen nodig zijn om andere problemen op te lossen. Met andere woorden, als we het devies 'de buurt als vindplaats voor problemen' aanhouden, dan zou die vindplaats met het creëren van gemende buurten kunnen verdwijnen; andere vindplaatsen dienen dan te worden geïdentificeerd. Overigens zou-den beleidsmakers en professionals de stigmatiserende werking die van men-gingsbeleid zelf uit kan gaan dienen te vermijden.

Denk niet over 'de buurt' maar over 'buurtsettings'

Een tweede aanbeveling richt zich op buurtsettings in zowel achterstands-buurten als gemengde buurten. Wat voor clientèle trekken buurtsettings: trek-ken ze alleen kansarme mensen aan of een gemengde populatie, en is het mogelijk om een gemengde populatie aan te trekken? In het bijzonder in ge-mengde buurten zouden buurtsettings een gemengde clientèle moeten aan-trekken. Voor zover er al overbruggende relaties ontstaan in gemengde buur-ten, zijn dit de meest waarschijnlijke locaties. Daarbij is het goed te bedenken

dat relaties in deze buurtsettings waarschijnlijk settingspecifieke relaties zullen zijn (en blijven): relaties die niet buiten de setting worden voortgezet. De inrichting en programmering van de settings moeten dan ook daarop gericht zijn en de vorming en onderhouden van settingspecifieke relaties ondersteunen (settings waar mensen enkel vlug in- en uitlopen zijn bijvoorbeeld minder geschikt; zie RMO, 2005). Voor gezinnen met jonge kinderen en wellicht ouderen—die het meest gebaat zijn bij relaties in de buurt—is het selecteren op leefstijl op portiekniveau mogelijk voordelig; voor andere categorieën is het minder van belang omdat zij toch minder geneigd zijn relaties met hun buren aan te gaan.

'Sociaal kapitaal' vloeit voort uit hulpbronnen, niet andersom
Een derde aanbeveling betreft de manier waarop we denken over sociaal kapitaal en kansrijke netwerken. Te vaak wordt sociaal kapitaal voorgesteld en ingezet als wondermiddel voor allerlei problemen. Echter, kansrijke netwerken ontstaan via activiteiten die vaak ergens anders op zijn gericht: het verwerven en benutten van opleiding, werk, kennis en vaardigheden, lidmaatschap en invloed. Het verwerven van 'sociaal kapitaal' is veelal een bijproduct van op zich zelf waardevolle activiteiten. De redenering dat het verwerven van sociaal kapitaal bedraagt aan sociaal-economische stijging is een omkering van zaken. Sociaal kapitaal vloeit voort uit sociaal-economisch exclusieve netwerken (denk aan het 'old boys network'); als netwerken niet waren gescheiden langs lijnen van sociaal-economische positie, dan zouden we niet praten over de voordelen van sommige netwerken ten opzichte van andere netwerken. Dat betekent dat het verwerven van andere vormen van kapitaal nodig is om sociaal kapitaal te verwerven. Als beleidsmakers en professionals ervoor kiezen participatie te stimuleren, dan zouden ze ook kunnen nadenken over hoe netwerken hiervan het meest profiteren. Dat betekent dat niet alleen participatie het doel is maar ook inbedding in netwerken. Daarbij dienen de wensen en behoeften van mensen leidend te zijn. Bijvoorbeeld, wanneer een alleenstaande moeder voldoende steun heeft van familie en vrienden, is het niet per se noodzakelijk ook buurtrelaties te stimuleren.

Segregatie is meer dan ruimtelijke segregatie
Ruimtelijke segregatie hangt nauw samen met andere vormen van segregatie—op gebied van werk, vrije tijd en politieke participatie. Als het gaat om het stimuleren van overbruggende contacten, worden oplossingen meestal in de buurt en op school gezocht (zie bijvoorbeeld de *Integratiebrief* van de minister voor Wonen, Wijken en Integratie, d.d. 17 november 2009). Andere settings kunnen deze functie mogelijk ook of beter vervullen, omdat buurten slechts een kleine rol spelen in de vorming van gesegregeerde netwerken.

Buurtsettings in gemengde buurten vervullen niet noodzakelijk een rol in het bij elkaar brengen van kansarmen en kansrijken, wanneer zij slechts een

klein en specifiek deel van de buurtpopulatie aantrekken. De 'buurt' op zich zal vaak te weinig gemeenschappelijke grond bieden voor relatievorming. Overbruggende relaties zullen vaak settingspecifieke relaties zijn, omdat vriendschappen en intieme relaties vaker gebaseerd zijn op gelijk(waardig)heid. Het is daarom zinvoller om in te zetten op settingspecifieke relaties die gerelateerd zijn aan bepaalde (alledaagse) activiteiten, interesses, belangen of behoeften. Alle inspanningen op het stimuleren van overbruggende contacten tussen etnische categorieën zijn des te meer noodzakelijk voor het stimuleren van contacten tussen kansarmen en kansrijken: toegang tot kennis en vaardigheden, inspraak en invloed, en opleiding en werk is meer een probleem van sociaal-economische aard dan van sociaal-culturele aard. Tenslotte is een beroep op de betrokkenheid van kansrijken (in en buiten de buurt) gerechtvaardigd.

Vragen voor vervolgonderzoek
Tot slot bespreek ik vijf vragen voor vervolgonderzoek. Een eerste vraag betreft de betrokkenheid en netwerken van kansrijke stedelingen die kiezen voor gemengde buurten. De vraag blijft in hoeverre en hoe een 'stedelijke habitus' (een voorkeur voor de stad) verschilt van een voorkeur voor Vinex-wijken en dorpen. Een vergelijking van kansrijken in de stad met kansrijken buiten de stad levert nieuwe inzichten in wanneer en waar kansrijken betrokkenheid en omgang tonen met kansarme medebuurtbewoners/-burgers.

Ten tweede, we hebben meer inzicht nodig in hoe bepaalde plekken (waaronder buurten) en de betekenis van die plekken een rol spelen in hoe mensen anderen categoriseren en identificeren (als 'mensen zoals wij' of 'anderen'). Nog te vaak wordt de samenstelling van een plek of setting gezien als statistisch feit. Hieraan gerelateerd is de vraag hoe bepaalde settings omgangsregels en normen (mede) vormgeven: wat wordt verwacht van anderen in interacties, welk gedrag is acceptabel, welke hulpbronnen (kunnen) worden uitgewisseld?

Een derde vraag betreft de uitwisseling en toegang tot hulpbronnen via netwerken en relaties: we zouden ook in plaats van ontvangen hulp ook gegeven hulp moeten onderzoeken: aan wie bieden (vooral kansrijke) mensen hulp, en waarmee? Zo kunnen we beter begrijpen hoe, wanneer, waar en ten behoeve van wie kansrijken hun hulpbronnen inzetten en toegankelijk maken.

Ten vierde hebben we meer inzicht nodig hoe settingspecifieke relaties worden gevormd en onderhouden en wat de waarde daarvan is in termen van uitwisseling van hulpbronnen. Deze vraag valt uiteen in (minstens) twee subvragen: ten eerste, welke rol spelen (welke) settings in het uitbreiden van persoonlijke netwerken en verschilt dit tussen kansarmen en kansrijken; ten tweede, welke rol spelen (welke) settings in de totstandkoming van overbruggende relaties? We weten nog te weinig over hoe verschillen in netwerk kwaliteit ontstaan en wat de rol is van verschillende mogelijkheden die mensen hebben.

Een vijfde vraag is in hoeverre de rol van settings voor netwerkvorming is veranderd. Gerelateerd aan twee brede maatschappelijke tendensen—privatisering van relaties en polarisatie van de arbeidsmarkt—is de vraag relevant in hoeverre mensen (nog) voldoende zijn ingebed in settings en (dus) in netwerken die zijn verbonden aan deze settings. Hier is met name van belang of verschillende sociaal-economische categorieën verschillen voor wat betreft hun inbedding in settings en netwerken. De vorming en kwaliteit van netwerken kan niet los worden gezien van de settings waarin netwerken ontstaan; settings en verandering in het functioneren van settings verdienen dus aandacht in onderzoek naar netwerken en 'sociaal kapitaal'.

References

6, P. (1997), Social exclusion: time to be optimistic, **Demos Collection** (12), pp. 1-24.

Abbott, A. (1997), Of Time and Space: The Contemporary Relevance of the Chicago School, **Social Forces 75** (4), pp. 1149-1182.

Abrams, P. & M. Bulmer (1986), **Neighbours. The work of Philip Abrams**, Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Adams, R.G. (1998), The demise of territorial determinism: online friendships, in: Adams, R.G. & G. Allan (eds.), **Placing friendship in context**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 153-182.

Adams, R.G. & G. Allan (1998), **Placing friendship in context**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Aliseda, A. (2006), What is abduction? Overview and proposal for investigation, in: Aliseda, A. (ed.) A**bductive reasoning. Logical investigations into discovery and explanation**, Dordrecht, Springer, pp. 27-50.

Allan, G. (1977), Class Variation in Friendship Patterns, **British Journal of Sociology 28 (**3), pp. 389-393.

Allan, G. (1998a), Friendship and the private sphere, in: Adams, R.G. & G. Allan (eds.), **Placing friendship in context**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 71-91.

Allan, G. (1998b), Friendship, Sociology and Social Structure, **Journal of Social and Personal Relationships 15** (5), pp. 685-702.

Allan, G. (2001), Personal relationships in late modernity, **Personal Relationships 8** (3), pp. 325-339.

Allan, G. (2008), Flexibility, friendship, and family, **Personal Relationships 15** (1), pp. 1-16.

Amin, A. (2002), Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity, **Environment and Planning A 34** (6), pp. 959-980.

Amin, A. (2007), Re-thinking the urban social, **City 11** (1), pp. 100-114.

Andersson, R. (1999), 'Divided Cities' as a Policy-based Notion in Sweden, **Urban Studies 14** (5), pp. 601-624.

Atkinson, R. (2006), Padding the bunker: strategies of middle-class disaffiliation and colonisation in the city, **Urban Studies 43** (4), pp. 819-832.

Atkinson, R. & K. Kintrea (2000), Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts, **Policy & Politics 28** (1), pp. 93-108.

Baarda, B., M. de Goede & M. Kalmijn (2000), **Enquêteren en gestructureerd interviewen. Praktische handleiding voor het maken van een vragenlijst en het voorbereiden en afnemen van gestructureerde interviews**, Houten, Stenfert Kroese.

Babbie, E. (2001), **The practise of social research**, Belmont, Wadsworth.

Back, L. (1993), Race, identity and nation within an adolescent community in South London, **New Community 19** (2), pp. 217-233.

Bauman, Z. (1998), **Globalization. The human consequences**, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bearman, P. & P. Parigi (2004), Cloning Headless Frogs and Other Important Matters: Conversation Topics and Network Structure, **Social Forces 83** (2), pp. 535-557.

Bell, J.M. & D. Hartmann (2007), Diversity in Everyday Discourse: The Cultural Ambiguities and Consequences of Happy Talk, **American Sociological Review 72** (6), pp. 895-914.

Bellair, P.E. (1997), Social Interaction and Community Crime: Examining the Importance of Neighbor Networks, **Criminology 35** (4), pp. 677-703.

Bian, Y. (1997), Bringing Strong Ties Back, in: Indirect Ties, Network Bridges, and Job Searches in China, **American Sociological Review 62** (3), pp. 366-385.

Blau, P.M. & J.E. Schwartz (1984), **Crosscutting social circles. Testing a macrostructural theory of intergroup relations**, New York, Academic Press.

Blokland, T. (1998), **Wat stadsbewoners bindt. Social relaties in een achterstandswijk**, Kampen, Kok Agora.

Blokland, T. (2001), Bricks, Mortar, Memories: Neighbourhood and Networks in Collective Acts of Remembering, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 25** (2), pp. 268-283.

Blokland, T. (2003a), Ethnic complexity: routes to discriminatory repertoires in an inner-city neighbourhood, **Ethnic and Racial Studies 26** (1), pp. 1-24.

Blokland, T. (2003b), **Urban Bonds. Social Relationships in an Inner City Neighbourhood**, Cambridge, UK, Policy Press.

Blokland, T. (2004), Buren als bruggen? De betekenis van burenrelaties voor sociaal kapitaal in een Rotterdamse gemengde wijk, **Sociale Wetenschappen 47** (2), pp. 31-48.

Blokland, T. (2007), "You Got to Remember you Live in Public Housing": Place-Making in an American Housing Project, **Housing, Theory and Society 25** (1), pp. 31-46.

Blokland, T. (2008), **Oog voor Elkaar: Veiligheidsbeleving en sociale controle in de grote stad**, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Blokland, T. & F. Noordhoff (2008), The Weakness of Weak Ties: Social Capital to Get Ahead Among the Urban Poor in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, in: Blokland, T. & M. Savage (eds.), **Networked Urbanism. Social Capital in the City,** Aldershot, Ashgate.

Blokland, T. & D. Rae (2008), The End to Urbanism: How the Changing Spatial Structure of Cities Affected its Social Capital Potentials, in: Blokland, T. & M. Savage (eds.), **Networked Urbanism. Social Capital in the City,** Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 23-40.

Blokland, T. & M. Savage (2008), Social capital and networked urbanism, in: Blokland, T. & M. Savage (eds.), **Networked Urbanism. Social Capital in the City**, Aldershot, Ashgate.

Blokland, T. & G. van Eijk (2010), Do people who like diversity practice diversity in neighbourhood life? Neighbourhood use and social networks of 'diversity seekers' in a mixed neighbourhood, **Journal of Ethnic and Migration**

Studies **36** (2), pp. 313-332.

Blum, T.C. (1985), Structural Constraints on Interpersonal Relations: A Test of Blau's Macrosociological Theory, **American Journal of Sociology 91** (3), pp. 511-521.

Body-Gendrot, S. (2008), Muslims: Citizenship, security and social justice in France, **International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice 36** (4), pp. 247-256.

Boissevain, J. (1974), Friends of friends, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Bolt, G. & M.I. Torrance (2005), **Stedelijke herstructurering en sociale cohesie,** Utrecht, DGW/Nethur.

Bottero, W. (2009), Relationality and social interaction, **British Journal of Sociology 60** (2), pp. 399-420.

Bourdieu, P. (1984), **Distinction. A social critique on the judgment of taste,** Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986), The Forms of Capital, in: Richardson, J.G. (ed.) **Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education**, New York, Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.

Bourdieu, P. & L. Wacquant (1992), **An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Bridge, G. (2001), Bourdieu, Rational Action and the Time-Space Strategy of Gentrification, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 26** (2), pp. 205-216.

Bridge, G. (2006a), It's not just a question of taste: gentrification, the neighbourhood, and cultural capital, **Environment and Planning A 38** (10), pp. 1965-1978.

Bridge, G. (2006b), Perspectives on Cultural Capital and the Neighbourhood, **Urban Studies 43** (4), pp. 719-730.

Briggs, X. de Souza (1997), Moving up versus moving out: Neighborhood effects in housing mobility programs, **Housing Policy Debate 8** (1), pp. 195-234.

Briggs, X. de Souza (1998), Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital, **Housing Policy Debate 9** (1), pp. 177-221.

Briggs, X. de Souza (2007), "Some of My Best Friends Are ...": Interracial Friendships, Class, and Segregation in America, **City & Community 6** (4), pp. 263-290.

Brophy, P.C. & R.N. Smith (1997), Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success, **Cityscape 3** (2), pp. 3-31.

Buckingham, D. (2008), Introducing Identity, in: Buckingham, D. (ed.) **Youth, Identity, and Digital Media**, Cambridge, The MIT Press, pp. 1-24.

Burgers, J. (2007), **Kiezen voor de stad. Kwalitatief onderzoek naar de vestigingsmotieven van de allochtone middenklasse**, Den Haag, Ministerie van VROM.

Burgers, J. & G. Engbersen (1999), **De ongekende stad 1. Illegale vreemdelingen in Rotterdam**, Amsterdam, Boom.

Burgers, J. & J. van der Waal (2008), Globalizing Urban Economies and Social

Inequality: An Empirical Assessment. The Case of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in: Ache, P., H.T. Andersen, T. Maloutas, M. Raco & T. Taşan-Kok (eds.), **Cities between Competitiveness and Cohesion**, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 79-97.

Bursik, R.J. (1988), Social Disorganization and Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Problems and Prospects, **Criminology 26** (4), pp. 519-551.

Burt, R.S. (1992), **Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition**, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Burt, R.S. (1997), A note on social capital and network content, **Social Networks 19** (4), pp. 355-373.

Burt, R.S. (2000), Structural Holes versus Network Closure as Social Capital, in: Lin, N., K.S. Cook & R.S. Burt (eds.), **Social capital: Theory and research**, New York, Aldine de Gruyter, pp. 31-56.

Burt, R.S. (2002), Bridge decay, **Social Networks 24** (4), pp. 333-363.

Butler, T. (2002), Thinking global but acting local: the middle classes in the city, **Sociological Research Online 7** (3), p. http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/3/butler.html.

Butler, T. (2003), Living in the Bubble: gentrification and its 'others' in North London, **Urban Studies 40** (12), pp. 2469-2486.

Butler, T. (2007), For gentrification?, **Environment and Planning A 39**(1), pp. 162-181.

Butler, T. & L. Lees (2006), Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: globalization and gentrifying global elites at the neighbourhood level, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 31** (4), pp. 467-487.

Butler, T. & G. Robson (2003a), **London Calling: The Middle Classes and the Re-Making of Inner London**, Oxford, Berg Publishers.

Butler, T. & G. Robson (2003b), Negotiating Their Way. In: The Middle Classes, Gentrification and the Deployment of Capital in a Globalising Metropolis, **Urban Studies 40** (9), pp. 1791-1809.

Butler, T. & P. Watt (2007), **Understanding social inequality**, London, Sage.

Caldeira, T.P.R. (1996), Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation, in: Holston, J. (ed.) **Cities and citizenship**, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, pp. 114-138.

Campbell, K.E., P.V. Marsden & J. S. Hurlbert (1986), Social resources and socioeconomic status, **Social Networks 8** (1), pp. 97-117.

Centner, R. (2008), Places of Privileged Consumption Practices: Spatial Capital, the Dot-Com Habitus, and San Francisco's Internet Boom, **City & Community 7** (3), pp. 193-223.

Chin, M.M. (2001), When Coethnic Assetts Become Liabilities: Mexican, Ecuadorian, and Chinese Garment Workers in New York City, in: Cordero-Guzmán, H.R., R.C. Smith & R. Grosfoguel (eds.), **Migration, transnationalization, and race in a changing New York**, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, pp. 279-300.

City (2007/2008), Banlieues, the Hyperghetto and Advanced Marginality: A

Symposium on Loïc Wacquant's Urban Outcasts, **City 11/12** (3/1).

City & Community (2008), Symposium on the Ghetto, City & Community 7 (4), pp. 347-398.

Cohen, A.P. (1985), **The Symbolic Construction of Community**, London/New York, Routledge.

Coleman, J.S. (1986), Social Theory, Social Research, and a Theory of Action, **American Journal of Sociology 91** (6), pp. 1309-1335.

Coleman, J.S. (1988), Social capital in the creation of human capital, **American Journal of Sociology 94** (Supplement), pp. S95-S120.

Coleman, J.S. (1990), Social Capital, in: Coleman, J.S. (ed.) **Foundations of Social Theory**, Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press, pp. 300-321.

Conley, D. (2009), **Elsewhere, USA**, New York, Random House.

COS (2007), **Monitor Gentrification in pilotgebieden**, Rotterdam, Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek [Centre for Reseach and Statistics].

Craven, P. & B. Wellman (1973), The network city, **Sociological Inquiry 43** (3-4), pp. 57-88.

Crompton, R. (1998), **Class and stratification: an introduction to current debates**, Cambridge, Polity.

Crossley, N. (2008), (Net)Working out: social capital in a private health club, **British Journal of Sociology 59** (3), pp. 475-500.

Crow, G. (2004), Social networks and social exclusion: an overview of the debate, in: Phillipson, C., G. Allan & D. Morgan (eds.), **Social Networks and Social Exclusion. Sociological and Policy Perspectives**, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 7-19.

Cummings, J.L., D. DiPasquale & M.E. Kahn (2002), Measuring the consequences of promoting inner city homeownership, **Journal of Housing Economics 11** (4), pp. 330-359.

Curley, A.M. (2008), A New Place, A New Network? Social Capital Effects of Residential Relocation for Poor Women, in: Blokland, T. & M. Savage (eds.), **Networked Urbanism. Social Capital in the City**, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 85-104.

Curley, A.M. (2009), Draining or gaining? The social networks of public housing movers in Boston, **Journal of Social and Personal Relationships 26** (2-3), pp. 227-247.

Dagevos, J. & M. Gijsberts (2005), De opkomst van een allochtone middenklasse in Nederland, **Hier en daar opklaringen. Nieuwjaarsuitgave 2005**, Den Haag, SCP, pp. 84-89.

Dalrymple, T. (2004), **Leven aan de onderkant. Het systeem dat de onderklasse instandhoudt**, Utrecht, Het Spectrum.

Dawkins, C. J. (2006), Are Social Networks the Ties that Bind Families to Neighborhoods?, **Housing Studies 21** (6), pp. 867-881.

de Swaan, A. (1995), Widening Circles of Identification: Emotional Concerns in Sociogenetic Perspective, **Theory, Culture & Society 12** (2), pp. 25-39.

de Swaan, A. (1997), Widening Circles of Disidentification: On the Psycho- and Sociogenesis of the Hatred of Distant Strangers — Reflections on Rwanda, **Theory, Culture & Society 14** (2), pp. 105-122.

Dépelteau, F. (2008), Relational Thinking: A Critique of Co-Deterministic Theories of Structure and Agency, **Sociological Theory 26** (1), pp. 51-73.

Devine, F. (2004), **Class Practices: How parents help their children get good jobs**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Devine, F. & J.M. Roberts (2003), Alternative approaches to researching social capital: a comment on van Deth s measuring social capital, **International Journal of Social Research Methodology 6** (1), pp. 93-100.

Devine, F. & M. Savage (2000), Conclusion: renewing class analysis, in: Crompton, R., F. Devine, M. Savage & J. Scott (eds.), **Renewing class analysis,** Hoboken, NJ, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 184-199.

Domínguez, S. & C. Watkins (2003), Creating Networks for Survival and Mobility: Social Capital Among African-American and Latin-American Low-Income Mothers, **Social Problems 50** (1), pp. 111-135.

Dreier, P., J.H. Mollenkopf & T. Swanstrom (2004), **Place matters. Metropolitics for the twenty-first century**, Lawrence, University Press of Kansas.

Drever, A. (2004), Separate spaces, separate outcomes? Neighbourhood impacts on minorities in Germany, **Urban Studies 41** (8), pp. 1423-1439.

Duyvendak, J.W. & P. Van der Graaf (2001), **Opzoomeren, stille kracht? Een onderzoek naar de kwaliteiten van het Opzoomeren in Rotterdam. Samenvatting**, Utrecht, Verwey-Jonker Instituut.

Ebels, H.J. & W.J.M. Ostendorf (1991), **Achter de schermen van de gentrification. De bewoners van dure woningen in de centra van Amsterdam en Den Haag**, Amsterdam, Instituut voor Sociale Geografie.

Elias, N. & J.L. Scotson (1965), **The Established and the Outsiders. A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems,** London, F. Cass.

Ellen, I.G. & M.A. Turner (1997), Does neighborhood matter? Assessing recent evidence, **Housing Policy Debate 8** (4), pp. 833-866.

Elliott, J.R. (1999), Social Isolation and Labor Market Insulation: Network and Neighborhood Effects on Less-Educated Urban Workers, **Sociological Quarterly 40** (2), pp. 199-216.

Emerson, R.M. (1976), Social Exchange Theory, **Annual Review of Sociology 2**, pp. 335-362.

Emirbayer, M. (1997), Manifesto for a Relational Sociology, **American Journal of Sociology 103** (2), pp. 281-317.

Engbersen, G. (1990), **Publieke bijstandsgeheimen; het ontstaan van een onderklasse in Nederland**, Leiden/Antwerpen, Stenfert Kroese.

Erickson, B.H. (1996), Culture, Class, and Connections, **American Journal of Sociology 102** (1), pp. 217-251.

Esser, H. (1986), Social Context and Inter-Ethnic Relations: The Case of Migrant Workers in West German Urban Areas, **European Sociological Review**

2 (1), pp. 30-51.

Feld, S. & W.C. Carter (1998), Foci of activity as changing contexts for friendship, in: Adams, R.G. & G. Allan (eds.), **Placing friendship in context**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 136-152.

Feld, S.L. (1981), The focused organization of social ties, **American Journal of Sociology 86** (5), pp. 1015-1035.

Feld, S.L. (1982), Social Structural Determinants of Similarity among Associates, **American Sociological Review 47** (6), pp. 797-801.

Feld, S.L. & W.C. Carter (2002), Detecting measurement bias in respondent reports of personal networks, **Social Networks 24** (4), pp. 365-383.

Fennema, M. & J. Tillie (1999), Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks, **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 25** (4), pp. 703-726.

Fernandez, R.M. & D. Harris (1992), Social Isolation and the Underclass, in: Harrell, A.V. & G.E. Peterson (eds.), **Drugs, crime, and social isolation: barriers to urban opportunity**, Washington, DC, Urban Institute Press, pp. 257-293.

Field, J. (2008), **Social capital (second edition)**, London/New York, Routledge.

Fischer, C.S. (1982a), **To dwell among friends. Personal networks in towns and city**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Fischer, C.S. (1982b), What do we mean by 'friend'? an inductive study, **Social Networks 3** (4), pp. 287-306.

Fischer, C.S., R.M. Jackson, C.A. Stueve, K. Gerson, L. McCallister Jones & M. Baldassare (1977), **Networks and Places. Social Relations in the Urban Setting**, New York, The Free Press.

Flap, H. (1999), Buurt of gemeenschap: meeting of mating, in: Völker, B. & R. Verhoeff (eds.), **Buren en buurten. Nederlands onderzoek op het snijvlak van sociologie en sociale geografie**, Amsterdam, SISWO, pp. 11-23.

Flap, H. (2002), No man is an island: the research programme of a social capital theory, in: Favereau, O. & E. Lazega (eds.), **Conventions and Structures in Economic Organization. Markets, Networks and Hierarchies,** Cheltenham Glos, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 29-59.

Flap, H. & B. Völker (2001), Goal specific social capital and job satisfaction. Effects of different types of networks on instrumental and social aspects of work, **Social Networks 23** (4), pp. 297-320.

Florida, R. (2003), Cities and the creative class, **City & Community 2** (1), pp. 3-19.

Florida, R.L. (2002), **The rise of the creative class ... and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life**, New York, Basic Books.

Foley, M.W. & B. Edwards (1999), Is It Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?, **Journal of Public Policy 19** (2), pp. 141-173.

Friedkin, N. (1980), A test of structural features of Granovetter's strength of weak ties theory, **Social Networks 2** (4), pp. 411-422.

Friedmann, J. (2007), Reflections on Place and Place-making in the Cities of

China, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 31** (2), pp. 257-279.

Friedrichs, J. (2002), Response: Contrasting US and European Findings on Poverty Neighbourhoods, **Housing Studies 17** (1), pp. 101-104.

Fuhse, J.A. (2009), The Meaning Structure of Social Networks, **Sociological Theory 27** (1), pp. 51-73.

Galster, G. (2001), On the Nature of Neighbourhood, **Urban Studies 38** (12), pp. 2111-2124.

Galster, G. (2005), **Neighborhood mix, social opportunities, and the policy challenges of an increasingly diverse Amsterdam. Wibaut Lecture**, Amsterdam, AMIDSt/University of Amsterdam.

Galster, G. (2007), Neighbourhood Social Mix as a Goal of Housing Policy: A Theoretical Analysis, **European Journal of Housing Policy 7** (1), pp. 19-43.

Gans, H.J. (1962), **The Urban Villagers. Group and class in the life of Italian-Americans**, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe.

Gans, H.J. (2002), The Sociology of Space: A Use–Centered View, **City & Community 1** (4), pp. 329-339.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2006), **Samen werken aan veiligheid: voorkomen en handhaven. Vijfjarenactieprogramma veilig Rotterdam 2006-2010**, Rotterdam, Programmabureau Veilig.

Gesthuizen, M., T. van der Meer & P. Scheepers (2008), Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital in Europe: Tests of Putnam's Thesis in European Countries, **Scandinavian Political Studies.**

Giddens, A. (1984), **The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration,** Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Gijsberts, M. & J. Dagevos (2007), The Socio-cultural Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands: Identifying Neighbourhood Effects on Multiple Integration Outcomes, **Housing Studies 22** (5), pp. 805-831.

Goffman, E. (2007 [1959]), **The presentation of self in everyday life**, London, Penguin Books.

Goodchild, B. & I. Cole (2001), Social balance and mixed neighbourhoods in Britain since 1979: a review of discourse and practice in social housing, **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 19** (1), pp. 103-121.

Goos, M., A. Manning & A. Salomons (2009), Job Polarization in Europe, **American Economic Review 99** (2), pp. 58-63.

Granovetter, M. (1973), The Strength of Weak Ties, **American Journal of Sociology 78** (6), pp. 1360-1380.

Granovetter, M. (1983), The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited, **Sociological Theory 1** pp. 201-233.

Granovetter, M. (1995), **Getting a job: A study of contacts and careers (2nd edition)**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Greenbaum, S.D. (1982), Bridging ties at the neighbourhood level, **Social Networks 4** (4), pp. 367-384.

Guest, A. (2000), The mediate community: the nature of local and extralocal ties within the metropolis, **Urban Affairs Review 36** (5), pp. 603-627.

Guest, A.M. & S.K. Wierzbicki (1999), Social Ties at the Neighborhood Level: Two Decades of GSS Evidence, **Urban Affairs Review 35** (1), pp. 92-111.

Hamm, J.V. (2000), Do Birds of a Feather Flock Together? The Variable Bases for African American, Asian American, and European American Adolescents' Selection of Similar Friends?, **Developmental Psychology 36** (2), pp. 209-219.

Hannerz, U. (1980), **Exploring the city: Inquiries toward an urban anthropology,** New York, Columbia University Press.

Hastings, A. & J. Dean (2003), Challenging images: tackling stigma through estate regeneration, **Policy & Politics 31** (2), pp. 171-184.

Hedström, P. & R. Swedberg (2001), Social Mechanisms, **Acta Sociologica 39** (3), pp. 281-308.

Helmers, H.M., R.J. Mokken, R.C. Plijter & F.N. Stokman (1975), **Graven naar macht. Op zoek naar de kern van de Nederlandse economie**, Amsterdam, Van Gennep.

Henning, C. & M. Lieberg (1996), Strong ties or weak ties? Neighbourhood networks networks in a new perspective, **Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research 13** (3), pp. 3-26.

Het Experiment (2005), Gentripunctuur in Spangen. SEV-experiment Wallisblok, **Het Experiment 21** (1), pp. 4-6.

Hipp, J.R. & A.J. Perrin (2009), The Simultaneous Effect of Social Distance and Physical Distance on the Formation of Neighborhood Ties, **City & Community 8** (1), pp. 5-25.

Holmberg, D. & S. MacKenzie (2002), So far, so good: Scripts for romantic relationship development as predictors of relational well-being, **Journal of Social and Personal Relationships 19** (6), pp. 777-796.

Hout, M., C. Brooks & J. Manza (1993), The persistence of classes in post-industrial societies, **International Sociology 8** (3), pp. 259-277.

Huckfeldt, R.R. (1983), Social Contexts, Social Networks, and Urban Neighborhoods: Environmental Constraints on Friendship Choice, **American Journal of Sociology 89** (3), pp. 651-659.

Hunter, A. (1974), **Symbolic Communities. The Persistance and Change of Chicago's Local Communities**, Chicago, London, University of Chicago Press.

Hurmerinta-Peltomäki & N. Nummela (2004), First the Suger, Then the Eggs . . . Or the Other Way Round? Mixing Methods in International Business Research, in: Marschan-Piekkari, R. & C. Welch (eds.), **Handbook of qualitative research methods for international business**, Glos, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 162-180.

Isin, E.F. (2002), **Being Political. Genealogies of Citizenship**, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press.

Jackson, R.M. (1977), Social Structure and Process in Friendship Choice, in: Fischer, C.S., R.M. Jackson, C.A. Stueve, K. Gerson, L. McCallister Jones & M.

Baldassare (eds.), **Networks and Places. Social Relations in the Urban Setting,** New York, The Free Press, pp. 59-76.

Jarrett, R.L. (1997), Bringing Families Back In: Neighborhood Effects on Child Development, in: Brooks-Gunn, J., G.J. Duncan & J.L. Aber (eds.), **Neighborhood Poverty. Policy Implications in Studying Neighborhoods**, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 48-64.

Jenkins, R. (2000), Categorization: Identity, Social Process and Epistemology, **Current Sociology 48** (3), pp. 7-25.

Jenkins, R. (2002), **Pierre Bourdieu**, London/New York, Routledge.

Jick, T.D. (1979), Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action, **Administrative Science Quarterly 24**(4), pp. 602-611.

Joseph, M., R. Chaskin & H. Webber (2007), The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development, **Urban Affairs Review 42** (3), pp. 369-409.

Kalleberg, A.L. (2009), Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition, **American Sociological Review 74** (1), pp. 1-22.

Kalmijn, M. (2003), Shared friendship networks and the life course: an analysis of survey data on married and cohabiting couples, **Social Networks 25** (3), pp. 231-249.

Kalmijn, M. & H. Flap (2001), Assortative Meeting and Mating: Unintended Consequences of Organized Settings for Partner Choices, **Social Forces 79** (4), pp. 1289-1312.

Karsten, L. (2003), Family gentrifiers: challenging the city as a place simultaneously to build a career and to raise children, **Urban Studies 40** (12), pp. 2573-2584.

Karsten, L., A. Reijndorp & J. van der Zwaard (2006), **Smaak voor de stad. Een studie naar de stedelijke woonvoorkeur van gezinnen**, Den Haag, Ministerie van VROM.

Kasarda, J.D. & M. Janowitz (1974), Community Attachment in Mass Society, **American Sociological Review 39** (3), pp. 328-339.

Kintrea, K. & R. Atkinson (2001), **Neighbourhoods and Social Exclusion: The research and policy implications of neighbourhood effects**, Glasgow, University of Glasgow, Urban Change and Policy Research Group.

Kleinhans, R. (2004), Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: a review of recent literature, **Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 19** (4), pp. 367-389.

Kleinhans, R., H. Priemus & G. Engbersen (2007), Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam, **Urban Studies 44** (5/6), pp. 1069-1091.

Kleinhans, R., L. Veldboer & J.W. Duyvendak (2000), **Integratie door Differentiatie? Een onderzoek naar de sociale effecten van gemengd bouwen**, Den Haag, Ministerie van VROM.

Kleit, R.G. (2005), HOPE VI new communities: neighborhood relationships in

mixed-income housing, **Environment and Planning A 37** (8), pp. 1413-1441.

Klinenberg, E. (2002a), **Alone in the City? An Intellectual History of Social Isolation, Working Paper-02-15**, Northwestern University, Institute for Policy Research Working Paper.

Klinenberg, E. (2002b), **Heat wave: A social autopsy of disaster in Chicago**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Kloosterman, R.C. (1996), Double Dutch: polarization trends in Amsterdam and Rotterdam after 1980, **Regional Studies 30** (5), pp. 467-476.

Knox, H., M. Savage & P. Harvey (2006), Social networks and the study of relations: networks as method, metaphor and form, **Economy and Society 35** (1), pp. 113-140.

Kogovsek, T. & A. Ferligoj (2005), Effects on reliability and validity of egocentered network measurements, **Social Networks 27** (3), pp. 205-229.

Komter, A., J. Burgers & G. Engbersen (2000), **Het cement van de samenleving. Een verkennende studie over solidariteit en cohesie**, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Kuipers, G. (2006a), **Good Humor, Bad Taste: A Sociology of the Joke**, Berlin, Mouton De Gruyter.

Kuipers, G. (2006b), Television and taste hierarchy: the case of Dutch television comedy, **Media Culture Society 28** (3), pp. 359-378.

Kusenbach, M. (2008), A Hierarchy of Urban Communities: Observations on the Nested Character of Place, **City & Community 7** (3), pp. 225-249.

Lamont, M. & A. Lareau (1988), Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments, **Sociological Theory 6** (2), pp. 153-168.

Latour, B. (2005), **Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory**, New York, Oxford University Press.

Laumann, E.O. (1973), **Bonds of Pluralism: The Form and Substance of Urban Social Networks**, John Wiley & Sons.

Lawler, E.J. (2001), An Affect Theory of Social Exchange, **American Journal of Sociology 107** (2), pp. 321-352.

Lazarsfeld, P.F. & R. K. Merton (1954), Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis, in: Berger, M., T. Abel & C. Page (eds.), **Freedom and control in modern society**, New York, Van Nostrand, pp. 18-66.

Lees, L. (2008), Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?, **Urban Studies 45** (12), pp. 2449-2470.

Lees, L., T. Slater & E. Wyly (2008), **Gentrification**, London, Routledge.

Leonard, M. (2004), Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: Reflections from Belfast, **Sociology 38** (5), pp. 927-944.

Letki, N. (2008), Does Diversity Erode Social Cohesion? Social Capital and Race in British Neighbourhoods, **Political Studies 56** (1), pp. 99-126.

Ley, D. (1986), Alternative Explanations for Inner-City Gentrification: A Canadian Assessment, **Annals of the Association of American Geographers 76**

(4), pp. 521-535.

Ley, D. (1994), Gentrification and the politics of the new middle class, **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 12** (1), pp. 53-74.

Li, Y., M. Savage & A. Warde (2008), Social mobility and social capital in contemporary Britain, **British Journal of Sociology 59** (3), pp. 391-411.

Lin, N. (2000), Inequality in Social Capital, **Contemporary Sociology 29** (6), pp. 785-795.

Lin, N. (2001), **Social capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lin, N. & M. Dumin (1986), Access to occupations through social ties, **Social Networks 8** (4), pp. 365-385.

Lofland, L.H. (1998), **The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory**, Piscataway, NJ, Aldine Transaction.

Logan, J. & G. Spitze (1994), Family neighbors, **American Journal of Sociology 100** (2), pp. 453-476.

Logan, J.R. & H.L. Molotch (1987), **Urban Fortunes. The political economy of place**, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Low, S.M. (2001), The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear, **American Anthropologist 103** (1), pp. 45-58.

Lowenkamp, C.T., F.T. Cullen & T.C. Pratt (2003), Replicating Sampson and Groves's Test of Social Disorganization Theory: Revisiting a Criminological Classic, **Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 40** (4), pp. 351-373.

Machielse, E. (1989), Stedelijke elite; terug van weg geweest? Een analyse van de aantrekkingskracht van de stad voor de hoge inkomensgroepen, in: Bovenkerk, F. & L. Brunt (eds.), **De andere stad: achter de facade van de nieuwe stedelijke vitaliteit**, Den Haag, Sdu, pp. 147-158.

Manzi, T. & B. Smith-Bowers (2005), Gated Communities as Club Goods: Segregation or Social Cohesion?, **Housing Studies 20** (2), pp. 345-359.

Marcuse, P. (2007), Putting space in its place. Reassessing the spatiality of the ghetto and advanced marginality, **City 11** (3), pp. 378-383.

Marin, A. (2004), Are respondents more likely to list alters with certain characteristics?: Implications for name generator data, **Social Networks 26** (4), pp. 289-307.

Marin, A. & K.N. Hampton (2007), Simplifying the Personal Network Name Generator: Alternatives to Traditional Multiple and Single Name Generators, **Field Methods 19** (2), pp. 163-193.

Marsden, P.V. (1987), Core Discussion Networks of Americans, **American Sociological Review 52** (1), pp. 122-131.

Marsden, P.V. (1988), Homogeneity in Confiding Relations, **Social Networks 10** (1), pp. 57-76.

Marsden, P.V. (1990), Network Data and Measurement, **Annual Review of Sociology 16** (1), pp. 435-463.

Marsden, P.V. & K.E. Campbell (1984), Measuring tie strength, **Social Forces**

63 (2), pp. 482-501.

Massey, D. (1995), Places and their Pasts, **History Workshop Journal 39** (1), pp. 182-192.

Massey, D.S. (1996), The Age of Extremes: Concentrated Affluence and Poverty in the Twenty-First Century, **Demography 33** (4), pp. 395-412.

May, D.M. (2004), The interplay of three established-outsider figurations in a deprived inner-city neighbourhood, **Urban Studies 41** (11), pp. 2159-2179.

May, J. (1996), Globalisation and the politics of place: place and identity in an inner London neighbourhood, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS (21)**, pp. 194-215.

McCallister, L. & C.S. Fischer (1978), A Procedure for Surveying Personal Networks, **Sociological Methods & Research 7** (2), pp. 131-148.

McPherson, M., L. Smith-Lovin & M. Brashears (2006), Social Isolation in America: Changes in Core Discussion Networks over Two Decades, **American Sociological Review 71** (3), pp. 353-375.

McPherson, M., L. Smith-Lovin & J.M. Cook (2001), Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks, **Annual Review of Sociology 27** pp. 415-444.

Merry, S.E. (1981), **Urban danger. Life in a neighborhood of strangers**, Philadelphia, Temple University Press.

Merton, R.K. (1968), **Social Theory and Social Structure**, Free Press.

Merton, R.K. & A.S. Rossi (1968), Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior, in: Merton, R.K. (ed.) **Social Theory and Social Structure**, New York, The Free Press, pp. 279-334.

Metaal, S. & I. Teijmant (2008), **Het wonder van Westerpark**, Apeldoorn: Het Spinhuis.

Meulenbelt, K. (1994), Upgrading and Downgrading within the Metropolitan Region of Rotterdam, 1970-90, **Urban Studies 31** (7), pp. 1167-1190.

Middleton, A., A. Murie & R. Groves (2005), Social Capital and Neighbourhoods that Work, **Urban Studies 42** (10), pp. 1711-1738.

Mitchell, D. (2003), **The Right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space**, New York/London, The Guilford Press.

Mollenhorst, G. (2009), **Networks in contexts: How meeting opportunities affect personal relationships (PhD thesis)**, Utrecht, Utrecht University.

Mollenhorst, G., B. Volker & H. Flap (2007), Social contexts and personal relationships: The effect of meeting opportunities on similarity for relationships of different strength, **Social Networks 30** (1), pp. 60-68.

Mollenhorst, G., B. Völker & H. Flap (2008), Social Contexts and Core Discussion Networks: Using a Choice-Constraint Approach to Study Similarity in Intimate Relationships, **Social Forces 86** (3), pp. 937-965.

Mollenkopf, J. H. & M. Castells (1992), **Dual city. Restructuring New York**, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Molotch, H., W. Freudenburg & K.E. Paulsen (2000), History Repeats Itself, But How? City Character, Urban Tradition, and the Accomplishment of Place,

American Sociological Review 65 (6), pp. 791-823.

Moody, J. & P. Paxton (2009), Building Bridges: Linking Social Capital and Social Networks to Improve Theory and Research, **American Behavioral Scientist 52** (11), pp. 1491-1506.

Mooney, G. (2008), "Problem" populations, "problem" places, in: Newman, J. & N. Yeates (eds.), **Social Justice. Welfare, Crime and Society**, Maidenhead, Open University Press, pp. 97-128.

Moore, G. (1990), Structural Determinants of Men's and Women's Personal Networks, **American Sociological Review 55** (5), pp. 726-735.

Mulder, C. & M. Kalmijn (2004), Even bij oma langs, **Demos 20** (10), pp. 78-80.

Musterd, S. (2003), Segregation and integration: a contested relationship, **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 29** (4), pp. 623-641.

Musterd, S. (2005), Social and Ethnic Segregation in Europe: Levels, Causes, and Effects, **Journal of Urban Affairs 27** (3), pp. 331-348.

Musterd, S. & W. Ostendorf (2001), Beleid van stedelijke vernieuwing: tussen mythe en werkelijkheid, **B en M, Tijdschrift voor Beleid, Politiek en Maatschappij 28** (1), pp. 30-41.

Noordhoff, F. (2008), **Persistent Poverty in the Netherlands**, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Oliver, M.L. (1988), The Urban Black Community as Network: Toward a Social Network Perspective, **Sociological Quarterly 29** (4), pp. 623-645.

Pahl, R. (2000), **On friendship**, Cambridge, Polity.

Pahl, R. & D.J. Pevalin (2005), Between family and friends: a longitudinal study of friendship choice, **British Journal of Sociology 56** (3), pp. 433-450.

Paine, R. (1969), In Search of Friendship: An Exploratory Analysis in 'Middle-Class' Culture, **Man 4** (4), pp. 505-524.

Painter, J. (2000), Pierre Bourdieu, in: Crang, M. & N. Thrift (eds.), **Thinking space**, London, Routledge, pp. 239-259.

Parker, S., E. Uprichard & R. Burrows (2007), Class places and place classes: geodemographics and the spatialization of class, **Information, Communication and Society 10** (6), pp. 901-920.

Parks-Yancy, R., N. DiTomaso & C. Post (2009), How Does Tie Strength Affect Access to Social Capital Resources for the Careers of Working and Middle Class African-Americans?, **Critical Sociology 35** (4), pp. 541-563.

Payne, G. & M. Williams (2005), Generalization in Qualitative Research, **Sociology 39** (2), pp. 295-314.

Peck, J. (2005), Struggling with the creative class, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 29** (4), pp. 740-770.

Permentier, M., M. Van Ham & G. Bolt (2008), Same Neighbourhood Different Views? A Confrontation of Internal and External Neighbourhood Reputations, **Housing Studies 23** (6), pp. 833-855.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1998), Intergroup Contact Theory, **Annual Review of Psychology 49** (1), pp. 65-85.

Phillips, D. (1998), Black Minority Ethnic Concentration, Segregation and Dispersal in Britain, **Urban Studies 35** (10), pp. 1681-1702.

Pinkster, F.M. (2007), Localised Social Networks, Socialisation and Social Mobility in a Low-income Neighbourhood in the Netherlands, **Urban Studies 44** (13), pp. 2587-2603.

Pinkster, F.M. (2008a), **De sociale betekenis van de buurt. Een onderzoek naar de relatie tussen het wonen in een arme wijk en sociale mobiliteit,** Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press/NICIS.

Pinkster, F.M. (2008b), **Living in concentrated poverty [dissertation].** Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam.

Pinkster, F.M. (2009), Neighborhood-based networks, social resources and labor market participation in two Dutch neighborhoods, **Journal of Urban Affairs 31** (2), pp. 213-231.

Pinkster, F.M. & B. Völker (2009), Local Social Networks and Social Resources in Two Dutch Neighbourhoods, **Housing Studies 24** (2), pp. 225-242.

Plickert, G., R.R. Côté & B. Wellman (2007), It's not who you know, it's how you know them: Who exchanges what with whom?, **Social Networks 29** (3), pp. 405-429.

Portes, A. & J. Sensenbrenner (1993), Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determination of Economic Action, **American Journal of Sociology 98** (6), pp. 1320-1350.

Putnam, R.D. (2000), **Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community**, New York, Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, R.D. (2007), E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century, **Scandinavian Political Studies 30** (2), pp. 137-174.

Rankin, B.H. & J.M. Quane (2000), Neighborhood Poverty and the Social Isolation of Inner-City African American Families, **Social Forces 79** (1), pp. 139-164.

Reijndorp, A. (2004), **Stadswijk. Stedenbouw en dagelijks leven**, Rotterdam, NAi Uitgevers.

RMO (2005), **Niet langer met de ruggen naar elkaar. Een advies over verbinden**, Den Haag, Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling.

Robison, L.J., A.A. Schmid & M.E. Siles (2002), Is social capital really capital?, **Review of Social Economy 60** (1), pp. 1-21.

Röper, A., B. Völker & H. Flap (2009), Social networks and getting a home: Do contacts matter?, **Social Networks 31** (1), pp. 40-51.

Rose, D. (2004), Discourses and experiences of social mix in gentrifying neighbourhoods: A Montréal case study, **Canadian Journal of Urban Research 13** (2), pp. 278-316.

Rotterdam (2007), **Stadsvisie Rotterdam. Ruimtelijke Ontwikkelingsstrategie 2030**, Rotterdam, Gemeente Rotterdam.

Sampson, R.J. (2009), Disparity and diversity in the contemporary city: social (dis)order revisited, **British Journal of Sociology 60** (1), pp. 1-31.

Sampson, R.J. (1988), Local friendship ties and community attachment in

mass society: a multilevel systemic model, **American Sociological Review 53** (5), pp. 766-779.

Sampson, R.J. & W.B. Groves (1989), Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory, **American Journal of Sociology 94** (4), pp. 774-802.

Sampson, R.J., J.D. Morenoff & T. Gannon-Rowley (2002), Assessing "neighborhood effects": Social processes and new directions in research, **Annual Review of Sociology 28** (1), pp. 443-478.

Sampson, R.J., S.W. Raudenbush & F. Earls (1997), Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy, **Science 277** (5328), pp. 918-924.

Sampson, R.J. & P. Sharkey (2008), Neighborhood selection and the social reproduction of concentrated racial inequality, **Demography 45** (1), pp. 1-29.

Sánchez-Jankowski, M. (2008), **Cracks in the pavement: social change and resilience in poor neighborhoods,** California, University of California Press.

Sassen, S. (2001), **The global city. New York, London, Tokyo**, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Savage, M. (2008), Histories, belongings, communities, **International Journal of Social Research Methodology 11** (2), pp. 151-162.

Savage, M., G. Bagnall & B. Longhurst (2005a), **Globalization and belonging,** London, SAGE.

Savage, M., A. Warde & F. Devine (2005b), Capitals, assets, and resources: some critical issues, **British Journal of Sociology 56** (1), pp. 31-47.

Schinkel, W. (2007), Sociological discourse of the relational: the cases of Bourdieu & Latour, **Sociological Review 55** (4), pp. 707-729.

Schuyt, C.J.M. (1995), **Filosofie van de sociale wetenschappen**, Utrecht, De Tijdstroom.

Scott, J.P. (1991), **Social network analysis: a handbook,** London, SAGE.

Shaw, C.R. & H.D. McKay (1969), **Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Sigelman, L., T. Bledsoe, S. Welch & M.W. Combs (1996), Making Contact? Black-White Social Interaction in an Urban Setting, **American Journal of Sociology 101** (5), pp. 1306-1332.

Simmel, G. (1950 [1917]), **The Sociology of Georg Simmel**, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1955 [1922]), **The web of group-affiliations**, New York, The Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1997 [1903]), The sociology of space, in: Frisby, D. & M. Featherstone (eds.), **Simmel on Culture**, London, Sage, pp. 137-185.

Slater, T. (2006), The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 30** (4), pp. 737-757.

Small, M.L. (2004), **Villa Victoria: the transformation of social capital in a**

Boston barrio, Chicago, University Of Chicago Press.

Small, M.L. (2007), Racial Differences in Networks: Do Neighborhood Conditions Matter?, **Social Science Quarterly 88** (2), pp. 320-343.

Small, M.L. (2008), Four Reasons to Abandon the Idea of "The Ghetto", **City & Community 7** (4), pp. 389-398.

Small, M.L. (2009), **Unanticipated Gains. Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life**, New York, Oxford University Press.

Small, M.L. & K. Newman (2001), Urban Poverty after The Truly Disadvantaged The Rediscovery of the Family, the Neighborhood, and Culture, **Annual Review of Sociology 27** (1), pp. 23-45.

Smets, P. (2006), Living apart or together? Multiculturalism at a neighbourhood level, **Community Development Journal 41** (3), pp. 293-306.

Smets, P. & M. den Uyl (2008), The Complex Role of Ethnicity in Urban Mixing: A Study of Two Deprived Neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, **Urban Studies 45** (7), pp. 1439-1460.

Smith, N. (1979), Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People, **Journal of the American Planning Association 45** (4), pp. 538-548.

Smith, N. (1996), **The new urban frontier: gentrification and the revanchist city,** London/New York, Routledge.

Smith, N. (2002), New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy, **Antipode 34** (3), pp. 427-450.

Smith, S.S. (2005), "Don't put my name on it": Social Capital Activation and Job-Finding Assistance among the Black Urban Poor, **American Journal of Sociology 111** (1), pp. 1-57.

Snijders, T.A.B. (1999), Prologue to the measurement of social capital, **La Revue Tocqueville/The Tocqueville Review XX** (1), pp. 27-44.

Spencer, L. & R. Pahl (2006), **Rethinking Friendship. Hidden Solidarities Today,** Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

Stack, C. (1974), **All Our Kin**, New York, Basic Books.

Staring, R. (2001), **Reizen onder regie: Het migratieproces van illegale Turken in Nederland**, Amsterdam, Het Spinhuis.

Stueve, C.A. & K. Gerson (1977), Personal Relations Across the Life-Cycle, in: Fischer, C.S., R.M. Jackson, C.A. Stueve, K. Gerson, L. McCallister Jones & M. Baldassare (eds.), **Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting**, New York, Free Press, pp. 79-98.

Sztompka, P. (1999), **Trust: A Sociological Theory**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982), Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, **Annual Review of Psychology 33** (1), pp. 1-39.

Terpstra, J. (1996), Over families, piraten en beunen: achterstand en subcultuur in een Nederlandse nieuwbouwwijk, **Sociologische Gids 43** (3), pp. 204-224.

Tigges, L.M., I. Browne & G.P. Green (1998), Social Isolation of the Urban Poor: Race, Class, and Neighborhood Effects on Social Resources, **Sociological Quarterly 39** (1), pp. 53-77.

Tilly, C. (1984), **Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons**, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Tilly, C. (1998), **Durable Inequality**, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Tilly, C. (2004), Social Boundary Mechanisms, **Philosophy of the Social Science 34** (2), pp. 211-236.

Tilly, C. (2005), **Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties**, Boulder, Paradigm.

van Beckhoven, E. & R. van Kempen (2003), Social effects of urban restructuring: a case study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, the Netherlands, **Housing Studies 18** (6), pp. 853-875.

van den Brink, G. (2004), **Schets van een beschavingsoffensief. Over normen, normaliteit en normalisatie in Nederland**, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

van den Broek, A. & E. van Ingen (2008), Sociale contacten in de vrije tijd, in: van den Broek, A. & S. Keuzenkamp (eds.), **Het dagelijks leven van allochtone stedelingen**, Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

van der Gaag, M. & T. Snijders (2004), Proposals for the measurement of individual social capital, in: Flap, H. & B. Völker (eds.), **Creation and Returns of Social Capital: A New Research Progra**,. London, Routledge, pp. 198-218.

van der Gaag, M. & T.A.B. Snijders (2005), The Resource Generator: social capital quantification with concrete items, **Social Networks 27** (1), pp. 1-29.

van der Gaag, M.P.J. (2005), **Measurement of individual social capital [dissertation]**, Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

van der Laan Bouma-Doff, W. (2007), Confined Contact: Residential Segregation and Ethnic Bridges in the Netherlands, **Urban Studies 44** (5-6), pp. 997-1017.

van der Land, M. (2004), **Vluchtige verbondenheid. Stedelijke bindingen van de Rotterdamse nieuwe middenklasse**, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

van der Land, M. (2007), Cursory Connections: Urban Ties of the New Middle Class in Rotterdam, **Urban Studies 44** (3), pp. 477-499.

van der Poel, M.G.M. (1993), Delineating personal support networks, **Social Networks 15** (1), pp. 49-70.

van der Wouden, R., B. Hamers & F. Verwest (2006), **Toekomstverkenning grotestedenbeleid: een beschouwing [Exploration of the future big cities policy]**, Den Haag, Ruimtelijk Planbureau.

van Doorn, J.A.A. (2009 [1955]), Wijk en stad: reële integratiekaders?, in: de Beus, J. & P. de Rooy (eds.), **Nederlandse democratie. Historische en sociologische waarnemingen**, Amsterdam, Mets & Schilt, pp. 90-116.

van Eijck, K. & H. Mommaas (2004), Leisure, Lifestyle, and the New Middle

Class, **Leisure Sciences 26** (4), pp. 373-392.

van Eijk, G. (forthcoming in 2010), Exclusionary policies are not just about the 'neoliberal city': a critique on theories of urban revanchism and the case of Rotterdam, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 34** (4).

van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, R. (2003), **Veertig jaar territoriale binding,** Amsterdam, Vossiuspers UvA.

van Kempen, R. & H. Priemus (2002), Revolution in Social Housing in the Netherlands: Possible Effects of New Housing Policies, **Urban Studies 39** (2), pp. 237-253.

van Wilsem, J., K. Wittebrood & N.D. de Graaf (2006), Socioeconomic Dynamics of Neighborhoods and the Risk of Crime Victimization: A Multilevel Study of Improving, Declining, and Stable Areas in the Netherlands, **Social Problems 53** (2), pp. 226-247.

Veldboer, L., R. Kleinhans & J.W. Duyvendak (2002), The Diversified Neighbourhood in Western Europe and the United States: How do countries deal with the spatial distribution of economic and cultural differences?, **Journal of International Migration and Integration 3** (1), pp. 41-64.

Venkatesh, S. (2001), Chicago's Pragmatic Planners. American Sociology and the Myth of Community, **Social Science History 25** (2), pp. 275-317.

Verbrugge, L.M. (1977), The structure of adult friendship choices, **Social Forces 56** (2), pp. 576-597.

Vermeij, L. (2008), Goede schuttingen maken goede buren, in: Schnabel, P., R. Bijl & J. de Hart (eds.), **Betrekkelijke betrokkenheid. Studies in sociale cohesie,** Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, pp. 113-136.

Völker, B. (1999), 15 miljoen buren — De rol van buren in persoonlijke netwerken in Nederland, **Buren en buurten**, Amsterdam, SISWO, pp. 43-68.

Völker, B. (2007), When Are Neighbourhoods Communities? Community in Dutch Neighbourhoods, **European Sociological Review 23** (1), pp. 99-114.

Völker, B. (2009), Buurten, gemeenschappen, collectieve goederen en kwaden, in: Gesthuizen, M. & V. Veldheer (eds.), **Sociale samenhang in de wijk. NSV actualiteitencollege 2008**, Den Haag, Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging/Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, pp. 9-19.

Völker, B. & H. Flap (2001), Weak ties as a liability. The case of East-Germany, **Rationality and Society 13** (4), pp. 397-428.

Völker, B. & H. Flap (2007), Sixteen Million Neighbors: A Multilevel Study of the Role of Neighbors in the Personal Networks of the Dutch, **Urban Affairs Review 43** (2), pp. 256-284.

Völker, B. & R. Verhoef (1999), **Buren en buurten. Nederlands onderzoek op het snijvlak van sociologie en sociale geografie**, Amsterdam, SISWO.

VROM-raad (2006), **Stad en stijging: sociale stijging als leidraad voor stedelijke vernieuwing**, Den Haag, VROM-raad, Raad voor de Volkshuisvesting, de Ruimtelijke Ordening en het Milieubeheer.

Wacquant, L. (2004), Decivilizing and demonizing: the social and symbol-

ic remaking of the black ghetto and Elias in the dark ghetto, in: Loyal, S. & S. Quilley (eds.), **The Sociology of Norbert Elias**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 95-121.

Wacquant, L. (2008a), Relocating Gentrification: The Working Class, Science and the State in Recent Urban Research, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 32** (1), pp. 198-205.

Wacquant, L. (2008b), **Urban outcasts. Towards a sociology of advanced marginality**, Cambridge, Polity.

Wacquant, L. & W.J. Wilson (1989), The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in the Inner City, **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 501**, pp. 8-25.

Watt, P. (2006), Respectability, Roughness and 'Race': Neighbourhood Place Images and the Making of Working-Class Social Distinctions in London, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 30** (4), pp. 776-797.

Webber, M.M. (1970), Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity, in: Gutman, R. & D. Popenoe (eds.), **Neighborhood, City and Metropolis**, New York, Random House, pp. 791-811.

Wegener, B. (1991), Job Mobility and Social Ties: Social Resources, Prior Job, and Status Attainment, **American Sociological Review 56** (1), pp. 60-71.

Weller, S. & I. Bruegel (2009), Children's 'Place' in the Development of Neighbourhood Social Capital, **Urban Studies 46** (3), pp. 629-643.

Wellman, B. (1979), The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers, **American Journal of Sociology 84** (5), pp. 1201-1231.

Wellman, B. (1996), Are personal communities local? A Dumptarian reconsideration, **Social Networks 18** (4), pp. 347-354.

Wellman, B. (2001), Physical Place and Cyberplace: The Rise of Personalized Networking, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 25** (2), pp. 227-252.

Wellman, B. & B. Leighton (1979), Networks, Neighborhoods, and Communities: Approaches to the Study of the Community Question, **Urban Affairs Review 14** (3), pp. 363-390.

Wellman, B. & S. Wortley (1990), Different Strokes from Different Folks: Community Ties and Social Support, **American Journal of Sociology 96** (3), pp. 558-588.

White, H.C. (2008), **Identity and control. How social formations emerge**, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Whitten, N.E. & A.W. Wolfe (1974), Network analysis, in: Honigmann, J.J. (ed.) **Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology**, Chicago, Rand McNally, pp. 717-746.

Wilson, W.J. (1987), **The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy**, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W.J. (1996), **When work disappears. The world of the new urban poor**, New York, Vintage books.

Wilson, W.J. & R.P. Taub (2007), **There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America**, New York, Vintage Books.

Wimmer, A. (2007), The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory, **American Journal of Sociology 113** (4), pp. 970–1022.

Wirth, L. (1938), Urbanism as a Way of Life, **American Journal of Sociology 44** (1), pp. 1-24.

Woolcock, M. (2001), The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes, **Canadian Journal of Policy Research 2** (11), pp. 65-88.

Wynne, D., J. O'Connor & D. Phillips (1998), Consumption and the Postmodern City, **Urban Studies 35** (5-6), pp. 841-864.

Young, I.M. (1990), **Justice and the Poltics of Difference**, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

Young, J. (2007), **The vertigo of late modernity**, London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Young, M. & P. Wilmott (1957), **Family and Kinship in East London**, London, Penguin.

Zukin, S. (1987), Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core, **Annual Review of Sociology 13** (1), pp. 129-147.

Zukin, S. (1998), Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption, **Urban Studies 35** (5-6), pp. 825-839.

Curriculum vitae

Gwen van Eijk (1980) was born in Eindhoven and raised in the Randstad, mainly in suburban Pijnacker (in the Netherlands). After she received her propedeuse cum laude in Dutch Law in 2001, she studied Criminology at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. During her Master's study, she specialized in Urban Problems and Policy. She wrote her Master thesis on the Rotterdam income restriction policy and the effects on liveability, for which she received the 2003-2005 Thesis Award of the Dutch Association for Criminology (NVK). She received her Master's degree in January 2006.

Immediately thereafter, in February 2006, Gwen started her PhD research at the OTB Research Institute for Housing, Urban and Mobility Studies, Delft University of Technology, in the section Urban Renewal and Housing. In the spring of 2008, she spent one semester as visiting scholar at the Sociology Department of New York University. For two-and-a-half years during her PhD research, Gwen was a board member of PromooD (the representative body for PhD candidates at the Delft University of Technology), responsible for internal affairs and, in the last half year, as president. In 2008, Gwen joined the editorial board of the trans-disciplinary journal City – analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action.

As of February 2010, Gwen is assistant professor in the department of Sociology & Anthropology and the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) of the University of Amsterdam. At this university, she is committed to the Urban Studies research priority area.

After receiving her PhD degree, Gwen will be a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford. Her visit to Oxford is supported by a stipend of the Dutch Niels Stensen Foundation, that grants promising young academics a stipend to support a yearlong visit to an abroad university. During her fellowship, Gwen will carry out a study at the intersection of urban sociology and criminology, focusing on the interpretation and control of disorder in urban settings.

Sustainable Urban Areas

1. Beerepoot, Milou, **Renewable energy in energy performance regulations. A challenge for European member states in implementing the Energy Performance Building Directive**
2004/202 pages/ISBN 90-407-2534-9 (978-90-407-2534-0)

2. Boon, Claudia and Minna Sunikka, **Introduction to sustainable urban renewal. CO_2 reduction and the use of performance agreements: experience from The Netherlands**
2004/153 pages/ISBN 90-407-2535-7 (978-90-407-2535-7)

3. Jonge, Tim de, **Cost effectiveness of sustainable housing investments**
2005/196 pages/ISBN 90-407-2578-0 (978-90-407-2578-4)

4. Klunder, Gerda, **Sustainable solutions for Dutch housing. Reducing the environmental impact of new and existing houses**
2005/163 pages/ISBN 90-407-2584-5 (978-407-2584-5)

5. Bots, Pieter, Ellen van Bueren, Ernst ten Heuvelhof and Igor Mayer, **Communicative tools in sustainable urban planning and building**
2005/100 pages/ISBN 90-407-2595-0 (978-90-407-2595-1)

6. Kleinhans, R.J., **Sociale implicaties van herstructurering en herhuisvesting**
2005/371 pages/ISBN 90-407-2598-5 (978-90-407-2598-2)

7. Kauko, Tom, **Comparing spatial features of urban housing markets. Recent evidence of submarket formation in metropolitan Helsinki and Amsterdam**
2005/163 pages/ISBN 90-407-2618-3 (978-90-407-2618-7)

8. Kauko, Tom, **Between East and West. Housing markets, property prices and locational preferences in Budapest from a comparative perspective**
2006/142 pages/ISBN 1-58603-679-3 (978-1-58603-679-9)

9. Sunikka, Minna Marjaana, **Policies for improving energy efficiency in the European housing stock**
2006/251 pages/ISBN 1-58603-649-1 (978-1-58603-649-2)

10. Hasselaar, Evert, **Health performance of housing. Indicators and tools**

2006/298 pages/ISBN 1-58603-689-0 (978-1-58603-689-8)

11. Gruis, Vincent, Henk Visscher and Reinout Kleinhans (eds.), **Sustainable neighbourhood transformation**
2006/158 pages/ISBN 1-58603-718-8 (978-1-58603-718-5)

12. Trip, Jan Jacob, **What makes a city? Planning for 'quality of place'. The case of high-speed train station area redevelopment**
2007/256 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-716-1

13. Meijers, Evert, **Synergy in polycentric urban regions. Complementarity, organising capacity and critical mass**
2007/182 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-724-6

14. Chen, Yawei, **Shanghai Pudong. Urban development in an era of global-local interaction**
2007/368 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-747-5

15. Beerepoot, Milou, **Energy policy instruments and technical change in the residential building sector**
2007/238 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-811-3

16. Guerra Santin, Olivia, **Environmental indicators for building design. Development and application on Mexican dwellings**
2008/124 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-894-6

17. Van Mossel, Johan Hendrik, **The purchasing of maintenance service delivery in the Dutch social housing sector. Optimising commodity strategies for delivering maintenance services to tenants**
2008/283 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-877-9

18. Waterhout, Bas, **The institutionalisation of European spatial planning**
2008/226 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-882-3

19. Koopman, Marnix, Henk-Jan van Mossel and Ad Straub, **Performance measurement in the Dutch social housing sector**
2008/140 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-962-2

20. Pal, Anirban, **Planning from the bottom up. Democratic decentralisation in action**

2008/126 pages/ISBN 978-58603-910-3

21 Neuteboom, Peter, **On the rationality of borrowers' behaviour. Comparing risk attitudes of homeowners**
2008/112 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-918-9

22. Itard, Laure and Frits Meijer, **Towards a sustainable northern European housing stock. Figures, facts and future**
2008/226 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-977-6

23. Janssen-Jansen, Leonie, Marjolein Spaans and Menno van der Veen, **New instruments in spatial planning. An international perspective on non-financial compensation**
2008/258 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-978-3

24. Coolen, Henny, **The meaning of dwelling features. Conceptual and methodological issues**
2008/164 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-955-4

25. Van Rij, Evelien, **Improving institutions for green landscapes in metropolitan areas**
2008/226 pages/ISBN 978-1-58603-944-8

26. Van der Veen, Menno, **Contracting for better places. A relational analysis of development agreements in urban development projects**
2009/394 pages/ISBN 978-1-60750-005-6

27. Meesters, Janine, **The meaning of activities in the dwelling and residential environment. A structural approach in people-environment relations**
2009/284 pages/ISBN 978-1-60750-012-4

28. Lux, Martin, **Housing policy and housing finance in the Czech Republic during transition. An example of the schism between the still-living past and the need of reform**
2009/300 pages/ISBN 978-1-60750-058-2

29. Maat, Kees, **Built environment and car travel. Analyses of interdependencies**
2009/174 pages/ISBN 978-1-60750-064-3

30. Van Bueren, Ellen, **Greening governance. An evolutionary ap-**

proach to policy-making for a sustainable built environment
2009/326 pages/ISBN 978-1-60750-078-0

31. Makasa, Paul, **The 1996 Zambian National Housing Policy**
2010/forthcoming

32. Eijk, Gwen van, **Unequal networks. Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city**
2010/358 pages/978-1-60750-555-6/ISBN 978-1-60750-556-3
(print)

Copies can be ordered at www.dupress.nl.

Delft Centre for Sustainable Urban Areas carries out research in the field of the built environment and is one of the multidisciplinary research centres at TU Delft. The Delft Research Centres bundle TU Delft's excellent research and provide integrated solutions for today's and tomorrow's problems in society. OTB Research Institute for Housing, Urban and Mobility Studies and the Faculties of Architecture, Technology, Policy and Management and Civil Engineering and Geosciences participate in this Delft Research Centre.

Does the neighbourhood in which people live matter for the resourcefulness of their personal network and thus for their opportunities in life? Do residents of a multi-ethnic 'problem' area maintain fewer relationships with fellow-residents compared to residents of a homogeneous problem-free neighbourhood? And do 'diversity-seekers' who choose to live in a mixed neighbourhood translate their liking for diversity into more mixed networks and more bridging ties? This book brings together key insights from urban studies and network studies in order to understand whether and how spatial segregation matters for personal networks and inequality. By approaching these questions through different urban sociological perspectives, the book engages with current debates on poverty concentration as well as ethnic diversity, gentrification and social capital. The study is based on detailed quantitative and qualitative data on the personal networks of people living in three differently composed neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, the second largest city in the Netherlands.

DELFT UNIVERSITY PRESS IS AN IMPRINT OF IOS PRESS