



The Case of Antwerp

Stijn Oosterlyncx
Arne Saeys
Ympkje Albeda
Nicolas Van Puymbroeck
Gert Verschraegen



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DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity

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Stijn Oosterlynck
Arne Saeys
Ympkje Albeda
Nicolas Van Puymbroeck
Gert Verschraegen

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

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In memory of Ronald van Kempen

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PREFACE

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

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

This book is concerned with Antwerp. It is written by the DIVERCITIES team at the research centre OASeS (Inequality, Poverty, Social Exclusion and the City) at the University of Antwerp. The texts in this book are based on a number of previously published DIVERCITIES reports.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Dr. Ronald van Kempen, for coordinating the DIVERCITIES project with great enthusiasm until the last days of his life.

The authors

1 DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY: AN INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Antwerp, the focus of this book, is a highly diverse city with a current population of more than half a million inhabitants. As the largest city of the Flemish region in the north of Belgium, and the second largest city of the country after Brussels, Antwerp is a thriving economic centre. The city has the second largest seaport in Europe after Rotterdam. In addition, Antwerp is home to one of the largest diamond trade centres in the world. Although the Antwerp diamond trade has long been dominated by the Jewish, nowadays the majority of people working in the diamond trade are Indian dealers. With currently more than 40% inhabitants of foreign origin, Antwerp is in the process of becoming a city where the sum of all minority groups of foreign origin equal or even outnumber the native population. At the moment, the largest ethnic minorities in Antwerp are the Moroccans, followed by the Dutch, Turks, Poles, Yugoslavs and Russians.

Among the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of ethnic diversity in Antwerp are Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout and Deurne-Noord. Together, these three adjacent areas have about 95,642 inhabitants and constitute the case study area in which we carried out our empirical research about residents and entrepreneurs that we will discuss in the following chapters.

*Brief definitions of the core concepts*²

Diversity is defined as the presence or coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity, such as a city or

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

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

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

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

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

1.3 DIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS: SOME KEY ARGUMENTS³

1.3.1 From super-diversity to hyper-diversity

Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), *super-diversity* refers specifically to western cities with increasing ethnic diversity, and to the demographic and socioeconomic diversity between and within these ethnic groups. Vertovec (2007, p. 1024) talks about “... *the dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade*”. As such, Vertovec recognises the enormous diversity within categories of immigrants.

We go one step further, and will use the term *hyper-diversity*. With this term we will make clear that we should not only look at diversity in ethnic, demographic and socioeconomic terms, but

also look to the differences that exist with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. We will contend that such differences are important, for example, when explaining social cohesion or social mobility. People belonging to the same social or ethnic group may display quite different attitudes with respect to school, work, and parents and towards other groups. They may have very different daily and life routines. Some adolescents and adults may exhibit extensive daily mobility patterns that stretch all over the city and even beyond, while others may remain oriented within their own residential neighbourhood. While the sphere of daily interaction of a native resident may be restricted to his immediate surroundings, his foreign-born immigrant neighbours may be more mobile with respect to social and professional relations and vice versa.

Hyper-diversity thus refers to an intense diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan Kok *et al.*, 2014). The term makes clear that we should look at urban diversity in a very open way. Hyper-diversity refers to a significantly more complex situation than super-diversity, because the concept contains more variables, which leads to more involved interactions between these variables. The term hyper-diversity takes account of the fact that, for example, a group of poor, young Indian-born men living in a London neighbourhood may at first sight be considered as a very homogeneous group. But at closer range they may be very heterogeneous: some men in this group like watching sports on television at home; another part of the group's main activity may have intensive contact with the family in India (by email, Skype, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.); and a third group may enjoy hanging around the neighbourhood square where they mainly interact with native Londoners.

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

A *hyper-diversified city* contains increasingly changing forms of diversities. According to the literature, new forms of diversity are resulting from many factors including: increasing net migration and diversification of countries of origin (Vertovec, 2007); increased level of population mobility (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2007; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011); the dynamic nature of global migration, new social formations in the city and changing conditions and positions of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the urban society (Vertovec, 2010); transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants

(Vertovec, 2007); new power and political structures, and dynamic identities (Cantle, 2012); and increasing heterogeneity of migration in terms of countries of origin, ethnic and national groups, religions, languages, migratory channels, and legal status (Faist, 2009). Neoliberal deregulation, which has been feeding diversity in particular ways (economic globalisation, increasing income inequality, polarisation, segregation, etc.) for the last 30 years, contributes to the increasing complexities of the urban society.

1.3.2 Diversity and urban governance

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

Ostensibly, during the 2000s there was a convergence in urban policy and planning agendas in cities across the world with a move towards, what Beck (2002) has termed, the individualisation of society, or a 'sub-politics' characterised by less direct forms of state intervention and greater individual and community autonomy. The adversarial class politics of the post-WWII period has been replaced, it is argued, by a new 'post-politics' founded on consensus-building, collaboration, and a more powerful role for active individuals and communities. For authors such as Beck (2002), Giddens (1994; 2002; 2009) and Held (2010) changes are an inevitable consequence of structural social shifts in which individuals and communities no longer identify themselves through the restrictive prisms of class identities and adversarial left/right politics. This is particularly relevant in cosmopolitan, hyper-diverse EU cities with their outward-looking populations and economies. Questions of governance have become increasingly complex and governments look for possibilities to tackle the growing divisions between shrinking institutional capacities (partly as a consequence of deliberate austerity measures) and a growing diversity of the needs of an increasing diverse population.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011 Euro crisis, governments across the EU have put in place austerity agendas seeking to reduce the size of the state and to make governance arrangements more flexible and diverse. In the UK, for example, terms such as 'Big Society' have taken centre-stage. Advocates like David Cameron (2011) represent a 'guiding philosophy' of government, in which a leaner state can act as "... *a leading force for progress in social responsibility (...) breaking [open] state monopolies, allowing charities, social enterprises, and companies to provide public services, devolving power down to neighbourhoods, making government more accountable*" (p. 1). Similar trends are happening in cities and countries across the EU in

which governance is being re-invented as a participatory practice that opens up opportunities for policy-makers and citizens to engage in a process of policy co-production and mutual working (Mulgan, 2009; Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw, 2010).

And yet, little is known about the capacities and motivations of diverse urban communities to take on these new and expanded roles in cities across the EU. The shift to a post-political, communitarian approach to governance raises questions of equality and social justice, as it is by no means clear that reducing the role of the state and of government institutions, necessarily improves either the efficiency or the accountability of governance processes. Devolution and localism can all too easily open the door to new forms of privatisation that may bring more efficiency but at the cost of reduced democratic accountability and increases in socio-economic inequality (see Boyle, 2011; MacLeod and Jones, 2011; Raco, 2013). Moreover, the extent to which existing institutional structures no longer 'work' and need to be reformed is a claim that authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Rancière (2006) and Žižek (2011) have challenged as a political-ideological programme that, in reality, seeks to attack welfare state systems across the EU and marginalise poorer and more diverse communities in cities under the discursive cloak of 'empowerment' and 'devolution' agendas (Mouffe, 2005; Crouch, 2011).

1.3.3 Diversity and social cohesion

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

There is fundamental disagreement among social scientists about the association between diversity and social cohesion. The common belief in significant parts of the social sciences is that despite internal differences, mixed communities can live together in harmony. Finding the balance between diversity and solidarity is not easy, but it is not necessarily an impossible or undesirable mission (Amin, 2002). However, social scientists working in the communitarian tradition, like Putnam (2007), tend to see diversity and heterogeneity as a challenge or even an obstacle for social cohesion and cultural homogeneity as a fundamental source of social cohesion.

This distinction between optimists and pessimists is also reflected in the literature on social mixing policies (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). On the one hand, policy-makers in many European countries see the stimulation of greater mixing across income groups and between ethnic communities as a means to create more social cohesion (e.g. Graham *et al.*, 2009). On

the other hand, many academic researchers tend to emphasise that diversity is often negatively related to cohesion. This conclusion is based on two types of empirical research. First, there are studies evaluating social mixing policies (either in a quantitative or a qualitative way), which usually focus on a small number of neighbourhoods, and which concludes that social mixing is more likely to weaken than to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood (e.g. Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013; Bond *et al.*, 2011). There are hardly any interactions between social groups (e.g. Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Second, there is a highly quantitative research tradition in which the compositional characteristics of neighbourhoods are related to social cohesion. Kearns and Mason (2007) found that a greater diversity of tenure (as proxy for social mix) is negatively related to social cohesion.

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

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

Although some of the academic literature tends to be pessimistic about the level of social cohesion in diverse areas, it should be stressed that there is no reason to assume that there is a mechanistic (negative) association between diversity and cohesion. Contextual differences play a large role in the effects of diversity. Delhay and Newton (2005) have shown that good governance at the regional and national level positively affects social cohesion and eliminates the (alleged) negative effects of diversity. The effects of diversity may also differ from society to society based on difference in 'ethnic boundary making'. In the literature on 'ethnic boundary making' ethnicity is "... *not preconceived as a matter of relations between pre-defined, fixed groups ... but rather as a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them*" (Wimmer, 2013, p. 1027). This literature aims to offer a more precise analysis of how

and why cultural or ethnic diversity matters in some societies or contexts but not in others, and why it is sometimes associated with inequality and ‘thick identities’ and in other cases not. This is, among other things, dependent on the specific type of boundary making and the degree of ‘social closure’ along cultural-ethnic lines (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Wimmer, 2013).

1.3.4 Diversity and social mobility

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

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

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

In studies of neighbourhood effects the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and social mobility is central. In many of these studies, the effects of segregation (usually in terms of income or ethnic background) on social mobility have been key rather than the effects of

diversity. Typical questions include (Friedrichs, 1998): Does living in a neighbourhood with a specific type of population limit social mobility? Does living in an ethnic neighbourhood limit integration and assimilation? Do impoverished neighbourhoods have fewer job opportunities for their residents?

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

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

1.3.5 Diversity and economic performance

When we consider urban studies we mainly find literature that links advantages of urban diversity to the economic competitiveness of the *city*. Fainstein (2005, p. 4), for example, argues that “... *the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment*”. From this widely-accepted point of view, urban diversity is seen as a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development by many others (Bodaar and Rath, 2005; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010; Tazan-Kok and Vranken, 2008). Although some successful entrepreneurs may live in homogenous neighbourhoods, some scholars hold a contrary view even arguing that diversity and economic performance are not positively connected (Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005). The general opinion is that diversity has a positive influence on the economic development of cities. Inspired by similar ideas, urban diversity is seen as a characteristic feature of many policy-makers to realise

a so-called '*diversity dividend*', which will increase the competitive advantage of the city (Cully, 2009; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010).

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

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

- *Increasing productivity*: A study of Ottaviano and Peri (2006) shows that average US-born citizens are more productive (on the basis of wages and rents) in a culturally diversified environment. As Bellini *et al.* (2008) show, diversity is positively correlated with *productivity* as it may increase the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O'Reilly *et al.*, 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006; Berliant and Fujita, 2004). In the same vein, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) provide an overview of how the urban economy benefits from a diversity of the population.
- *Increasing chances for networking*: Some scholars (Alesina *et al.*, 2004; Demange and Wooders, 2005) point to the emerging literature on club formations, wherein *ethnic networks* grow from within. According to these researchers, a social mix brings about variety in abilities, experiences, and cultures, which may be productive and may lead to innovation and creativity. Saunders' (2011) work on the arrival city concept is of interest. He argues that some city areas with high levels of social mix provide a better (easier) environment for starting small businesses for immigrants, especially to newcomers due to easy access to information through well-developed networks.
- *Increasing competitive advantage*: Emphasising the rising levels of population diversity, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) suggest using population diversity as a source of competitive advantage. Other studies highlight diversity as an instrument for increasing the competitive advantage of cities, regions or places (Bellini *et al.*, 2008; Blumenthal *et al.*, 2009; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010; Nathan, 2011; Sepulveda *et al.*, 2011; Thomas and Darnton, 2006). The common argument of these studies is that areas that are open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of talent (nationality, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) than those that are relatively closed. As a result, they are more likely to have a dynamic economy due to their creative, innovative and entrepreneurial capacities compared to more homogenous cities (see also Scott, 2006).

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

1.4 THE OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

In the following chapters we will show how the city of Antwerp is culturally diverse with a particular focus on the areas of Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout and Deurne-Noord, located in the northeast of the city. Chapter 2 will provide the context for the rest of the book, focusing on the socio-spatial characteristics of diversity in Antwerp. Furthermore, it introduces the case study area of Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout and Deurne-Noord and their demographic composition.

Chapter 3 focuses on policy discourses. How do policies deal with urban diversity? We will focus on national as well as local policies in order to sketch the development of diversity policies in the past decades. The main focus will be on current local policies: how do Antwerp’s urban policies deal with diversity? Do policy-makers in Antwerp see diversity as something positive, as a threat to urban society or is diversity not treated as a relevant variable? Does the city of Antwerp use diversity as an asset or does it only act as if diversity leads to problems? In addition to the top-down policy discourses, we will also pay attention to bottom-up initiatives. How do the leaders of local projects see diversity? How do they profit from diversity?

In Chapter 4 we turn to the residents of the diverse urban areas of Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout and Deurne-Noord. We aim to find out why residents moved to the area and if the diversity of the area was one of the motives to move there. The chapter discusses how the residents view diversity. How do residents use the diversified neighbourhood? Do they intensively use the neighbourhood or do their activities and social contacts mainly take place outside the area? Does living in these diverse neighbourhoods help or hinder them in terms of social mobility? Our expectation is that the residents of a diverse urban area may have many activities and social contacts in their residential neighbourhood, but that in an era with lots of mobility opportunities, they also find many of their friends and activities outside the local area, making the residential area less important for daily life and future career possibilities.

In chapter 5 our attention turns to the entrepreneurs in the area. Has the diversity of the area been a motivator to start an enterprise in this area? How do they profit from diversity? Do they have a diverse clientele? Is the enterprise successful and can it survive? Here the basic idea is

that entrepreneurs in diverse urban areas have deliberately selected to start their enterprises in a diverse urban area, because they think they can profit from the diverse clientele in this area.

We conclude with chapter 6, where we will answer the question about whether urban diversity can be seen as an asset or rather as a liability. We will formulate suggestions for policy makers, civil society organisations and other stakeholders who deal with diversity and diverse urban areas. How can they use our results?

2 ANTWERP AS A DIVERSE CITY

2.1 LOCATING ANTWERP

With more than half a million inhabitants, Antwerp is the largest city of the Flemish region in the northern part of Belgium (see figure 2.1), and the second largest city of Belgium after the capital city Brussels. Throughout the post-WWII period, the city grew in terms of surface and population through the annexation of a number of neighbouring municipalities to accommodate for the growth of the port (e.g. Lillo, Zandvliet and Berendrecht in 1958) and acquired its current form after merging with eight neighbouring municipalities in 1983 (as part of a national operation of municipal merging). In 2001, the city of Antwerp opted for a decentralisation and installed directly-elected district councils (with a limited budget and responsibilities) in order to reduce the gap between citizens and the authorities. Today, the city of Antwerp is composed of nine districts – Antwerp, Berendrecht-Zandvliet-Lillo, Berchem, Borgerhout, Deurne, Ekeren, Hoboken, Merksem and Wilrijk.

Throughout most of the 20th century, the city of Antwerp lost population to the surrounding areas (for a detailed analysis of this massive suburbanisation process, see Loots & Van Hove, 1986). This process of suburbanisation already started at the turn of the century in 1900 in

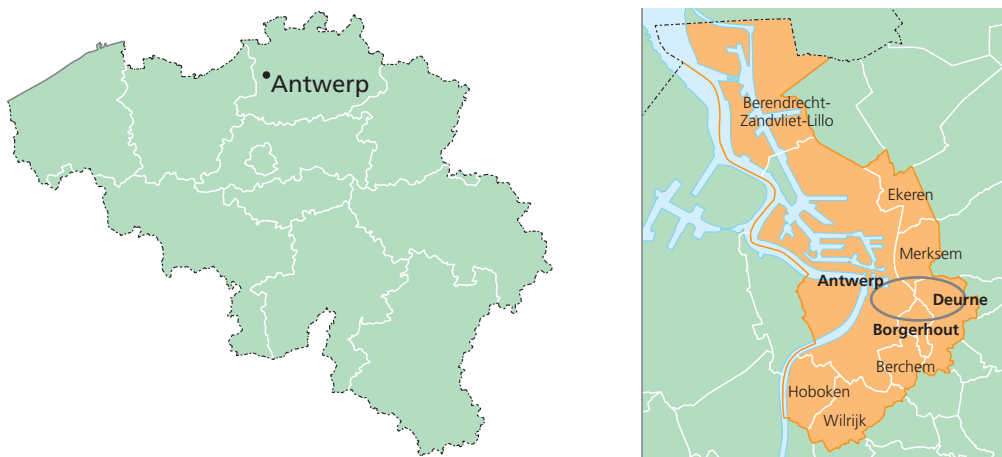


Figure 2.1 Left: Location of Antwerp in the north of Belgium. Right: City of Antwerp, divided in nine districts. Case study area indicated with grey circle.

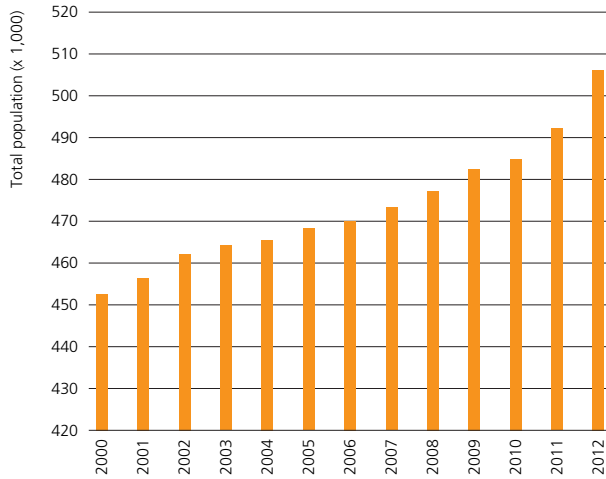


Figure 2.2 Evolution of the population in Antwerp (2000-2012). Source: Stad Antwerpen, Districts-en Loketwerking 2000-2012, Studiedienst Stadsobervatie.

some of the central neighbourhoods such as Sint-Andrieswijk and Schipperskwartier. The city of Antwerp reached its population peak in 1919 with 302,058 inhabitants⁴, but from then on the whole city was confronted with a dramatic loss of population. In 1983, Antwerp reached a low point of just 185,021 inhabitants, but after merging with eight neighbouring municipalities, which in the preceding decades had absorbed much of the urban flight, the population number rose to 490,524 inhabitants. In the 1990s, Antwerp's population further declined to below 450,000 inhabitants but then Antwerp started growing again from the early 2000s onwards, mainly due to external migration. In the last decade, Antwerp grew by 50,000 inhabitants (see figure 2.2) and is anticipated to add another 100,000 inhabitants by 2030 (Verhaeren, 2014). The district of Antwerp (the independent municipality of Antwerp before 1983) is still by far the largest in population numbers and also growing much faster than the other districts since 2000.

Today, the city of Antwerp covers a surface of 204 square kilometres, with a large part dedicated to port activities. The city of Antwerp has a population density of 2,526 inhabitants per square kilometre (2015, www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be). Population density ranges from 11,842 inhabitants per square km for the district of Borgerhout (first urban expansion area outside the historic city), over 5,942 for the post-war suburban district of Deurne to 187 for the port district BeZaLi. 57% of the inhabitants of Antwerp are home owners, while 42% are on the rental market (2011)⁵. 10.1% of the housing stock in Antwerp is social housing (almost all rental social housing), which is strongly concentrated in a limited number of neighbourhoods. According to rough estimations, more than 60% of the housing stock in Antwerp are apartments⁶. In 2011, the cost of an average house was 197,121 Euro and an average apartment 140,394 Euro. These prices have increased by 28% and 23% respectively since 2003.

Like many cities, Antwerp has a relatively young population. In 2012, children and youngsters (0-19 year) made up almost a quarter of the population (23.4%), while the cohort of those over

60 years old made up 22% of the population⁷. The fastest growing age cohort is the 0-9 year olds, which has increased by 26% over the past ten years, reaching 13% of the population. The 80 and over age group is the second fastest growing cohort. In 2012 they made up only 5% of the population but grew by 24% in ten years' time. 43% of households in Antwerp are single-person households and 8.4% are single-parent households. 22% of households in Antwerp are couples with children, an increase of 13% over the preceding ten years. The average number of household members in Antwerp is 2.11, which has slightly increased in recent years.

Antwerp is the motor of the Flemish economy. The city has the second largest seaport in Europe after Rotterdam and is strongly specialised in transport and logistics (Van den Broeck, Vermeulen, Oosterlynck, & Albeda, 2014). The port is the backbone of the Antwerp economy and boasts the second most important cluster of petrochemical industries in the world. As for the inner-city economy, Antwerp prides itself as a fashion capital and is home to one of the largest diamond trade centres in the world. The Antwerp diamond trade has traditionally been dominated by the Jewish, although nowadays the majority of people working in the diamond trade are Indian dealers.

2.2 DIVERSE-CITY ANTWERP

With its international seaport, Antwerp has been attracting immigrants from distant places for a long time. In 2012, 41% of all inhabitants of Antwerp were 'allochthonous', i.e. either non-Belgian, those that acquired Belgian citizenship, or a child of the parents from either group⁸. In the age cohort of <10 year olds, the share of allochthones is 63%. The autochthones are only a majority in the age groups of >50 years old. Figure 2.3 makes visible how the ethnic diversity in Antwerp is increasing and is moving towards a situation in which 'autochthones' are no longer a majority. The people living in Antwerp come from all over the world (see table 2.1). The biggest 'allochthonous' group has its origins in North Africa, but there are also a lot of people from Eastern and Western Europe and West Asia living in Antwerp. Moroccans are the

Table 2.1 Top 10 ethnic minorities in Antwerp (including citizens with foreign parent/s)⁹

Country of origin	Number	Percentage of population
Total population	506,225	100%
Morocco	55,984	11,1%
Netherlands	20,091	4,0%
Turkey	19,151	3,8%
Poland	9,957	2,0%
Yugoslavia	9,628	1,9%
Russia	6,895	1,4%
Spain	4,111	0,8%
United Kingdom	3,489	0,7%
France	3,478	0,7%
India	3,331	0,7%



Figure 2.3 Evolution of the number of autochthones and allochthones.

Source: Stad Antwerpen, Districts- en Loketwerking 2000-2012, Studiedienst Stadsobervatie.

biggest ethnic minority, with a share of 11% of the population, followed at some distance by the Dutch, Turks, Polish, Yugoslavs and Russians.

Reflecting the immigration-based and high-level ethnic diversity in Antwerp, the selected case study area, **Antwerpen-Noord**, **Borgerhout Intramuros** and **Deurne-Noord**, are three adjacent areas in the city that are known for their highly diverse population (see figure 2.1 and photographs of the area below). Antwerpen-Noord is the northern part of the largest and central Antwerp district. Borgerhout and Deurne are distinct districts situated in the northeast and east of the city. Our fieldwork took place in Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout and the west of Deurne.

Antwerpen-Noord, also known as ‘2060’, is a relatively small but densely populated area in the north district of Antwerp consisting of the neighbourhoods Stuivenberg, Dam and Amandus-Atheneum. With around 35,000 inhabitants of more than 150 different nationalities, Antwerpen-Noord is one of the most ethnically diverse areas in the city. The most notable communities are the Chinese, the Africans, the Portuguese and the Moroccans. At the same time, Antwerpen-Noord is also one of the most deprived areas of Antwerp with one in three people living in poverty.

Borgerhout is one of the nine districts of the municipality of Antwerp. It has more than 40,000 inhabitants reflecting more than 90 different nationalities. Borgerhout is divided in two parts by the ring road that encircles the city. The part of Borgerhout within the ring road is known as ‘Borgerhout intramuros’ whereas the part outside the ring road is known as ‘Borgerhout extramuros’. Borgerhout intramuros is more densely populated and contains a large and very ethnically diverse shopping street called the Turnhoutsebaan, which has also been a location for conflicts with migrant youth. Borgerhout intramuros is sometimes nicknamed ‘Borgerocco’, referring to its many inhabitants of Moroccan origin.



With more than 75,000 inhabitants, **Deurne** is the second largest district of the municipality of Antwerp after the district of Antwerp itself. Deurne is divided into a northern, central, eastern and southern quarter, each of them containing 20,000 inhabitants. While Deurne is a suburban district with less inhabitants of foreign origin than Borgerhout and Antwerp, in the northern quarter of Deurne more than 50% of the population have a foreign background. Deurne has for a long time been an electoral stronghold of the extreme-right party Vlaams Belang. Our case study research only includes the northern (most diverse) part of Deurne.

All together the case study area has 95,642 inhabitants and can be considered as one of the most diversified areas in the city. Although all these areas are highly diverse in terms of population there are some differences. Antwerp Noord is the most ethnically diverse area. More than 60% of those living here are of foreign origin. The diversity of the population is also reflected in the diversity of shops. Walking through this area you will find Portuguese cafes, African hairdressers, Moroccan butchers and a little Chinatown located in Antwerp Noord. Borgerhout Intramuros is located south of Antwerp Noord, and also on the city centre side of the urban ringway. Borgerhout has a high number of Moroccans living in the area. Based on original nationality, almost 30% of residents are of North African origin and almost 55% are of foreign origin, which is a bit lower than in Antwerp Noord (61%). Although this amount

Table 2.2 Demographic indicators¹⁸. For sources, see footnotes.

	Vlaanderen (region)	Antwerpen (city)	Case study area (Antwerpen-Noord, Deurne-Noord and Borgerhout Intra Muros)
Area (km ²) ¹⁰	13,522	204	7
Total population ¹¹	6,381,859	511,716	95,448
Youth (0-17) ¹²	19%	21.6%	26.2%
Working age population (18-65) ¹³	62%	61.4%	62.8%
Seniors (>65) ¹⁴	19%	17.1%	10.9%
Non-Belgians ¹⁵	7.1%	20%	32%
Average income ¹⁶	16,651	19,089	14,408
Unemployment rate ¹⁷	6.92%	15.22%	16.7%

is decreasing (in 2007, 32% of people were of North African origin), people still associate this area with the presence of Moroccans. The third and last neighbourhood in the case study area is Deurne-Noord. This neighbourhood has become more ethnically diverse in the last ten years. In 2005, 71% of its residents were of Belgian origin. Nowadays, only 55% of inhabitants are of Belgian origin. Deurne-Noord is located on the other side of the urban ringway and was an independent suburban municipality until 1983. Nowadays it can be seen as an urbanised suburb.

Table 2.2 gives an overview of the diversity of Antwerp and selected demographic variables in the case study area. We have also included the Flemish region to highlight how the diversity in Antwerp and the case study area compares with the broader region in which it is located.

2.3 ORIGINS AND CAUSES OF DIVERSITY IN ANTWERP

As a port city, Antwerp's population has been characterised by ethnic and cultural diversity for centuries. For example, in the 16th century Marans, a Jewish group, came to Antwerp and specialised in trade, especially diamond trade (Van den Broeck *et al.*, 2014). This diamond trade would for centuries attract Jews from various places around the world (e.g. Netherlands and Eastern Europe) to Antwerp. However, the city became much more diverse after the second World War. In the decades that followed, the Belgian government signed guest worker agreements with increasingly diverse and distant countries such as Italy (1946), Spain (1956), Greece (1957), Morocco and Turkey (1964), Tunisia (1969), Algeria and Yugoslavia (1970) (Eggerickx *et al.*, 1999). Due to a growing demand for low-skilled workers, the 1960s became a decade of unprecedented immigration to Belgium, including Antwerp.

After a brief surge in mainly Spanish migration in the 1950s and 1960s, Moroccans and Turks quickly became the largest migrant communities in Antwerp (Van Puymbroeck, 2014). As the

colonial population was not granted Belgian citizenship, migration to Belgium from the former colonies remained limited to a select elite of students, diplomats and businessmen during colonial rule (Schoonvaere, 2010). Besides some Congolese students, Chinese restaurant keepers and Chilean refugees, diversity in the post-war decades was strongly dominated by Moroccans (and to a lesser extent Turks) and citizens from neighbouring countries such as the Netherlands (Van Puymbroeck, 2014). Belgium implemented a stop to migration for low-skilled labourers in 1974, following the economic crisis of the 1970s. Immigration still continued however through family reunification programmes and asylum requests. In numerical terms, migration from Morocco represented the largest non-European migration to Antwerp due to family reunification programmes. This trend would continue into the 1980s.

The establishment of the European Union in 1993 and the Schengen Agreement in 1995, which facilitated the free movement and migration of EU-citizens and the enlargement of the European Union to the East, led to an increase of immigrants from Eastern European countries (European Migration Network, 2012). For Antwerp, the migration of Poles and (former) Yugoslavs is most significant. At the same time, the restrictions for non-EU citizens to enter the Schengen zone led to an increase in irregular migration.

2.4 SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY IN ANTWERP

Although there are few neighbourhoods in Antwerp in which less than 20% of the residents are foreign-born or have one or two foreign born parents ('allochthones'), allochthones are especially concentrated in the 19th century industrial belt neighbourhoods in the north of the historic city centre (our case study area) and the industrial neighbourhoods (e.g. Hoboken) in the south of the city centre (see fig. 2.4). The historic city centre, the neighbourhoods on the

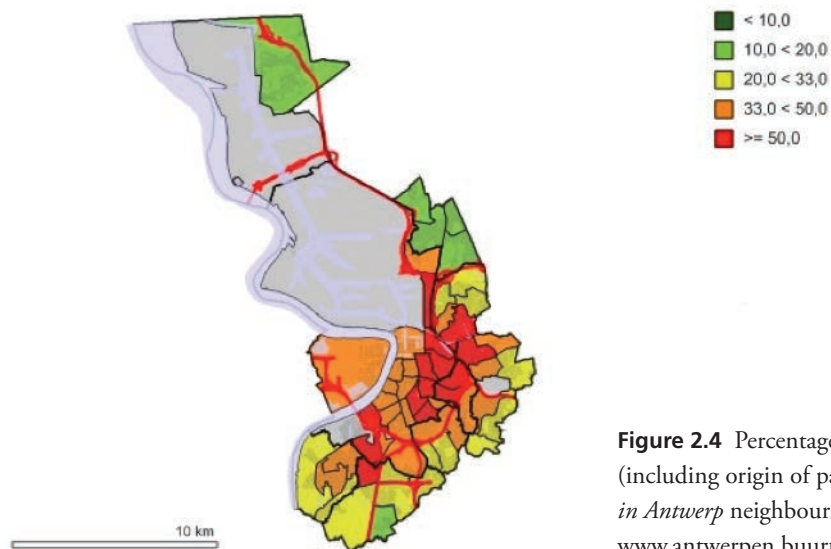


Figure 2.4 Percentage of allochthones (including origin of parents) in Antwerp neighbourhoods. Source: www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be

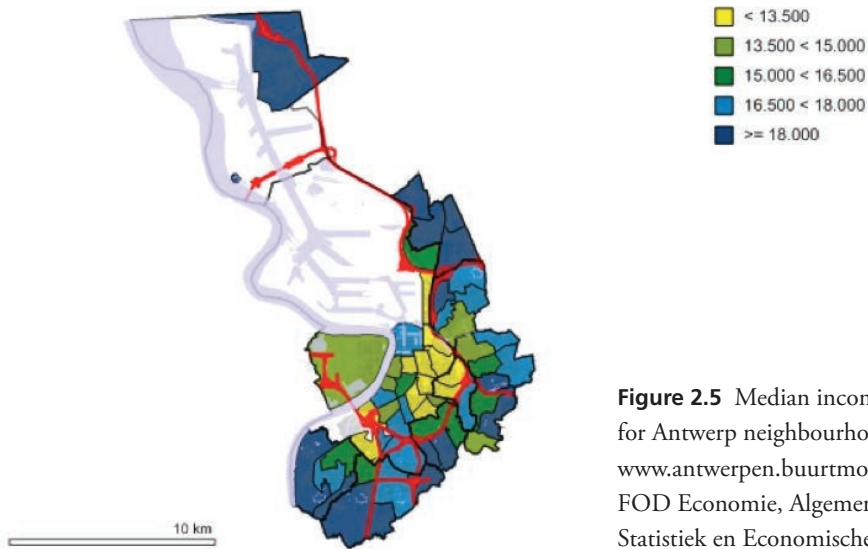


Figure 2.5 Median income (in Euro) for Antwerp neighbourhoods. Source: www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be and FOD Economie, Algemene Directie Statistiek en Economische Informatie

left bank of the river ‘t Scheldt and the 20th century neighbourhoods immediately adjacent to the 19th century belt also house significant groups of allochthones (>30%).

The neighbourhoods with the highest concentrations of ethnic diversity are also the neighbourhoods where median income is lowest. Ethnic diversity and socio-economic deprivation are hence strongly correlated. This is immediately visible when the spatial patterns on the map showing ethnic diversity (fig. 2.4) are compared with those on the map of median income per neighbourhood (fig. 2.5). For example, average income after taxation in our case study area is € 14,408, compared to € 19,089 in the city of Antwerp as a whole.

2.5 DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN ANTWERP

Antwerp is the economic motor of the Flemish economy. Its added value in 2013 was € 16.93 billion¹⁹. The most important sectors are in knowledge-intensive activities, office activities and the petro-chemical and chemical industries. It is also the most important Flemish employment centre. In 2013, the Antwerp economy provided 246,127 jobs²⁰. The Antwerp population itself counts 158,791 employees and 28,156 self-employed (see fig. 2.6). Among Turkish migrants²¹ there is a higher number of self-employed than the Belgian average, whereas for Moroccan migrants there is lower level of self-employment than the Belgian average²². 40% of employees living in Antwerp are blue-collar workers, 50% are white-collar workers and 11% public sector functionaries. In the case study area there are 8% more blue-collar workers than in Antwerp as a whole (Kruispuntbank Sociale Zekerheid). Rough estimates of the number of firms located in Antwerp reveal that Antwerp hosts around 94,000 firms, of which three quarters are in the service sector, around 15% in the secondary sector and another 10% in quaternary sector²³.

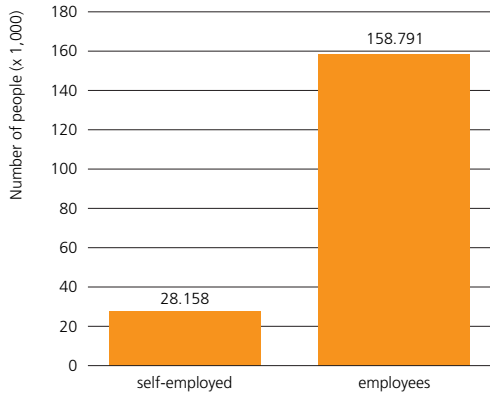


Figure 2.6 Number of people of Antwerp working as self-employed (left) and employees (right). Source: Kruispuntbank Sociale Zekerheid

Antwerp has 35,858 unemployed job seekers, of which two-thirds are male and one-third female²⁴. The unemployment rate in Antwerp is 15.2% (see table 2.2). The ‘unemployment pressure’²⁵ is 11.3% (12.6% for males and 9.9% for females). The unemployment pressure is higher for the group aged 18-24, namely 13.1%, and certain ethnic minorities (e.g. 18.1% for Northern African migrants and Western Asian, including Turks) (but not all of them, e.g. 11.9% for Eastern Europeans). The average income in Antwerp is € 19,089. There are 10,526 families that receive a (guaranteed) minimum income from local public welfare centres, half of which are families with a non-EU nationality. 3.2% of the population between 18-65 years (‘labour active’) also receive a (guaranteed) minimum income, which increases to 12.8% for non-EU citizens living in Antwerp²⁶.

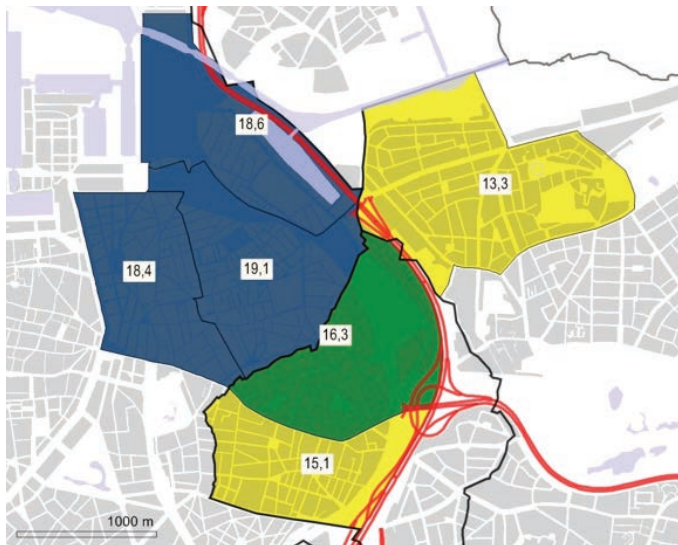


Figure 2.7 Average net income in case study area Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout Intramuros and Deurne-Noord (yellow: very low, green: moderate, blue: very high). Source: www.buurtmonitor.

The average income in the case study area is much lower than that in Antwerp in general, namely € 14,408, but differs substantially between the different neighbourhoods (see fig. 2.7).

2.6 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF ANTWERP AS A DIVERSE CITY

The integration of ethnic and cultural ‘minorities’ is seen by the Antwerp political elite as a failure. They explain this failure by referring to the late establishment of integration policies, the fact that citizenship acquisition procedures were until recently very flexible and the perceived lack of controlled migration policies in the past (amongst others referring to the possibilities for migration through family reunification). An important point of contention was the assumption in the 1980s and 1990s that the acquisition of Belgian citizenship would automatically lead to a successful integration. This assumption is reflected in the Nationality Code of 1984, which gave foreigners the possibility to acquire citizenship when they declared their will to become Belgian citizens after seven years of continuous residence in Belgium. The law of 2000, nicknamed the ‘quickly-Belgian law’ (*snel-Belg-wet*), even shortened the seven-year residence requirement to apply for naturalisation to three years (and two years for stateless persons and refugees), establishing Belgium as one of the most flexible citizenship regimes in Europe. While other European countries introduced formal integration tests, Belgium’s residence-based citizenship laws did not require proof of the willingness to integrate or the basic knowledge of one of the official languages spoken in the country (Foblets & Yanasmayan, 2010).

However, fearing abuses and referring to continued integration problems, conservative political parties criticised the flexible citizenship regime and proposed stricter conditions. From 2013 onwards, Belgian citizenship laws have been tightened with formal integration requirements like knowledge of one of the official languages and proof of economic participation. The minimum residence to acquire Belgian citizenship also increased from three to five years. The Flemish-nationalist party N-VA currently leading the governing coalition in Antwerp played an important role in implementing stricter procedures for the acquisition of citizenship.

The N-VA also played an important role in developing state-led integration policies and trajectories. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Belgian authorities did not feel the need to develop an integration policy for immigrants, initially because it was expected that guest workers would only stay temporarily in the country and later because of the idea that integration was a spontaneous process that cannot be influenced by policies. From the 1970s, civil society actors took integration initiatives and developed services for migrants in Antwerp (as elsewhere in Flanders). Under the Flemish Minister of Welfare, a first step towards institutionalisation was taken in 1984 by recognising and subsidising the voluntary initiatives (Van Puymbroeck, 2011). Gradually, integration centres became more regulated and centralised on the regional and provincial level.

With the 2003 Integration Decree [*Inburgeringsdecreet*], integration trajectories became compulsory, including the signing of an ‘integration contract’, learning the Dutch language, following social orientation courses and accepting career assistance. Old and new immigrants

are now directed towards ‘reception offices’, language schools, social workers and employment services. Recently, the government even introduced administrative fines for those who do not comply with the conditions of the integration contract. In this context, the cultural integration of immigrants (language acquisition and sharing norms and values) is increasingly presented as a necessary condition for their socio-economic emancipation.

Although increased state attention and intervention in migrant integration policies can reflect a positive concern with diversity and the willingness to facilitate the mobilisation of its potential for society, its increasingly disciplinary character, combined with a lack of strong anti-discrimination and anti-racism policies, also reflects a continuous ‘problematism’ of ethnic and cultural diversity. Moreover, as an electoral stronghold of the Flemish extreme-right (Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang), the largest party in the municipal elections between 1994 and 2006, ethnic and cultural diversity has long been a highly sensitive political issue. Combined with the fact that ethnic and cultural diversity in Antwerp is strongly related to poverty and unemployment, especially for the large group of non-EU migrants, many migrants are de facto excluded from full participation in the urban society. Antwerp thus encounters structural difficulties in realising its potential as a diverse city. Given the conflicts and tensions surrounding the issue of diversity, a positive discourse on diversity is often marginalised as ‘naïve’ and ‘politically correct’ (see Saeyns, Albeda *et al.*, 2014). The biggest challenge for Antwerp is to develop a positive, constructive and optimistic approach towards urban diversity.

3 POLICY DISCOURSES ON DIVERSITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the urban governance of diversity in Antwerp, the largest city of the Flemish Region in Belgium. Antwerp has been attracting immigrants from distant places for a long time. While Antwerp has a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants, it has been estimated that 42.1 % of its inhabitants are of foreign descent²⁷. As the city where the extreme-right, anti-immigrant party Vlaams Belang (VB) gained landslide electoral victories during the 1990s and 2000s, Antwerp plays a crucial role in political debates about diversity in Belgium. Despite the hyper-diversity of the population, diversity policies in Antwerp have mainly been concerned with ethnocultural differences. Moreover, even if one of the largest non-Belgian minorities in Antwerp are the Dutch from the nearby Netherlands, political debates about diversity have often focused on Muslim immigrants.

In this report we explore the dominant policy discourses and strategies regarding diversity in Antwerp during the last decade. In Antwerp, we have seen how an early multicultural recognition of ethnocultural diversity has been broadened to include other forms of diversity but eventually a trend towards assimilation set in. With the latter we mean the emergence of 'practices, discourses and policies that politically recognise, legally constitute and symbolically emphasise commonality rather than difference' (Brubaker, 2001)¹. We argue that in recent years policy-makers have broadened the diversity concept in order to draw the attention away from ethnocultural minorities. With the coming to power of the Flemish nationalist party N-VA, the 2013-2018 government agreement shifted its focus even more to the acquisition of the Dutch language and reduced the support for civil society organisations dealing with diversity. In recent years, we have seen a highly increased securitisation in which migration and ethnocultural diversity became ever more linked to security problems. This securitisation has become very prominent in the context of the rising number of refugees since 2015 and the recent terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists in Paris and Brussels. Further, we have noticed how policy-makers today put more emphasis on the individual responsibility to achieve upward social mobility and to contribute to the economic performance of the city.

The first part of this report starts with an overview of the political system and the governance structures affecting diversity policies in Antwerp. This is followed by a historical overview of key shifts in the federal Belgian and regional Flemish policy approaches to migration, citizenship and diversity. The second part is the largest and consists of a critical analysis of the dominant governmental policy discourses regarding diversity in Antwerp with regard to recognition,

encounter and (re)distribution. After analysing the municipal policy discourses and strategies, we turn to non-governmental perspectives on diversity in Antwerp. We end this report with the conclusion that multicultural diversity policies in Antwerp made way for neoliberal, repressive and assimilationist policies towards ethnocultural diversity.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a qualitative methodology that involves a discourse analysis of relevant policy documents and semi-structured interviews. The analysis of policy documents draws on municipal publications dealing with diversity, annual reports, newspaper articles and other academic research on the topic. About 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected actors from different levels of the public administration responsible for diversity policies or related matters, as well as with representatives of non-governmental organisations and bottom-up initiatives in the field of diversity and integration policies. In addition, a round-table talk with representatives of governance arrangements and initiatives by public and private actors was organised to validate the results of the analysis. The fieldwork was carried out between October 2013 and February 2014, while one interview was conducted in March 2016 to update our information.

3.3 NATIONAL POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS DIVERSITY: STRUCTURE AND SHIFTS

3.3.1 Governance structure

The governance of diversity happens at multiple scales of policy-making, especially in a federal state like Belgium. Aspects of diversity are not just governed at the federal scale but also at the regional Flemish and municipal scales. The Belgian federal government has the executive power over migration, citizenship and equal opportunities policies. The State Secretary of Asylum, Migration and Social Integration is since 2008 in charge of the policies regulating the entry, stay and removal of foreigners, as well as the reception of asylum seekers (European Migration Network, 2012). The Belgian federal government also has a Minister of Equal Opportunities, in charge of policies against discrimination on the basis of various social categories like gender, sexual orientation, disability, age and ethnic origin. The most important institution with regards to equal opportunities is the Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism. In addition, the Minister of Equal Opportunities is responsible for the Impulse Fund for Migration Policy, a financial support mechanism that stimulates projects contributing to the social integration of immigrants, the prevention of discrimination and the promotion of intercultural dialogue. Beyond institutions categorically directed towards immigrants and minorities, it is important to note that diversity has become a widespread policy objective across various policy domains. In 2006, a Diversity Charter was signed to fight discrimination and to promote diversity in the training, selection and recruitment in all Federal Public Services.

While immigration, citizenship and equal opportunities are the responsibilities of the Belgian federal government, integration is a responsibility of the regional Flemish government. Since 2004, the Flemish government has introduced a separate Minister of Integration. The Minister of Integration supervises an integration sector in Flanders consisting of eight reception offices in large cities, eight mainly provincial integration centres and 34 municipal integration services. Besides these organisational structures, there is also the Expertise Centre Intersection Migration-Integration (*Kruispunt Migratie-Integratie*) subsidised by the Flemish government. This Expertise Centre develops and provides knowledge about migration and integration to the federal, regional, provincial and local authorities, organisations, integration centres, etc. Since 2013, all the integration services are united in one external autonomous agency. Furthermore, the Flemish Ministry of Integration also subsidises projects of municipalities and organisations that strengthen local integration and diversity policies through a call for 'Managers of Diversity'.

Besides the state-regulated integration sector, the Flemish government also subsidises the Minorities Forum, an organisation founded in 2000 that brings together federations of migrant self-organisations, giving them a collective voice to advocate their interests as a recognised discussion partner of the Flemish government. Currently, the Minorities Forum is composed of 17 federations, each of them composed of several local self-organisations²⁸. Taking into account these numbers, ethnocultural self-organisations play an important role as pressure groups in political decision-making.

Within the Flemish government, there is also a Minister of Equal Opportunities. This minister has mainly an inclusive and coordinating function by supporting and encouraging other ministries to take initiatives against discrimination and to promote diversity. Like the federal Minister of Equal Opportunities, the Flemish Minister is responsible for the promotion of equal opportunities regardless of gender, sexual orientation, disability, age and ethnic origin. Since 1991, there is also an Emancipation Affairs Service that has to ensure that the workforce of the Flemish public administration reflects the diversity of the population. With the creation of a Flemish Minister of Equal Opportunities in 1995, the Flemish government broadened equal opportunities policies that were previously only directed at its own staff to all its citizens. In 2008, the Minister of Equal Opportunities launched the establishment of discrimination hotlines in 14 cities, for example in Antwerp. These hotlines have the task to prevent and to stop discriminatory conduct by means of a non-judicial settlement of complaints.

At the municipal level, a Councillor for Diversity and Integration holds the responsibilities for the integration and diversity policies and their implementation. In the previous legislations, diversity has become an inclusive policy spread over various policy domains and departments.

The municipal business unit 'Living Together' organises initiatives in the field of integration, community centres, safety and quality of life in all areas of the city, either on its own or in cooperation with other services. Under the integration service, there are the Reception Offices where new immigrants start their integration courses. As the integration course implies learning Dutch, these reception offices are closely linked with a special language school for immigrants called The House of Dutch. Besides the reception office and the language schools, there is also a municipal Interpretation and Translation Service. Finally, the Ombuds Office of the City also provides a Discrimination Hotline.

With regards to social policies, it is also important to mention the Public Centres for Social Welfare (OCMW in Dutch). Although funded by the federal government, these specialised centres for social aid support foreigners with a legal status financially and provide urgent medical care for persons without official documents staying in Belgium.

Besides all these governmental institutions, we should not neglect the presence of many non-governmental organisations in Antwerp. Many federations of migrant self-organisations have their seat in Antwerp. Their role in shaping and contesting urban policies should be taken into account.

3.3.2 Key shifts in national approaches to policies over migration

Belgian Immigration Policies

After World War II, a growing demand for low-skilled workers, particularly in the construction, steel and mining sectors, led the Belgian government to sign a guest worker agreement, first with countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece, and later, with more distant countries like Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria and Yugoslavia (Eggerickx *et al.*, 1999). Unlike the Netherlands, France and the United Kingdom, Belgium received relatively few immigrants from its former colonies in the Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. As the colonial population was not granted Belgian citizenship, migration to Belgium remained limited to a select elite of students, diplomats and businessmen during colonial rule (Schoonvaere, 2010).

Like many other European countries, Belgium implemented a halt to the immigration of low-skilled labourers in 1974, following the economic decline in the aftermath of the oil crisis. Nevertheless, immigration would continue through family reunification programmes and asylum requests. Due to political instability, migration from Central African countries mainly consisted of refugees and asylum seekers in the decades after independence. In numerical terms, however, migration from Morocco and Turkey still represented the largest non-European migration to Belgium due to family reunification programmes. This trend would continue into the 1980s.

With the establishment of the European Union in 1993 and the Schengen Agreement in 1995, immigration of EU-citizens became easier because of the right of free movement and residence across the European Economic Area. With the enlargement of the European Union, this has given rise to a recent increase of immigrants from Eastern European countries (European Migration Network, 2012). At the same time, the restrictions for non-EU citizens to enter the Schengen zone led to an increase of irregular migration.

In order to facilitate the integration of immigrants into society, policy-makers have gradually opened up access to Belgian citizenship. While Belgian citizenship used to be obtained by birth to a parent of Belgian nationality, the Belgian Nationality Code of 1984 made it easier for foreigners to acquire Belgian citizenship. After seven years of continuous residence in Belgium, foreigners could declare their will to become Belgian citizens. In the following years, Belgian citizenship laws were amended multiple times, most significantly with the law of 1 March 2000, nicknamed the 'quickly-Belgian law' (*snel-Belg-wet*). Among other measures relaxing access to Belgian citizenship, the 'quickly-Belgian law' accelerated the acquisition of Belgian

nationality by shortening the residence requirement to three years (and two years for stateless people and refugees). Under this law, Belgium was also the only European country where residence alone was sufficient to acquire citizenship (Foblets & Yanasmayan, 2010). Fearing abuses and integration problems, Belgian citizenship laws have later been tightened with formal integration requirements like knowledge of one of the official languages and proof of economic participation. The minimum residence to acquire Belgian citizenship also increased from three to five years. The controversies caused by the 'quickly-Belgian law' illustrate how important integration policies have become to address the perceived erosion of social cohesion in the host society. In the Belgian context, integration policies have developed differently in Flanders and in Wallonia. As it would lead us too far to discuss both regions, we focus on the Flemish integration policies.

Flemish Integration Policies

The development of integration policies on the Flemish level coincided with state reforms in Belgium that delegated more responsibilities to the Flemish region. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Belgian authorities did not feel the need to develop any integration policy for immigrants as it was expected that guest workers would only stay temporarily in the country. Many immigrants and their families, however, settled permanently in the country after the immigration stop in 1974. While some civil society initiatives to help immigrants emerged on a local scale in Flanders during the 1970s and 1980s, the integration and reception of immigrants only later became a responsibility of the Flemish government. Under the Flemish Minister of Welfare, a first step towards institutionalisation was taken in 1984 by recognising and subsidising the voluntary initiatives (Van Puymbroeck, 2011).

Following the first electoral breakthrough of the far-right anti-immigrant party Vlaams Blok in 1988, both the federal and the Flemish government became more actively concerned with the social position of immigrants. During this period, the federal government created the Royal Commissioner for Migrant Affairs (1988-1993) and gave it the task to develop a national integration policy for immigrants. According to the policymakers at that time, the priority consisted of alleviating the socio-economic deprivation that most immigrants found themselves in. Integration policies fell under the Ministry of Welfare, although some cultural aspects resorted to the Ministry of Culture. In the 1990s, the Flemish government would bring into practice multiculturalism by the recognition and funding of ethnocultural self-organisations in order to stimulate the emancipation of immigrants. At the same time, the government encouraged local authorities to take over private initiatives in the integration sector. Integration centres became more regulated and centralised on the regional and provincial level.

From 1999 onwards, the previous pluralist integration paradigm changed significantly and a trend towards 'assimilationism' became notable. In Flanders, this emerging assimilationism underlines the importance of proficiency in the Dutch language and shared cultural norms and values. The cultural assimilation of the immigrants became increasingly presented as a necessary condition for their socio-economic emancipation. From the perspective of active citizenship, the individual responsibility of the immigrant was stressed. Integration services also reduced

their target groups: while the integration sector of the past was oriented towards a broad group of ethnocultural minorities, the new institutions were limited to the reception of newcomers. Since 2004, integration became an autonomous policy domain with a Minister of Integration in the Flemish government. With the 2003 Incorporation Decree [*Inburgeringsdecreet*], incorporation trajectories became compulsory as certain groups now had to sign a contract by which they would vow to learn the Dutch language, to follow social orientation courses and to accept career assistance. Along with the compulsory character of the integration policies came the professionalisation of the integration sector. Old and new immigrants are now directed towards reception offices, language schools, social workers and employment services. Recently, the government even introduced administrative fines for those who do not comply with the conditions of the incorporation contract. In this sense, the assimilationist approach has increasingly subjected integration to state control.

3.4 GOVERNMENTAL DISCOURSES AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN ANTWERP

After discussing the national shifts in diversity and integration policies, we will now focus on the dominant policy discourses on diversity in Antwerp, the largest city of the Flemish Region in Belgium. We analyse these policy discourses and strategies through the lens of the recognition, encounter, and (re)distribution framework proposed by Fincher & Iveson (2008). With regard to the recognition of diversity, we observe how the pluralist recognition of ethnocultural diversity has been broadened to include other forms of diversity as well but eventually gave way to increasing tendencies towards assimilationist approaches and discourses. Regarding spaces of encounter, we see a securitisation in which migration and ethnocultural diversity are increasingly considered as a problem or even as a threat to the social cohesion of the city. In terms of the (re)distribution of resources, we notice how current policy-makers put more emphasis on socio-economic inequalities but also on the individual responsibility to achieve upward social mobility and to contribute to the economic performance of the city. After analysing the municipal policy discourses and strategies, we will turn to non-governmental perspectives on diversity in Antwerp.

We start this section by discussing the recognition of diversity in contemporary policy discourses in Antwerp. Looking at the 2013-2018 municipal government agreement and interviews with policy-makers, we observe a strong emphasis on assimilationist discourses with an ambiguous and sometimes even hostile attitude towards migration and ethnocultural diversity. The current municipal government is for the first time in decades not led by the Social Democratic party SPA but by the conservative Flemish nationalist party N-VA. We analyse their perspective on diversity through the 2013-2018 government agreement and public statements in the media. To identify when and why this shift towards assimilationist policies took place, we also analyse the 2008-2012 City Plan Diversity and the 2009-2011 Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan. The latter documents illustrate how diversity policies have shifted away from a focus

on ethnocultural minorities to a broader concept of diversity including age, gender, sexual preference and socio-economic differences. Based on interviews with governmental and non-governmental actors, we argue that this broadening of diversity actually facilitated the shift away from multicultural policies and towards assimilationist policies. Being aware that 33.5 % of the citizens in Antwerp voted for the extreme-right anti-immigrant party Vlaams Belang (VB) in the 2006 local elections, the former municipal government strategically chose to diminish the attention for ethnocultural minorities by opening up diversity policies to all kinds of social groups. When the Flemish nationalist party came to office in 2013, they continued phasing out facilities that empower ethnocultural minority groups in favour of individual integration trajectories with assimilationist overtones. The Antwerp municipal government diminished its support for the umbrella migrant self-organisations while other self-organisations have to fulfil stricter requirements (such as building bridges with the rest of society) in order to receive funding.

In addition, security became a major policy priority. Following the threat of Islamic terrorism, the municipality invested in anti-radicalisation plans in order to control Muslim extremism in the city. After the 2015 Charlie Hebdo shootings in Paris, the Federal Ministry of Defence deployed military troops on the streets of Antwerp for the first time in decades to protect possible terrorism targets like the Jewish schools and the diamond district. Besides these highly visible measures, the municipality also aimed to bring more diversity in its police force, which has been accused of tolerating racist practices among its members. Another controversy revolved around ethnic profiling and the system of municipal administrative sanctions. While this system allowed the municipality to deal with public nuisance in a quick and repressive way, some civil society actors claimed that these sanctions often specifically targeted youngsters of migrant origin.

Finally, policies for the (re)distribution of resources are mainly concerned with poverty reduction. The Antwerp municipal government conducts an activation policy that aims to reduce poverty by assisting more people to find a job. The municipal government, however, puts the emphasis on the responsabilisation of disadvantaged groups without questioning structural inequalities.

Recognition: from a multicultural legacy to assimilationism

Regarding the recognition of diversity, we argue that assimilationism has become increasingly dominant in discourses on diversity in Antwerp today. In recent years, Flanders (but Antwerp in particular), has witnessed the growing popularity of conservative Flemish nationalism. The Flemish nationalist party N-VA, however, explicitly distinguishes itself from the extreme-right Flemish nationalist party Vlaams Belang by arguing that they accept and welcome ethnic diversity, but couples this with strict assimilationist policies and the individual responsibility of migrants for their socio-economic position and mobility. The Flemish nationalist party N-VA promotes the exclusive use of Dutch as the only official language in the public institutions of Flanders, and sees the knowledge of Dutch as an indispensable condition for migrants to enter

the labour market, social housing and social services. We start this discussion with the new government agreement of the Antwerp municipal government. In its 2013-2018 government agreement, titled 'Respect for A', the Antwerp municipal government led by the Flemish nationalist Mayor Bart De Wever underlines, above all, the importance of the Dutch language as the main source of social cohesion in the city:

“Our city is more than the sum of all Antwerp citizens. It is an urban community that consists of a rich diversity of numerous cultures, world views, neighbourhoods and streets, clubs, businesses, families and individuals... Together we form Antwerp. But we can only do this if we respect each other’s individuality and embrace the same basic values and, of course, understand each other. The Dutch language connects us all” (Respect for A, p. 3).

In line with Flemish integration policies, the Antwerp municipal government agreement claims that a good knowledge of Dutch improves the social cohesion of the city by connecting people of diverse backgrounds. Therefore, all municipal services in Antwerp are urged to actively use Dutch. While the municipality promised to increase the number of Dutch training centres, everyone who settles in Antwerp is expected to make efforts to learn the language, the local customs and culture. For those who refuse to make efforts, the municipality believes there should be sanctions. At the same time, the municipality decided to stop using the Municipal Interpretation & Translation Service in order to reinforce the use of Dutch (Respect for A, p. 56).

Even though the 2013-2018 government agreement strives for ‘*a harmonious city that aims at forming a unity as an urban community with respect for diversity and with the concern that everyone can join*’ (Respect for A, p. 3), the Antwerp municipal council made entry into the urban community conditional on proficiency in the Dutch language. Spanning issues ranging from housing, education, social services and employment, the knowledge of Dutch is presented as an indispensable condition to participate in the harmonious city. In line with the Flemish Housing Code, the willingness to learn Dutch is a condition to be entitled to social housing. In Antwerp, those who do not learn Dutch risk being sanctioned by losing their social benefits (Respect for A, p. 68).

Even if assimilationist discourses are increasingly dominant today, the development towards assimilationist policies can be traced back to the previous legislative session 2007-2012. In particular, the 2007 prohibition to wear religious symbols in municipal front-office positions was seen by many of our interviewees as a turning point in the diversity policies of the city. The former Antwerp municipal government argued that the neutrality and secularity of the state should be guaranteed in public services. The current municipal government reinforced this decision in the 2013-2018 government agreement:

“Employees working in direct contact with the public, customers or external partners, should be dressed decently and not ostentatiously. Wearing outward symbols of religious, political, union,

sports and other convictions is not allowed during working hours, not even for charity purposes”.
(Respect for A, p. 54).

This dress code for municipal employees in front-office positions was introduced by the previous municipal government on 7 March 2007. We argue that this policy measure marked a crucial moment in the transition from multicultural towards assimilationist policies in Antwerp. In fact, the dress code contradicted and counteracted previous diversity policies that encouraged the recruitment of ethnocultural minorities in the municipal services. Diversity policies in Antwerp actually started with the aim to diversify municipal services and to make them more representative and accessible to the diverse urban population. Since the 1990s, municipal services have been criticised for not employing enough people of migrant origin. In particular, the near absence of people of migrant origin in the police forces has been seen as a cause for tensions between the police and migrant communities. Besides the idea that employment of ethnic minorities in municipal services would be necessary to improve the relationship between the municipality and migrants, the municipality as a large employer also has a socio-economic responsibility to tackle unemployment among minorities. Therefore, the first ‘Policy Plan Ethnocultural Minorities 2000-2002’ [*Beleidsplan etnisch-culturele minderheden 2000-2002*] proposed to raise the percentage of ethnocultural minorities working for the municipality from 0.5% to 12% over a period of 10 years (Van de Maele, 2003). To achieve this aim, the requirement to possess Belgian nationality in order to work for the municipality was abandoned, although this requirement remained in force for statutory functions. In addition, a diversity consultant was appointed to advise various municipal units and districts on how to deal with migrant clients and diversity within the organisation. Despite the introduction of a dress code, the Antwerp government agreement of 2007-2012 held on to the aim of raising the number of ethnic minorities employed by the municipality. In response to criticism that the new dress code would impede the employment of ethnic minorities in municipal services, the previous Mayor of Antwerp argued that the prohibition of wearing religious symbols would make civil servants of ethnic minority backgrounds “more acceptable to the general public, and thus more likely to be employed” (Patrick Janssens, 2006). Defending the point of view of the majority population, this statement announced the assimilationist discourses that would become dominant in the following years.

Many of our interviewees saw the introduction of the dress code as a breaking point that, to a great extent, deteriorated the relationship between the municipality and ethnocultural minorities in the city. A high-level policy-maker of the city stated that:

“[The dress code] has haunted us enormously. In retrospect, I still defend our position in principle, but it has caused so much upheaval. I believe that it actually worked very much as a way to legitimate deprivation. While we based our argument on the neutrality of the state, we also legitimated a headscarf ban in the front-office positions of a bank and so on. Of course, the saliency of the headscarf increased enormously because of this. It became more important rather than less important, while the latter was actually our goal”.

Although the dress code was formulated in general terms, it originated as a measure against the Islamic headscarf and caused protests, mainly by the Muslims in Antwerp. A group of women founded the action group ‘Boss Of My Own Head’ [*BOEH!, Baas Over Eigen Hoofd*] that demonstrated on various occasions against the dress code. Around the same time, the Muslim Executive of Belgium wrote a letter that condemned the dress code as a discrimination against Muslims. Even within the ruling political parties, politicians with a Muslim background were critical of the dress code. The extreme-right party Vlaams Belang, that depicted the headscarf as a symbol of female oppression in Islam, applauded the policy measure because it would help to stop what they called ‘the rise of Islam’ in Antwerp. In the end, the controversy about the municipal dress code was simply referred to as ‘the headscarf debate’. Nevertheless, the municipal dress code also implied the prohibition of Jewish people wearing a yarmulke and Catholics wearing a cross. Even if these communities remained more silent on the issue, the Minorities Forum campaigned in 2012 for more diversity in the workplace under the slogan “Headscarf, cross, yarmulke, Belgium is ready!”.

Despite the controversy, the municipal dress code soon became an example for other public and private institutions. In 2009, the Board of Education of the Flemish Community (GO!) extended a prohibition of wearing religious and other symbols to students, teachers and anyone in charge of pedagogical tasks within its schools. In schools such as the Royal Athenaeum in Antwerp, with a large number of Muslim girls, this ban again caused much protest and controversy. Several of our interviewees saw the dress code decision of the previous municipal government as a miscalculation. As one civil servant of the municipal unit ‘Living Together’ confessed:

“If we are honest, we have never embraced diversity in a sincere way under the previous legislative session. [...] We have underestimated, ignored and concealed diversity and above all the population growth of this city. Our facilities are not set up for this”.

The previous municipal government had launched the Office for Diversity Management in 2007, the same year as it introduced the dress code. The task of this new office was to support all municipal services and their partners to deal with what was called ‘broad diversity’. In order to reach this ‘broad diversity’, the Office for Diversity Management combined policies concerning ethnocultural minorities with policies on the elderly, the young, the disabled and the poor. The Office for Diversity Management published the 2008-2012 City Plan Diversity [*Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008-2012*] stating how the city should foster broad diversity. The City Plan outlined six challenges that the city was facing regarding broad diversity:

- 1. “Antwerp is a city in which people from different backgrounds should understand each other better.*
- 2. Everyone should understand the ground rules of democracy and civil society and apply these to engage in dialogue and negotiate differences in views.*
- 3. In Antwerp, everyone should have the space to develop his or her own identity.*

4. *All citizens of Antwerp should be able to enforce their basic rights.*
5. *The municipality and the Public Centre for Social Welfare (OCMW) should set a good example by maximising diversity in their workplace.*
6. *The municipality encourages other actors (partners, enterprises, organisations) to also implement diversity in their workplace.”*

Most of these statements were accepted without much debate, except for the last proposal. While the municipality and the Public Centre for Social Welfare had already committed to maximising workplace diversity since the first diversity policy plans, the municipality now also wanted to encourage other partners, enterprises and organisations to increase diversity in the workplace. Therefore, the city council proposed a binding diversity clause in municipal contracts with private companies. In order to obtain a contract with the municipality, private companies would have to fulfil the requirement of employing people of diverse backgrounds. This diversity clause was heavily criticised by the private sector. It was argued that it is the quality of the product or the service that counts, not the demographics of the person who provides them. When a juridical department investigated the proposal, the binding diversity clause turned out to be legally unenforceable in the private sector (Gazet van Antwerpen, 18.06.2008).

In the aftermath of the headscarf debate, the municipality published not only the 2008-2012 City Plan Diversity, but also the 2009-2011 Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan [*Samenleven in Diversiteit Beleidsplan 2009-2011*]. Also here, the most important evolution was the shift in attention from ‘specific’ to ‘broad’ diversity. Beyond the specific focus on ethnocultural diversity, the new policy plans broadened their scope of diversity to include age, gender, sexual preference, disability and socio-economic status. A high-ranking civil servant within the municipal unit ‘Living Together’ saw the broadening of the definition of diversity in the 2008-2012 City Plan Diversity as a strategy to deviate attention away from ethnocultural minorities:

“In that period, [the municipality] was surprised by the headscarf controversy. Therefore, they came up with the following trick. They opened up diversity from meaning ethnocultural minorities to everybody: disabled people, older people, women, etc. Almost everybody became a target group except ourselves [...] They were drowning everything into this broad diversity concept. I tell you, this has been the end of diversity policies. What does a disabled person have to do with an Algerian migrant? I was opposed to this plan [...] This diversity policy plan was full of platitudes nobody could disagree with”.

In official documents, the mainstreaming of diversity policies is often presented as an indication of the success of diversity policies and as a positive evolution towards more inclusive policies. In the case of Antwerp, however, the broadening of the diversity concept appears to be an attempt to counter the widespread perception amongst far-right voters in Antwerp that the categorical policy arrangements for ethnocultural minorities were an unfair form of privileging migrants over the native population. Besides the introduction of the dress code, the broadening

of diversity policies beyond ethnocultural minorities can be seen as another concession of the Social-Democrat party for the right-wing electorate in the city of Antwerp.

When in 2013 the Flemish nationalist party N-VA came to power in Antwerp, they continued the process of making diversity less visible in policy discourses and urban governance structures. The Flemish nationalist Councillor for Diversity and Integration dissolved the Office for Diversity Management. The Office for Diversity Management became the Poverty and Welfare Unit. Despite the radical transformation of her municipal service, the director argued that she still dealt with diversity and ethnocultural minorities, even if this was no longer explicitly stated in the name of her unit. A policy advisor of the current municipal government argues that in a city like Antwerp with many municipal services, it is not evident for one unit to be in charge of implementing diversity policies in all the other municipal units. Therefore, the current municipal government chose for a horizontal and integrated approach in which every municipal unit would be responsible for taking diversity into account within their own unit. This organisational mainstreaming of diversity was combined with abolishing the publication of diversity policy plans, as it was up to every municipal unit to develop its own diversity strategy.

However, recent statements in the media by local governing politicians reveal that diversity continues to be (or is more than ever before) a highly contentious issue and that certain diversity-related problems such as racism and ethno-stratification get played down. The then Flemish nationalist Councillor for Diversity and Integration, Liesbeth Homans, caused intense controversy in the media when she minimised the role of racism as a social problem:

“Racism is a relative concept. I think it is a pity that the word is used so often nowadays. Is there racism? Maybe so. From the native population towards the immigrants? Maybe so. Vice versa? Yes, that too. Today, however, racism is mainly used as an excuse for personal failure. [...] Yes, there is still a breeding ground for racism. But much less than we think. The more we talk about racism, the more we feed it”. (De Standaard, 16.08.2013)

While the Councillor of Diversity and Integration caused heated debates by minimising racism as a structural social problem, the Flemish nationalist Mayor Bart De Wever provoked even more controversy when he removed the municipal slogan “The city belongs to everyone”, that was introduced by the former Social Democratic Mayor in 2004. Already in 2012, De Wever argued that *“the city only belongs to the people who make an effort to belong to it”*. The slogan refers to rights, while the new Mayor wanted to emphasise duties (Windels, 2012).

In the 2013-2018 government agreement, one controversial proposition was aimed at discouraging foreigners to settle in Antwerp. The Councillor for Diversity and Integration announced that the municipality would charge non-Belgians an administrative tax of € 250 to register themselves in the city of Antwerp. With this proposition, the municipal government argued they wanted newcomers to bear the extra costs of the registration. However, others claimed that the municipal government just wanted to please the extreme-right voters that

contributed to the landslide victory of the Flemish nationalist party during the 2012 municipal elections (De Smet, 2013). Despite many protests from other political parties and non-governmental organisations such as the League for Human Rights, the Antwerp municipal government approved the proposition for a foreigners' tax. After a complaint made by the opposition parties, however, the Governor of the Province of Antwerp overruled the foreigners' tax as it was in conflict with Belgian law and the European freedom of movement and settlement rights (Knack, 2003, 2013).

In sum, assimilationist policy discourses have become dominant in Antwerp today, despite there being a history of multicultural policies in the city since the early 2000s. Several contemporary policy arrangements and institutions still bear the traces of earlier multicultural policy-making. Therefore, we could describe the current situation as 'post-multicultural'. Under the 2007-2012 legislative period, for example, the recognition of diversity was broadened from ethnocultural minorities to include other social groups. This broadening of diversity policies, however, eventually led to straightforward assimilationist policies.

Spaces of encounter and democratic deliberation

Besides policies that recognise diversity, planning for a 'just diversity' also requires policies that create spaces of encounter and democratic deliberation between groups (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). In the case of Antwerp, multicultural policy arrangements in the early 2000s have stimulated the participation of diverse ethnocultural groups in local decision-making (Van Puymbroeck, 2014). In recent years, however, policy-makers have reduced this participation of migrant organisations in municipal policy-making. At the same time, we observed an increased securitisation focusing on the problematic behaviour of certain individuals and social groups that are seen as a threat to the public order. Several of our interviewees argued that in recent years urban policies in Antwerp moved away from stimulating the democratic participation of ethnocultural groups to prioritising security measures and law enforcement.

In line with the 1998 Minorities Decree of the Flemish government, the democratic participation of ethnocultural minorities in municipal decision-making was recommended in the *'Policy Plan Ethnocultural Minorities 2000-2002'* of the Antwerp Integration Service. While migrant self-organisations and migrant umbrella organisations used to receive financial support for organising socio-cultural activities, the policy plan also foresaw a political role for them. As migrants did not have voting rights, the migrant self-organisations were seen as the representatives of the diverse ethnocultural communities in Antwerp and were expected to act as interlocutors in negotiations with the municipality. In 2003, the Antwerp city council approved of a set of rules establishing the 'Urban Advisory Board for Ethnocultural Minorities'. This Advisory Board consisted of representatives of from migrant self-organisations, the migrant umbrella organisations and co-opted members with expertise about in ethnic minorities.

While the Advisory Board became an influential partner in municipal debates over diversity in Antwerp, the 2006-2008 policy plan 'Living Together in a City Belonging to Everyone'

[*Samenleven in een stad van iedereen 2006-2008*], also known as the Atlas Document, no longer assigned a political role to migrant self-organisations. It was argued that migrant self-organisations were not actually representative of the migrant population in Antwerp:

“Just like local citizens, most migrants in Antwerp are not active members of an association. Or if they are, they only participate very sporadically in activities. The simplistic idea that migrant self-organisations represent their community does not make sense”. (Living Together in a City Belonging to Everyone 2006-2008’, p. 57)

Hence, the legitimacy of the Advisory Board was put into question. The 2006-2008 Atlas Document proposed the creation of a broader ‘Deliberation Council for Diversity and Equal Opportunities Policies’ that would consist of representatives of additional social groups, not only migrants, in order to reflect all diversity in society. After serving two years as President of the Deliberation Council for Diversity, Georges Kamanayo complained that the municipality did not take the advice of the Deliberation Council seriously (Kif Kif, 2007). Kamanayo lamented the absence of firm anti-racism and anti-discrimination policies and the insufficient collaboration between the municipal Integration Service and migrant self-organisations. According to Kamanayo, inclusive diversity policies spread across all municipal units were creating too much fragmentation. For these reasons, Kamanayo resigned in May 2007 as President of the Deliberation Council for Diversity and Equal Opportunities. After his resignation, the Deliberation Council eventually dissolved and was never reinstated. According to a policy advisor of the municipality, the diversity of the Advisory Board made it impossible to reach consensus because all members had different priorities:

“Actually, the mistake we made was that we brought these diverse groups to the table and asked them for advice [...] Now, what did we see? The Latin-American Federation put an emphasis on cultural and artistic expression, but within the Moroccan community education was highly regarded, and for the Turks the elderly were a high priority. Everyone around the table had different priorities. Let me tell you, I’ve been beating my head against the wall with all that diversity”.

In the end, the municipality was no longer willing to organise a diversity council again. After the Deliberation Council ceased to exist, the municipality invited the migrant umbrella organisations to meet again, but this was perceived by these organisations as an electoral strategy for the 2012 municipal elections (see 3.2 for more detail). Moreover, the current Antwerp municipal government decided in the context of the 2014-2019 budget plan to cut € 7 million in contracts with subsidised organisations in the social and cultural sector. In particular, the municipality stopped financing migrant umbrella organisations such as the Federation of Moroccan Organisations and the Union of Turkish Organisations. At the same time, the municipality also stopped funding subsidised non-governmental organisations dealing with migrants such as the Minorities Forum in Antwerp and Integration Centre De8 (De Standaard, 25.06.2013). Although the new municipal council presented these budget cuts as part of a range

of austerity measures, they also reflected a political choice regarding the structural funding of civil society organisations dealing with ethnic diversity.

The shift to ‘broad diversity’ policies led to a change in municipal support for civic societal organisations. Even though the municipality withdrew the structural funding of migrant umbrella organisations, there nevertheless remained support schemes for the projects, activities and logistics for associations targeting intercultural, youth, seniors, the disabled and poverty alleviation. Regarding intercultural associations, however, the *2009-2011 Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan* proposed to evaluate project applications according to their compliance with the requirement to build bridges with mainstream society. This is a departure from the original multicultural policies that saw the bonding and empowering of ethnocultural communities as the most important social functions of migrant self-organisations. Today, only some limited funds of € 750 per organisation or activity are still available for migrant self-organisations that only target their own ethnic group²⁹.

When the Flemish nationalist party came to power in 2013, communication between the municipality and migrant communities deteriorated further. In a 2015 television interview, the new Flemish nationalist Mayor of Antwerp caused a controversy saying that: “*there are real problems with certain population groups, people of North African descent, especially the Moroccan community and especially Berbers. They are very closed communities, with a distrust of the government.*” (De Morgen, 23.03.2015). Following much protest by Moroccans and other civil society actors, the Flemish nationalist Mayor declared his willingness to talk with the Moroccan community in Antwerp. Later that year, the Mayor revealed the plan to launch a consulting board with key figures from the Moroccan community to discuss the municipal policies (De Standaard, 30.11.2015).

From spaces of encounter to securitisation

Rather than highlighting the positive aspects of diversity, political debates in Antwerp have focused on the problems associated with ethnocultural diversity and immigration. Exploiting the feelings of insecurity among many local citizens, the extreme-right party Vlaams Belang has been blaming immigrants for high crime rates, unemployment and other social evils since the 1980s. In recent years, the party has been warning of the clash of cultures and of the threat of Muslim extremism in particular. In response to these issues, the extreme-right party proposes migration restrictions and a severe enforcement of law and order³⁰. Even though the extreme-right VB never came to power, their influence on Antwerp municipal policies cannot be underestimated. Aware of the fact that a large part of the Antwerp population voted for the extreme-right VB, the ruling coalition led by the Social Democratic party conducted policies that took right-wing concerns into account such as security and the negative aspects of diversity. In the foreword of the ‘Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan 2009-2011’, the then Councillor for Diversity explicitly links diversity with conflicts:

“Urban diversity is exciting, but sometimes exhausting. It generates new insights, but unfortunately also leads to conflicts. We do not want to claim that living together in diversity is easy. As long as such conflicts can be discussed and resolved within the framework of democracy, there is no difficulty”. (Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan 2009-2011, p. 2)

This quote implies the idea that diversity can also transgress the borders of democracy. In this sense, the mission statement of the ‘Living Together in Diversity Policy Plan 2009-2011’ firmly asserts that *“diversity is endless, but not boundless”* (p. 74). Explaining this quote, a leading officer of the ‘Living Together’ unit states:

“This is of course the narrative about rights and obligations. ‘Endless’ means that diversity is about more than just Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. In Antwerp, we still don’t understand that it is increasingly about people from all over the world. [...] The boundaries of diversity are in the first place determined by the rule of law. There is no discussion about that. [...] We need pure assimilation when it comes to the rule of law”.

With an increased emphasis on law and order, the previous municipal government introduced far-reaching institutional reforms that combined social policies with security measures. In 2009, the Antwerp city council merged the two large municipal units ‘Social Affairs’ and ‘Integral Security’. While the Social Affairs unit already existed for a long time, the Integral Security unit was created in 2004 with the City Plan Security [*Stadsplan Veilig*] in response to the feelings of insecurity among many Antwerp citizens. The merger of these two large municipal units has been named the ‘Living Together’ unit, similar to the preceding but smaller ‘Living Together in Diversity’ unit. The enlarged ‘Living Together’ unit brought together three social services (Integration, Encounter and Housing) and three integral security entities (Social Intervention, Administrative Enforcement and City Surveillance). This institutional marriage of social services with security entities can be seen as the start of a securitisation process, the practice of turning social issues into security problems that need to be surveilled, and even sanctioned if necessary. Given the hybrid composition of the ‘Living Together’ unit, the question arises about how social services and security entities relate to each other. One of the leading officers of the ‘Living Together’ unit confirmed the securitisation of social services:

“It is true that security policies have absorbed large parts of social policies. Safety is a human right. [...] People really want to feel safe. We have to accept this. Obviously, safety has become dominant in the whole discourse of the new municipal government”.

Since 2013, the municipality of Antwerp has increased its policy focus on security, and even more so following the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels. While the municipality increased the budget for security measures, diversity became less of a policy objective. This is evident in the long-term budget plans of the municipality. Contrary to former budget plans, ‘diversity’ disappeared as a separate theme in the ‘Multi-Year Plan 2014-2019’ and safety became one of the seven main themes under the heading ‘The Safe City’. The diversity theme was picked up under

another theme in the current multi-year plan called ‘The Harmonious City’, which deals with social policies and the integration of immigrants. While the incoming resources are nearly the same for the two policy themes, we notice that the expenditure for ‘The Safe City’ is higher than that for ‘The Harmonious City’ and this difference is expected to increase over the next five years.

In the 2013-2018 government agreement, the largest allocation of the municipal budget goes to security measures. The ‘war on drugs’ and related crimes became one of the spearheads of the new municipal policies. Resembling the discourse of the extreme-right, the Flemish nationalist Mayor of Antwerp stated in an interview that he wanted to expel illegal drug dealers to their countries of origin:

“Currently, there are almost 1,200 Moroccans in Belgian prisons. [...] If I was Minister of Justice, I would try to build a prison in Morocco”. (Humo, 24.09.2013, p. 25-26)

According to a policy advisor in the Living Together unit, the shift from diversity policies to securitisation has to do with the widespread association of migrants with nuisance and crime. Even the then Councillor for Diversity and Integration understood racism as the consequence of problems with migrants:

“Today, 87% of the minimum income beneficiaries in Antwerp are not able to speak Dutch. They represent the largest group benefitting from social housing, often at the expense of seniors who, despite having paid taxes all their lives, end up on long waiting lists. In our prisons, some nationalities are disproportionately represented. Whether we want this or not. Right or not. These are the facts that nurture racism. We cannot deny this”. (Homans, 2014)

Using a system of administrative sanctions, the municipality has the legal tools to deal with public nuisance in a quick and repressive manner. Whilst officially, the municipality and police deny that they would target people on the basis of their origin, a municipal servant we interviewed mentioned that during the 2012 protests in Borgerhout against an allegedly anti-Islamic film, around 200 youngsters with a migrant background were arrested. Most strikingly, among those arrested were 70 youngsters who later went on to fight with radical Islamist groups in Syria, leading the Flemish nationalist Mayor to say that the list of arrested youngsters “reads like the passenger list of the Syria Express” (Het Laatste Nieuws, 23.03.2015).

The securitisation of diversity in Antwerp becomes even clearer in the anti-radicalisation plan launched in 2013 by the Mayor of Antwerp together with the Mayors of three other Flemish cities. In response to news that several youngsters from Antwerp, Mechelen, Vilvoorde and Maaseik went to fight in the Syrian civil war on the side of radical Muslim organisations, the Mayors of these cities published a manual titled ‘Controlling Muslim Radicalisation’ [*Beheersen van moslimradicalisering*]. In the media, the Mayor of Antwerp announced that he would remove the Syria-fighters from the Antwerp population register or sanction them if they would return to the city (GvA, 14.06.2013). In line with the securitisation paradigm, the Mayor of

Antwerp also saw a new role for migrant self-organisations by asking them to reflect on what they could do against the radicalisation of migrant youngsters. One of the civil servants working in the anti-radicalisation programme declared that the security discourse had created a huge gap between people of migrant origin and the municipality:

“I see a huge gap between a number of key institutions in this society and the people. There are parents for example who distrust the police to the extent that they do not even dare to report that their son is missing. This happens even though the police should be there for the safety of every citizen. [...] In the shadows of the radicalisation discourse, I have to work on that gap. I have to take care that no security language is used. The security discourse puts people off”.

Rather than fostering places of encounter and democratic deliberation, the municipal government in Antwerp has shifted the attention to security policies and repressive measures. While this securitisation process already started under the previous municipal government, the Flemish nationalist party that recently came to power reinforced the security discourse, disregarding the risk of polarising the relations among diverse communities in the city.

The (re)distribution of resources: activation and responsabilisation

A ‘just diversity’ demands not only policies that recognise diversity and create spaces of encounter, but also policies that seek to redress material inequalities (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). In the ‘Multi-Year Plan 2014-2019’, the first policy aim under the heading ‘The Harmonious City’ states that *“the basic social rights of all inhabitants of Antwerp, and especially of those living in poverty, should be guaranteed”* (p. 15). To achieve this purpose several operational aims are set up. One of them is that *“people with a migrant background will get support to realise their basic social rights”*. The implementation of policies that seek to redress material inequalities are mainly the domain of the Public Centre for Social Welfare (OCMW in Dutch). In Antwerp, the Councillor for Social Affairs and Diversity is currently also the President of the PCSW. The PCSW has the task to guarantee the basic material well-being of disadvantaged people by offering financial aid, health care, housing and legal advice. Although the PCSW is open to all citizens, many of its clients are people of migrant origin.

In response to the federal regularisation of irregular migrants in 2009, the former Antwerp city council pointed out that the regularisation would have serious consequences for the city of Antwerp. Not only would the city have to deal with an increased number of applications for regularisation, the Public Centres for Social Welfare would have to digest an increase in aid applications and deploy many more social workers, while the city’s budget was not prepared for all these additional costs (De Morgen, 4.09.2009). Therefore, the municipality of Antwerp was opposed to the regularisation if it would not receive sufficient means from the federal government to deal with these costs. In the context of the rising number of Syrian, Iraqi and Afghan refugees applying for asylum in Europe, the new Antwerp Councillor of Diversity and Integration declared in the same vein that *“the capacity of Antwerp to absorb even more vulnerable newcomers is exhausted”* (GvA, 28.08.2015).

With regard to the social welfare offered to disadvantaged people of diverse origins, the narrative of 'rights and duties' has become dominant in recent years. In July 2011, the penultimate year of his tenure, the former Social-Democratic Mayor Patrick Janssens, published a small book '*Tit for Tat*' [*Voor wat hoort wat*]. In the book, the Mayor underlined that becoming a citizen of Antwerp was not for free and implied certain obligations. The catchphrase 'Tit for Tat' highlighted the contractual relationship between an individual and the welfare state from a socio-economic point of view. In the context of growing immigration from Eastern Europe, in particular from Poland and Romania, the Mayor worried about the reception capacity of the city and explicitly called immigration – as long as it leads to an increase of people who receive social benefits without paying taxes or contributions – a threat to the social welfare system (Patrick Janssens, 2011, p. 13). In this way, the Mayor justified calls to restrict immigration and the promotion of the activation policy in the Antwerp Public Centre for Social Welfare (OCMW). In sum, the Antwerp city council saw migration and regularisation as threats, not only to social cohesion, but also to the budgetary stability of the city.

In order to minimise costs to the city, the Antwerp municipal government conducts an activation policy that aims to reduce poverty by getting more people into work. The new municipal government founded an activation department within the Public Centre for Social Welfare, which is expected to lead more people into a (regular) job. According to the summary of the 2014-2019 *Multi-Year Plan*, "*the best guarantee to avoid ending up in poverty, or to get out of poverty, is having an income through employment*"³¹. In its activation policies, the current municipal government has shifted the attention from ethnocultural diversity to socio-economic inequalities, most notably by transforming the Office for Diversity Management into the Poverty & Welfare Unit. Within this socio-economic perspective, however, the municipal council puts a strong neoliberal emphasis on the individual responsibility of those who benefit from the social system without questioning structural inequalities.

In line with the rights and duties narrative, the Antwerp PCSW President announced the introduction of the obligation for minimum income beneficiaries to work for the money they receive from the state. The plan also added that a person on social welfare who refuses to do voluntary work would lose his or her living allowance (Gazet van Antwerpen, 18.11.2013). Another controversy emerged when the same Councillor and President of the Public Centre for Social Welfare refused to automatically grant treatment to HIV/AIDS-infected irregular migrants.

For the current legislative session, we can see that the municipal government puts the emphasis on the individual responsibility and activation policies. In line with its assimilationist policies, the knowledge of Dutch is seen as an indispensable condition for migrants to enter the labour market, social services and housing. In short, even if the current municipal government shifted its attention from the recognition of diversity to socio-economic inequalities, this does not mean that it tackles these inequalities through a (re)distribution of resources.

3.5 NON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

In Antwerp, the different umbrella organisations of migrant self-organisations play an important role in understanding non-governmental views on diversity policy. The migrant self-organisations were officially recognised in Flanders in 1993, their umbrella organisations in 1995. Migrant umbrella organisations were specifically set up to support and represent migrant self-organisations. In 1995, the Union of Turkish Organisations (UTV) and the Federation of Moroccan Organisations (FMV) were established in Antwerp, but in order to obtain official recognition they had to become active in other provinces as well. Later, other migrant umbrella organisations were established, like the Platform of African Communities (PAG) and the International Committee (IC).

Between 1992 and 1999, a Migrant Council³² existed in different compositions. Several key figures from ethnic minorities had a seat in this council, but the migrant umbrella organisations did not participate in this council. To address this problem, the city council established a new Urban Advisory Board for Ethnocultural Minorities in 2003: one-third were migrant umbrella organisations; one-third other migrant organisations; and one-third key figures with expertise in ethnic minorities. In 2005, this Advisory Board was turned into the Deliberation Council, which was eventually abolished in 2007. We will argue that the decision of the city council to abolish this last Deliberation Council is a symbol of the reduced role of migrant organisations in policy-making around diversity. Around this time, the municipal government shifted its diversity policies from categorical policies with special services for ethnic minorities towards inclusive policies that spread diversity as a key objective over different policy domains. Within this inclusive policy there was no room for a categorical institution like the Deliberation Council. Furthermore, it was questioned whether the Deliberation Council really represented different migrant groups. As the former Mayor of Antwerp told us:

“After 2006, we reduced the role of the [Migrant Deliberation Councils]. We might have thrown out the baby with the bath water, but we felt that we were talking to people who did not represent their respective population groups. We were talking to professionals, people who defended their own position. You can’t make a binding agreement with them which affects the whole population group. Also, you cannot even expect this from them, because they are not legitimated for that. So we started to work more pragmatically, and where necessary, we worked with bilateral contacts, which actually was much more time-consuming”.

Another organisation that played an important role in the diversity policies of Antwerp was the Integration Centre De8. De8 grew out of the Centre for Foreign Workers [CBW] and seven local integration centres. The CBW was founded to support foreign workers and became the official deliberative body for the province government. While De8 organised and supported intercultural projects and services with the aim of structurally changing organisations and society, it has now become a part of the municipal integration services.

The reduced influence of non-governmental organisations

In 2007, the Antwerp city council decided not to continue the Deliberation Council after the dismissal of its president. Omar Ba, coordinator of the umbrella organisation PAG and Mohammed Chakkar, chairman of umbrella organisation FMV, argued that the city came to this decision after the ‘White March’. This march was organised by the umbrella organisations after two racist murders in Antwerp in 2006. The organisers wanted to use the march to show their solidarity with the families of the victims. After organising the ‘White March’, the migrant umbrella organisations joined forces for the first time under the leadership of Georges Kamanayo. As the President of the Deliberation Council, Georges Kamanayo wanted to create a distinct and active profile for the Deliberation Council. According to the umbrella organisations, the city council did not support the idea of a distinct and active Deliberation Council. However, the way the White March was organised was seen by some at the city council as creating divisions and as a missed opportunity to unite the urban population in its grief about the murder.

Since the Flemish government obliged the city to organise the participation of ethnic minorities in urban policy-making, in 2008, the city council decided to start a local antenna of the Minorities Forum [*Minderhedenforum*] in Antwerp, which represented ethnocultural minorities. Among others, the migrant umbrella organisations FMV, UTV, PAG and IC became associated with this local antenna of the Minorities Forum. Contrary to the Deliberation Council, however, the local antenna of the Minorities Forums no longer provided direct contact between the migrant umbrella organisations and the city council. Therefore, relations between the Antwerp city government and the umbrella organisations deteriorated. Since 1 January 2014, the local antenna of the Minorities Forum has also been abolished. The migrant umbrella organisations felt that the municipal government of Antwerp did not listen to them anymore. This is reflected in the following quote from the President of the Federation of Moroccan Organisations:

“The city meant a lot to us [...] Thanks to the city, it was possible to do a lot for the children. [...] When Patrick Janssens [Mayor of Antwerp since 2006] came to power with his government, a new phase started. They thought we were partners and we said: no, we are not partners, we are a civil society organisation and we take that role, either you give us resources or you don’t. At that time we had two and a half full-timers – that was a lot of money for a small organisation and then they stopped it. They thought it [the organisation] would collapse. The politicians thought, ‘these guys are just making a fuss, we’ll take control’. [...] And then a cold war atmosphere surfaced. The headscarf ban destroyed the relationship irrevocably”.

While migrants traditionally make up a significant part of the electorate of the Social-Democratic party SPA, some leaders of minority groups explicitly called to not vote for the SPA during the elections in 2012, mainly referring to the ban on headscarves in front-office functions in public institutions. When we interviewed the President of the Platform of African Communities, he claimed that *“there were places in Antwerp where the SPA could not campaign”*.

This situation contributed to the loss of SPA in the last elections. This illustrates how bad the relationship between the urban government and the ethnic minorities was at that moment.

The deterioration of relations between different migrant umbrella organisations and the municipality was evident in other ways as well. Since 1999, it became possible for migrant self-organisations to apply for subsidies for specific activities. Most strikingly, the Union of Turkish Organisations (UTV) no longer encouraged its member organisations to apply for these subsidies after 2007.

Since 2008, umbrella organisations were able to receive financial resources from the municipality for a long-term (1-year) project. Unlike ordinary subsidies, the city exerts more control over the content of the project. During the one year, the city in fact supervises the project. In this sense, the umbrella organisations and the city have to be in agreement about the whole project. Because relations between the city and the umbrella organisations weren't good, it was difficult to cooperate. The President of the Platform of African Communities stated:

“In 2010-2011, we stopped our agreement with the city. There was a youth project and the city thought we should use a specific method. In our opinion, this would cause more problems than it was going to solve. [...] The city wanted to give us € 50,000 for the project, but we said, you can have the money back. [...] It was clear to me, we did not accept the money and we did not want an agreement with the city anymore”.

Overall, the migrant umbrella organisations criticised the policy of the former Social-Democratic Mayor because of the absence of a deliberation structure. At the same time, the policy-making was experienced as centralistic. Migrant organisations argued that the Mayor did not give enough space to non-governmental organisations and did not listen to their views on various issues related to living together in diversity. The deep distrust between the city government and some migrant organisations was also evident when in 2011, the city council decided to start consulting different migrant organisations again in a structural way. The Platform of African Communities (PAG), among others, decided not to join these monthly meetings and perceived the move as an opportunistic strategy in anticipation of the upcoming elections. The International Committee (IC), however, joined the meetings. The President of IC explained:

“Very often, they presented projects that were already decided upon. The reasoning was that the city had the right to implement several projects and to decide on how they wanted to implement them. I say: that is okay, but then the city does not have to come to us and ask us why our members are not participating and tell us that we have to ensure they will participate. Either we have to be involved from the beginning or we are not involved at all”.

When the Flemish nationalist party came to power in 2013, these consultation meetings between the city and migrant umbrella organisations were again abandoned. The umbrella

organisations tried to speak with the new Councillor for Diversity and Integration, but they did not succeed.

Not only did relations between the city council and the umbrella organisations change over the last couple of years, the autonomy of the Integration Centre De8 has been significantly reduced as well. Their financial resources were cut and the city council took more control over De8. Although formally decided by the Flemish government, the municipality seemed keen on taking control over the whole integration process and argued in favour of a transfer of financial resources from De8 to the governmental Integration service. The former director of Integration Centre De8 said:

“Until a few years ago, we had a lot of freedom to interpret the tasks set by policy-makers. (...) In recent years, we noticed that policy-makers give us more and more direction, but so far, we’ve been able to avoid these attempts at steering. (...) We have now been placed in a more intense relationship with the city, especially with the reforms underway. The tendency to direct us has increased. If the reforms take place like this we will simply be executing policies. For me, that is a bridge too far”.

After the institutional reforms by the Flemish Ministry of Integration, De8 ceased to be an independent organisation. In 2015, De8 became a part of the municipal integration services. This supports the argument that the influence of non-governmental organisations on Antwerp’s diversity policies is being reduced.

Towards an inclusive policy

The previous municipal government chose to shift from a categorical policy for migrants to a more inclusive policy over various policy domains. At the same time, they broadened the concept of diversity, which made ethnic diversity invisible, as we discussed previously. Most migrant organisations did not consider the broad diversity policies as an improvement. Some organisations even felt that the new policy is not really inclusive, but a strategy to hide ethnocultural diversity. The President of the Federation of Moroccan Organisations (FMV) explained his critical view on diversity policies as follows:

“Yes, diversity is a fashionable term and serves especially to blur social problems. Policy-makers do not want to work on the real problems that groups suffer, for example, education, racism ... police racism or racism with the city as employer. The relationship between the group [migrants] and the city is very bad, but that is not because of the current municipal government. There is no difference, then and now, the N-VA continues what already was”.

The President of the Union of Turkish Organisations (UTV) agreed with the idea that it is better to stop labelling people with an immigrant background as migrants. People from the second and third generation are Flemish citizens, not migrants. In his opinion, however, the municipality closed its eyes to the problems the second and third generation Turks face.

The former Director of Integration Centre De8 argued that the municipal government may be too focused on inclusive policies, leaving no room for categorical policies, which may work better on some occasions. The space for integration policy and integration activities is reduced. Nowadays, everything has to be inclusive. According to some people in civil society, this is certainly not always better than a categorical approach. The coordinator of the International Committee in Antwerp told us why she thinks bonding activities are still important:

“Very often, people say that organisations work inclusively, but I think that is wrong. Very often, when people come to these organisations, the things, expectations and rules here [in Flanders] are translated according to the context and the experiences people have. These experiences, the mentality and the recognition is the same for these people. So, we translate in such a way that people understand it”.

According to the coordinator of the International Committee in Antwerp, the goal of bonding activities is to ensure that migrants integrate successfully into the society in Antwerp. Through bonding initiatives, migrants create more social capital, learn to understand cultural differences, integrate successfully and therefore increase their social mobility. The International Committee in Antwerp agreed that bonding would increase social mobility. The municipal government by contrast seemed to argue that bridging would contribute to a more successful integration and therefore increase social mobility.

Furthermore, the President of the Union of Turkish Organisations argued that bridging activities between organisations with people of different origins do not work effectively when they are forced to work together. For example, in order to qualify for subsidies to organise an activity, the municipality demands the organisation of a bridging activity. This was also the reason why Turkish organisations no longer applied for municipality subsidies. The aim of the bridging activities was to bring together not only migrants, as they did in the past, but also Flemish citizens in order to create more contact between the different cultural groups in Flemish society. Regarding the bridging projects with Flemish organisations, the President of the Union of Turkish Organisations stated:

“We found each other because we wanted subsidies. That is not the right way. You should not have to force people to cooperate, however you do need to develop structures in which people can cooperate. [...] Forced marriages do not work. (...) The Flemish, the Turkish organisations, nor the integration service believe in them at the moment”.

To sum up, we have seen that migrant umbrella organisations were not in favour of the municipal policy to broaden the concept of diversity and to follow an inclusive policy. As a result of the broadening of diversity policies, they feel they no longer have any influence on diversity policies and that their voice is no longer heard.

While we discussed relations between the city and migrant umbrella organisations of Turkish, Moroccan, African and other immigrants, it is remarkable that two other ethnic minorities in Antwerp, the Jews and the Indians, have received much less attention in diversity policy debates. Historically, the Jews played an important role in Antwerp's diamond industry, whilst nowadays the Indians, mostly Jain, have taken over this role. These groups live in segregation and are less concerned with the diversity policies of the city. One of our interviewees explained why:

“The Jewish do not consider themselves immigrants. They feel they belong here. (...) The Jewish also have power. You notice the same thing, in the way the Jains are treated in Antwerp. They are very wealthy and receive lots of respect. They are generous donors for God knows what. Everyone from the municipality will be there if something happens”.

This last quote illustrates the importance of the socio-economic position of ethnic minorities in diversity policy debates and the relationship with the municipality. When it comes to wealthy minorities, their segregated presence has been less problematised by the city council.

3.6 GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS AND INITIATIVES

With the above-mentioned urban policies in mind, we also looked at governance arrangements and initiatives coming from public as well as private actors. These governance arrangements and initiatives can be described as ‘arrangements in which public as well as private actors aim at solving societal problems or create societal opportunities’ (Kooiman, 2000, p. 139). In our research, we have selected ten governance arrangements and initiatives in Antwerp on the basis of their focus on diversity. In line with the emphasis on urban policies in Antwerp, most of the initiatives discussed here deal with ethnocultural diversity, even though some also pay attention to socio-economic and socio-demographic diversity.

We have put the initiatives together into three clusters according to their primary goals: four initiatives were seen as primarily improving social cohesion, three initiatives were considered as mainly encouraging social mobility and the last three initiatives were understood as, above all, enhancing economic performance. Most initiatives, however, appear to have more than one goal.

Most of the initiatives we investigated deal with social cohesion in one way or another, even if this was not always the primary objective of the project. Two governance arrangements stimulated residents to organise their own small initiatives and encouraged living together in diversity. The first, Opsinoren, organised by the City of Antwerp, and the second, Neighbourhood Treasures, organised by the civil society organisation Community Development [*Samenlevingsopbouw*], both stated that improving the social cohesion in the city was their primary aim. Two other governance arrangements, City Talk, organised by the City of Antwerp, the other (Language*eaR) by Community Development also contributed to the social cohesion in the city through the organisation of conversation groups. Although both initiatives stimulated social cohesion in the city by bringing together long-time residents and diverse

newcomers, they may also have contributed to social mobility as they help newcomers to learn the local language. In line with the official urban integration policies, it is argued that a good knowledge of the Dutch language may ameliorate the socio-economic position of immigrants, as they will learn to find their own way in the host society and to establish contacts that can open up better employment opportunities for them. It stands out how similar these projects are, although some are organised by the municipality and others by civil society. An important difference is that there seems to be more flexibility within the projects of Community Building than in those organised by the municipality. Furthermore, we have seen among the language initiatives how the voluntary character was very important for the project of Community Building, while in the municipal project participation was obliged.

Regarding initiatives with social mobility as their primary aim, we selected three projects that deal more or less explicitly with diversity. It is remarkable that we found all of our social mobility initiatives dealing with diversity in the cultural sector. The cultural sector seems to be more open to diversity than other sectors of the labour market. We investigated how an urban arts school (Let's Go Urban!) successfully attracted disadvantaged youngsters to develop their skills and talents within a solid community. In line with this, we saw how an intercultural talent show (Kif Kif Awards) launched the careers of young artists of diverse origins. Finally, we noticed how a cultural programme with high-quality performers of diverse origins ('Nuff Said) made ethnic diversity visible and popular on stage and accessible to diverse audiences. While we frame these initiatives as projects aimed at improving social mobility, they can also be seen as contributing to the social cohesion and, to a lesser extent, as contributing to the economic performance of the cultural sector.

Third, we investigated governance arrangements and initiatives aimed at enhancing the economic performance of the city. Looking for initiatives that explicitly link diversity with economic performance, it has to be said that we did not find many of them in Antwerp. Nevertheless, we came across two area-based projects, one of these projects (BorgerRio) originated from a bottom-up collaboration between different local organisations, while the other initiative (Tour de Nord) was rather a top-down project initiated by the Work and Economy Department of the municipality of Antwerp. From a private ethno-marketing perspective (Are & Are), we saw how diversity can be used as a business opportunity when ethnic minorities are seen as potential customers.

While the urban policies underline the individual responsibilities of people, this idea is also present in some projects that stimulate participants to undertake their own initiatives, to learn the language, to develop their own talents and to contribute to the economic performance of the city. Urban policy-makers, however, can also learn from the initiatives we discussed here by seeing how diversity can contribute to social mobility and economic performance.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have explored the governance structures and the dominant policy discourses concerning diversity in Antwerp, the largest city of the Flemish Region in Belgium. We have

started our discussion with a brief overview of the political system and the key shifts in the federal Belgian and regional Flemish policy approaches to migration, citizenship and diversity. We then critically examined the dominant governmental policy discourses and strategies regarding diversity in Antwerp. We have analysed these policy discourses and strategies through the lens of the recognition, encounter, and (re)distribution framework proposed by Fincher & Iveson (2008). After analysing the municipal policy discourses and strategies, we have shed light on the non-governmental perspectives on diversity policies and some governance arrangements and initiatives in Antwerp.

With regard to the recognition of diversity, we can conclude that assimilationism is becoming increasingly dominant in policy discourse in Flanders as well as in Antwerp today. In order to achieve social cohesion in the city, everyone who settles in Antwerp is expected to make efforts to learn the Dutch language, the local customs and culture. The Flemish nationalist party N-VA that came to power in Antwerp in 2013 sees the knowledge of Dutch as an indispensable condition for the social cohesion of the city and the social mobility of migrants in the labour market. Even if assimilationist discourses are increasingly dominant today, the development towards assimilationism can be traced back to the previous legislative session 2007-2012. In particular, the 2007 dress code that prohibited wearing religious symbols in municipal front-office positions was seen by many of our interviewees as a turning point in the diversity policies of the city. In fact, diversity policies in Antwerp started with the aim to diversify municipal services and to make them more representative and accessible for the diverse urban population. In this sense, the ban on religious and other symbols contradicted earlier multicultural policies that encouraged the recruitment of ethnocultural minorities in the municipal services (Van Puymbroeck, 2014). While the debate became centred on the Islamic headscarf ban and the many protests from Muslims, the dress code also affected other ethnocultural groups like the Jews and Catholics even if they remained more silent on the issue. Therefore, we argue that the dress code marked a crucial moment in the transition from multicultural towards assimilationist policies in Antwerp.

During the 2007-2012 legislative session, municipal policy discourses moved away from ethnocultural diversity towards broad diversity. Beyond the specific focus on ethnocultural diversity, the new policy plans broadened their scope to diversity on the basis of age, gender, sexual preference, disability and socio-economic status. Our interviewees, however, declared that the broadening of the diversity concept appears to be a move driven by fear that a sizeable part of the electorate did not appreciate the provision of special governance arrangements for ethnocultural minorities. Because of the electoral success of the extreme-right party Vlaams Belang, policy-makers feared that too much attention on ethnocultural minorities would further broaden support for the extreme-right party. Therefore, we argue that the former municipal government strategically chose to diminish the attention towards ethnocultural minorities by opening up diversity policies to all kinds of social groups. When the Flemish nationalist party came to office in 2013, they continued phasing out facilities that empower ethnocultural minority groups in favour of individual assimilation trajectories.

Besides the assimilationist tendencies in the current municipal policies, we could also describe current policy discourses as 'post-multicultural', given the existence of multicultural policies in Antwerp since the early 2000s. Several contemporary policy arrangements and institutions still bear the traces of earlier multicultural policy-making. The first policy plans regarding ethnic minorities in Antwerp were in line with the multicultural philosophy of the 1998 Minorities Decree. This implied that migrant umbrella organisations received structural funding and were involved in policy-making. As migrants did not have voting rights, migrant umbrella organisations were appointed as the representatives of the diverse ethnocultural communities in Antwerp. With the launch of the Advisory Board for Ethnocultural Minorities in 2003, migrant umbrella organisations became influential partners in negotiations with the municipality. With the shift towards broad diversity policies, however, the role of migrant organisations was called into question by municipal policy-makers. The 2006-2008 policy plan 'Living Together in a City of Everyone' no longer assigned a political role to migrant organisations. It was argued that migrant organisations were not actually representative of the migrant populations in Antwerp. After the Advisory Board was transformed into a broader Deliberation Council for Diversity and Equal Opportunities Policies, the relationship between the municipality and the migrant umbrella organisations soon deteriorated and by 2007 the Diversity Council ceased to exist. In this sense, we can argue that the shift towards broad diversity policies led to the end of these particular spaces of encounter and democratic deliberation for migrant organisations. With the coming to power of the Flemish nationalist party in 2013, migrant umbrella organisations also lost financial support from the city and were no longer included in policy-making processes. Nevertheless, the current Major of Antwerp planned to consult key figures of the Moroccan community in reaction to the tensions between the municipality and this community.

Rather than fostering spaces of encounter and democratic deliberation between groups, however, we observe how the present but also the former Antwerp municipal government has emphasised the need for security and law enforcement. In times of austerity, the current municipality has increased the budget for security measures. Instead of investing in recognition and encounter, political debates in Antwerp focus on the negative aspects of ethnocultural diversity and immigration, particularly in the context of Islamist terrorism. Through an institutional marriage of social services with security entities, we already witnessed a securitisation process in the previous legislative period, the practice of turning social issues into security problems that need to be surveilled and even sanctioned if necessary. In this process, migration and ethnocultural diversity are increasingly considered as a problem or even as a threat to the public order. Through a system of municipal administrative sanctions, the municipality has the legal tools to deal in a quick and repressive way with public nuisance, all too often associated with youngsters of migrant origin. In the context of terrorism, the municipality increasingly invested in anti-radicalisation plans in order to control Islamist extremism in the city. While this securitisation process had already started under the previous municipal government, the Flemish nationalist party that recently came to power reinforced the security discourse and repressive actions.

Finally, we notice how the Councillor for Diversity and Integration in Antwerp shifted the emphasis from diversity towards socio-economic inequalities while at the same time stressing the individual responsibility to achieve upward social mobility and to contribute to the economic performance of the city. Therefore, the Antwerp municipal government conducts an activation policy that aims to reduce poverty by leading more people into a job. From a neoliberal perspective, the municipal government puts the emphasis on the responsabilisation of disadvantaged groups without questioning structural inequalities. In line with assimilationist policies, the knowledge of Dutch is seen as an indispensable condition to benefit from the social services. Those who do not make enough efforts to learn the language risk to be punished by losing their social benefits.

To sum up, when we evaluate the current policy discourses in Antwerp in terms of recognition, encounter and (re)distribution, we can say that these policy discourses do not fulfil the requirements of a 'just diversity' in the sense of Fincher & Iveson (2008). Rather, it seems that diversity policies in Antwerp made way for an increasingly assimilationist regime with an increased emphasis on individual responsibility and security measures that risk stigmatising certain communities.

4 RESIDENTS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

More and more people find themselves living in diverse neighbourhoods. After investigating the local policies concerning diversity (see chapter 3), we have investigated residents' views on diversity in every day life. Living in diverse neighbourhoods throws up a lot of questions. Why do people move or stay in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods? What do they appreciate in their neighbourhoods, if anything at all? How do they use their neighbourhood? Do they carry out a lot of their daily activities there or not? Where do their friends live and where do they find social support? Do they in one way or another profit from the highly diverse population of their residential neighbourhoods? We have asked these questions to 54 residents in the research areas introduced in chapter 2, namely: Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout Intra Muros and Deurne-Noord. In this chapter, we present how they view diversity in their neighbourhood and how they deal with it on a daily basis. Since residents themselves mostly refer to ethno-cultural diversity, we mostly focus on this aspect.

4.1 METHODOLOGY

The neighbourhoods that are studied are highly diverse in terms of population (see also chapter 2). Within the research area we therefore tried to interview members from as many social groups as possible. We specifically aimed to include different migrant groups, household types, people of various socio-economic backgrounds, and as well as long term residents and newcomers.

We interviewed 16 people in Antwerpen-Noord, 17 in Borgerhout and 21 in Deurne-Noord. In the latter area, we decided to conduct more interviews because of the more recent inflow of people of foreign origin in this area (see chapter 2). Moreover, Deurne-Noord is an electoral stronghold of the extreme right, reflecting the conflictual nature of increased ethnic-cultural diversity. The other two areas have a longer history of ethnic and cultural diversity.

To get a better understanding of the different ways people experience living in a diverse neighbourhood, we tried to reach as many social groups as possible living in the neighbourhood. Hence, we did not aim to reach a representative sample. To reach these different groups, we started by contacting people we had already met at an earlier stage of this research project (Saeys *et al.* 2014). More specifically, we asked Opsinoren, Buurtschatten (Neighbourhood Treasures), Taal*ooR (Language*eaR) and Stadklap (City Talk)³³ whether they knew people we could interview (Saeys *et al.* 2014). Most projects helped us to find around two interviewees

each. We also went to two community centres, one located in Antwerpen-Noord and related to Buurtschatten and one located in Deurne-Noord, related to Taal*ooR. These community centres work across neighbourhood borders. In Deurne-Noord, for example, we found people living in Borgerhout and through the community centre in Antwerpen-Noord we met a person living in Deurne-Noord.

To make sure that we spoke to enough people of foreign origin, we used the snowball method, asking interviewees specifically if they knew people of foreign origin. We also went to language schools to get in touch with people who arrived more recently in Antwerp. A poverty organisation in Deurne-Noord also helped to get in contact with residents. We also asked an organisation that offers 'assistance housing' for contacts of elderly people. To find young families we firstly contacted people through our own network and used the snowball method to come in contact with more people. However, it was easier to reach families of Belgian origin and therefore we asked them specifically if they knew families of non-Belgian origin. Although the bonds between Belgian and non-Belgian families were mostly weak, we did manage to reach some migrant families using this method. Other non-Belgian families were found by asking local organisations.

It proved difficult to include sufficient male respondents. We interviewed 38 female residents and only 16 male residents. Another group that was hard to reach were the people of foreign origin; we spoke to 24 people of foreign origin. This group was easiest to reach in Antwerpen-Noord and hardest in Deurne-Noord; this is not surprising since the percentage of people of foreign origin is highest in Antwerpen-Noord and lowest in Deurne-Noord. In this last neighbourhood we expected to find more people who were very negative about immigrants as it is an electoral stronghold of the extreme right party. However, we only spoke to three residents who were very negative about people of foreign origin. They explained that their friends who had the same opinion moved out of the city.

4.2 HOUSING CHOICE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

In this section we elaborate on the housing choice of inhabitants living in a diverse area of Antwerp. We address the question: whether and to which extent diversity plays a role in the decision of people to move to a diverse neighbourhood and which other aspects are important. We focus mainly on ethno-cultural diversity, as interviewees themselves focus on this aspect when talking about diversity, although the questions in the interview were about diversity in general.

We first argue that diversity is not a major motive to move to the case study area; house prices and location are much more important. Due of the life stage of many newcomers, the availability of spacious, yet affordable houses in these neighbourhoods plays an crucial role

(see e.g. Kley, 2011; Mulder, 1996). In the second part, we emphasise a few situations where diversity is important in housing choice.

4.2.1 Why do residents move to a diverse neighbourhood?

Interviewees who move to the aforementioned culturally diverse areas in Antwerp do not choose the area because of its diversity. Based on existing literature, we had expected that diversity would be important for the so-called ‘gentrifiers’, relatively wealthy people who move into deprived neighbourhoods. However, this turned out not to be the case (cfr. (Blokland & van Eijk 2010; Weck & Hanhörster 2015)). When people were asked why they moved to the neighbourhood, we got surprisingly similar answers. Affordability seems to be the most important reason. People are attracted to the neighbourhood because of low house prices and the dwelling is mostly more important than the neighbourhood as a criterion.

“I did search in other places. In some places, the prices were too high and so couldn’t afford to own it. And I looked [for a] place on the ground floor. It is not easy to get a place on the ground floor.”
(R16, male, 46-60, living alone, West African origin)

Not all interviewees have clearly articulated reasons why they came to live in the neighbourhood. Overall, economic reasons dominate. The low house prices are an important motive to move to this specific neighbourhood, not only for the people renting a house, but also for homeowners. Young couples want to buy a house, with a lot of space, and preferably with a garden. Because the case study area is relatively cheap, it is possible to buy a more spacious dwelling in this area than somewhere else in the city. Remarkably, the presence of migrant groups is seen as an explanation for the low house price. In this sense, diversity does play a role.

“So, it is cheaper to live in this neighbourhood, because a lot of foreigners live here.” (R6, female, 31-45, living alone, Western European origin)

Another important characteristic which influenced respondents to go and live in the case study area is its central location. Everything is reachable by foot, bike or public transport. The presence of facilities such as cultural and sport centres, bars and restaurants in the neighbourhood, is a third important motive, especially in Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout. A fourth motive is the presence of a social network in the neighbourhood. People choose the area because they already know the place and the people. Therefore, the neighbourhood feels familiar.

Therefore, in first instance, diversity does not seem to be an important motive to settle in the area. However, sometimes diversity is important, mainly for people of foreign origin. Some people of non-Belgian origin positively value a minimum amount of ethno-cultural diversity. They do not feel comfortable in a homogeneous Belgian neighbourhood, because they might stand out.

“I don’t want [to live] amongst only Belgian people, and be the only... I don’t want that. Of course, I don’t want that, no.” (R11, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

For people of non-foreign origin, diversity can play a role when deciding where to live. Numbers of people of foreign origin are highest in Antwerpen-Noord and lowest in Deurne-Noord. The neighbourhood Borgerhout is also known as ‘Borgerocco’, a popular way of referring to the Moroccans living in this neighbourhood. People of Belgian and foreign origin living in other parts of the case study area argue that they would rather live there than in Borgerhout because of its strong presence of Moroccan people. They like the diversity, without one population group being overly numerous or dominant, so everybody can feel at home.

“We do not have ‘clan formation’ anywhere, like Borgerhout, [that is] really a concentration of Moroccans... or the side of the Nationalestraat is the Turkish community, [...] this is extremely mixed and without any problems.” (R1, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

On the contrary, people of Belgian origin living in Borgerhout, say they prefer Borgerhout because there is a balance between Belgian and non-Belgian people. They argue that Belgians have become a minority in Antwerpen-Noord and therefore they do not want to live there. Hence, diversity does play a role when people decide in which kind of ethno-cultural diversity they want to live.

4.2.2 Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?

Moving to the present house is mostly experienced as a step forward. Some interviewees experienced specific problems in their previous house, such as bad housing conditions, problems with roommates or simply a lack of space.

Aside from the housing conditions and the space, moving is also experienced as progress when people become homeowners. It is said that Belgians have ‘a brick in the stomach’, which means that every Belgian wants to own a house. Hence, owning a house is an important step in a housing career.

“In the end, it was the rent every month [...] We then said, the rent we pay right now, we could also make re-payments and invest the money in ownership.” (R1, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

When it comes to improvements on the level of the neighbourhood, moving from Borgerhout or Antwerpen-Noord to Deurne-Noord was experienced as an improvement. This is interesting because the reputation of Deurne-Noord has been worsening among local policy-makers and long-term residents. The inflow of people of foreign origin might be an explanation for the changing perception of the area. As mentioned previously, interviewees associated low house prices with foreigners and people from a lower social class (Saperstein & Penner 2012)



Residential street in Deurne-Noord

they demonstrate that not only does an individual's race change over time, it changes in response to myriad changes in social position, and the patterns are similar for both self-identification and classification by others. These findings suggest that, in the contemporary United States, microlevel racial fluidity serves to reinforce existing disparities by redefining successful or high-status people as white (or not black). Although the population is indeed changing in most parts of Deurne-Noord there are still less people of foreign origin than in Borgerhout. One of the interviewees who moved from Borgerhout to Deurne-Noord explains that he appreciates the higher amount of Belgian people in Deurne. In general, people of foreign origin seem to appreciate Deurne for its presence of people of foreign origin and its quietness.

"I experienced Deurne as really good. Quiet and yes, a very good place. But Borgerhout is not good. And over there, people are also a bit racist. Yes, but here in Deurne, 80% are good people [...] I got to know a lot of Belgian people here. In Borgerhout, nothing, nobody." (R19, 31-45, living alone, Middle-Eastern origin)

An older woman, who lived her whole life in Antwerpen-Noord, also moved to Deurne-Noord. She moved to senior housing, where care is available, when needed. We asked her if she would have moved to this housing complex if it had been located in Antwerpen-Noord. Her answer was "no".

"No, first of all, because of the foreigners – I'm being honest. Second, because I can't handle the bustle of the city anymore. I'm better off here, it's quiet. When I have to visit the doctor every 14 days, I pass my [old] street by bus, and then I think, oh, I can't live there anymore. I wasn't unhappy there." (R12, female, >75, living alone, Belgian origin)

This interviewee feels much better now and moving to a more homogeneous neighbourhood is seen as an improvement. Another interviewee, who lived outside the case study area, but used to live in Antwerpen-Noord, was also very satisfied with her decision to move out because now she

lives in a homogeneous neighbourhood without ethno-cultural diversity. Although she cannot afford a spacious house at the place where she lives at the moment, it is much better for her.

4.2.3 Conclusions

Diversity of the neighbourhood is not an important motive to move to the present neighbourhood. Considerations such as house prices and location are much more important. Furthermore, insofar as diversity plays a role in the decision to move (or not), it differs for different groups. People with a migration background appreciate a minimum of ethno-cultural diversity, in the sense that they do not want to be the only 'foreigner', but also avoid neighbourhoods that are dominated by one ethnic group. Diversity is, however, an important aspect in the housing choice for people who have a negative view on diversity. They move out of diverse neighbourhoods and feel much better in homogenous, white areas.

4.3 PERCEPTIONS OF DIVERSITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

In this section, the residents' perceptions of diversity in the neighbourhood are described. Is diversity perceived as positive or negative? To begin with, it is important to know how people define their neighbourhood, as borders between areas can symbolise distinctions between groups (Elias & Scotson, 2008/1965; May, 2004). Drawing boundaries can be used as a strategy to exclude people who 'do not fit' in the neighbourhood identity (Hwang 2015). In paragraph 4.3.1, we argue that people who live on the administrative border or on the perceived border between a 'good' and 'bad' area use these boundaries to distinguish their neighbourhood from the 'worse' neighbourhood.

In paragraph 4.3.2, we focus on perceptions of neighbours. Which groups do people describe and which aspects are used to distinguish one group from another? In paragraph 4.3.3, we focus on the positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood, with specific attention to diversity. Is there a difference between different groups in their perceptions of the neighbourhood and to which extent are positive or negative aspects of the neighbourhood linked to diversity?



The 'urban ringway' as territorial marker

4.3.1 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

Three aspects are used to define the borders of the neighbourhood. First, the big streets such as the ‘Turnhoutsebaan’ and ‘Plantin Moretuslei’, ‘the urban ringway’ and Antwerp Central station are often mentioned as self-evident territorial markers.

Second, people define the borders based on activities and places that they often visit. For example, children’s schools and activities and lead people to define the neighbourhood as being larger than it actually is. Territorial markers can be crossed due of these activities, as R5 explicitly states.

“It doesn’t stop at the Turnhoutsebaan, the other side also [is part of my neighbourhood] [...] Take Rattaplan, I volunteer there, so that is also my neighbourhood. I go there frequently.” (R5, female, 31-45, living alone, Belgian origin)

However, involvement in activities can also limit the definition of the neighbourhood when the location of the activities is very far away. One of the interviewees used to live in Deurne Zuid, but currently lives in Deurne-Noord. Deurne Zuid is located at the other side of a park (a territorial marker). When she describes the borders of her neighbourhood, it is very limited.

“We only see our part, because we don’t do anything here. When we do something, it is always outside, or otherwise, Deurne Zuid actually.” (R23, female 31-45, living with her partner and children, South-American Origin)

Lastly, the built environment can define neighbourhoods.

“These are residential streets, not shopping streets. It’s all places to live – houses. A real residential neighbourhood and it is pretty quiet actually.” (R18, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

Although people give quite specific answers when asked about the borders of the neighbourhood, they are not consistent when talking about the neighbourhood. When they talk about activities that take place in the neighbourhood, they mostly broaden their idea, and when asked to describe neighbours, they mostly narrow their perception of the neighbourhood.

However, boundaries become more salient when people feel that they live on the administrative border of a neighbourhood or on a perceived border of the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ parts of the neighbourhood. One of the interviewees lives on the administrative border of Antwerpen-Noord/Borgerhout. Her house is located on the side of Antwerpen-Noord, but she mentioned that it does not feel like she lives in Antwerpen-Noord.

“We really live on the border of 2060 (Antwerpen-Noord), but actually, I feel more 2140 (Borgerhout), because really, we live on the boundary. [...] Also, I think all of my friends live in

Borgerhout and not in 2060. [...] And 2060 has a negative connotation in Belgium because it's on the news. Over there, there are lots of drugs and crimes. Sometimes someone is shot or stabbed. And when it happens, it is always there. And since we wanted to have children, I think that is the reason that we didn't look [for a house] over there.” (R27, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

Interestingly, this interviewee talks about Antwerpen-Noord as ‘over there’, while administratively speaking, she lives in Antwerpen-Noord. However, because of the neighbourhood’s bad reputation, and because most of her friends live in Borgerhout, she explicitly says she lives in Borgerhout and not Antwerpen-Noord.

This rigid distinction between a ‘good’ and a ‘bad’ neighbourhood is very present in Deurne, which is divided into Deurne Zuid and Deurne-Noord. For most inhabitants, the area to the north of the big park Rivierenhof is seen as Deurne-Noord and the area to the south as Deurne Zuid. In general, Deurne-Noord does not have a good reputation. For people living in Deurne Zuid, the whole area of Deurne-Noord is seen as a bad neighbourhood. One of the interviewees grew up in Deurne Zuid and explains:

“When I lived in Deurne Zuid, I always said very explicitly Deurne ‘Zuid’. Because Zuid is to say the better part of Deurne. But for people outside Deurne it doesn't make any difference [...] [I: Why did you always say it explicitly?] Well, because – everyone knows. Deurne-Noord is yes, the more, marginal neighbourhood. Well, that's what we always called it (laughs).” (R46, female, 18-30, living alone, Belgian origin).

Although for people in Deurne Zuid, Deurne-Noord is seen as a bad neighbourhood, people living in Deurne-Noord differentiate between the ‘bad’ and the ‘good’ part of Deurne-Noord. The ‘bad’ part is the most northern part, close to the big event hall called Sportpaleis. Again, this distinction becomes clear when people live on the border.

“I definitely don't think this is a rich neighbourhood. [...] Especially, if you go further towards the direction of the Sportpaleis. When you, so to speak, cross the intersection, then I have the feeling, oh... everything here is a bit worse than where we are – I have that idea. [...] People like us are not suddenly going to live there, I think. A young working couple will not suddenly buy a house over there.” (R43, male, 31-45, living with his partner and children, Belgian origin)

By drawing spatial borders, some residents also draw borders between groups and distinguish themselves from the ‘marginal’ or ‘poor’ people living in the ‘other’ neighbourhood and create a social hierarchy. However, we did not find any evidence that people living in the ‘better’ part actively exclude people from the ‘bad’ part of the neighbourhood in their social networks or in organisations within the neighbourhood.³⁴

4.3.2 Perceptions of neighbours

The case study area has changed demographically during the last years and have become more diverse in two different ways. A lot of interviewees refer to the increasing inflow of people of foreign origin and of young Belgian couples or Belgian families with children, mostly middle class. In this section we therefore focus on the perception of ethno-cultural diversity and of class diversity.

Perceptions of ethno-cultural diversity

When interviewees are asked to describe their direct neighbours and people living in the neighbourhood, almost all interviewees use ethno-cultural or ethno-religious categories. Some interviewees refer to different ‘cultures’, others to different ‘religious groups’. According to newcomers of Belgian origin, this ethno-cultural diversity is self-evident and they already knew the neighbourhood as a diverse and mixed area. They mostly appreciate this diversity and are positive about the mentality of the people living in these neighbourhoods, because they connect living in diversity with living among tolerant people. This assumed connection between diversity and tolerance was also found in other research (Talen 2010).

Long-term residents of Belgian origin say that the neighbourhood has changed and that more people of foreign origin moved in.

“A lot, let’s say that 50% [of the houses] were bought by foreigners, people of foreign origin. [...] We have seen that it has changed, but I don’t think that there is one street here where there is a problem.” (R1, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin).

Interestingly, this interviewee explicitly mentions that there are no problems with foreigners and several other interviewees say the same. Although most residents are not negative about their neighbours, they do relate negative aspects of the neighbourhood with diversity. We will illustrate this in paragraph 4.3.3.

Although, most long-term residents of Belgian origin seem to get used to ethno-cultural diversity, some find it hard to accept the change. They mention that foreigners are very noisy and that they do not feel at home anymore, because of the number of foreigners living in the neighbourhood.

“R: Sometimes, I feel like a foreigner here. Do you know what I mean? [...]

R2: New people came to live here and then, it is hard to make contact with them.

R: Yes, and those who come to live here, don’t speak Dutch. [...]

R2: I think those people don’t want contact either.” (R48, lesbian couple, 61-75, living together, Belgian origin)

Perceptions of gentrifiers

Another group of residents often mentioned when people were asked to describe their neighbours are young Belgian, middle class couples or families with children, known in existing literature as gentrifiers. People in Borgerhout often refer to this group; some call them BoBo's (Bourgeois Bohemian) or the 'cargo bike-generation', because white middle class families often use the cargo bike. While most opinions about the inflow of foreigners are neutral or positive, the opinions regarding this group are more mixed. R14 explains why she is not positive about this group.

"They have their own circle in my opinion. They see themselves as 'great'. [...] But I don't know if they are that 'great' to other people [...], to older people or to people who are not like them. I don't think so, because I don't like them that much, in general, not very sympathetic." (R14, female, 46-60, living alone, Belgian origin)

R14 is not highly educated, therefore there is a distance between her and the gentrifiers in terms of social class. However, R18 who is more similar to the gentrifiers, is also critical. Yet, like other critical middle class inhabitants, she mostly refers to the people living in another neighbourhood, in this case Zurenborg.

"Everyone knows everyone and this is a pleasant neighbourhood, and we are the cool people of Zurenborg. [...] A Turkish restaurant wanted to start in Zurenborg and yeah, they [the residents] immediately started a petition that it shouldn't be here, because it was of lower status. It was a take-away pizzeria. Yes, actually quite messy. And that didn't fit into the nice, cool Zurenborg. [...] Then, I think, well, there you are with your tolerance and openness. 'We are the progressive Zurenborgers' so far." (R18, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

4.3.3 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects

Diverse areas are seen as lively, dynamic areas. On the one hand, interviewees argue that diversity creates more activity in the neighbourhood and contributes to the lively and dynamic character. However, on the other hand, interviewees argue that it causes some difficulties, which we will describe below. We focus on the positive and negative aspects of living in a diverse neighbourhood and distinguish between long-term inhabitants, newcomers of foreign origin and newcomers of Belgian origin.

Perceptions of the neighbourhood, long term residents

As mentioned before, long-term inhabitants used to live in a more homogeneous neighbourhood. Some long-term inhabitants of Belgian origin have mixed feelings about the change of the neighbourhood. Their first reaction regarding the inflow of people of foreign origin was rather negative and that they needed time to accept these changes.

"And also the feeling like, yes, ok, a lot is possible, a lot is, but I'm actually the only white person here on Offerandestraat, Diepestraat [...] That is also not how it should be." (R18, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

Nowadays, this woman is used to diversity and accepts it. Although she mentions she is the only white person in her neighbourhood, this does not mean that there is a lack of ethno-cultural diversity, as there is not a single dominant ethnicity. She tends to emphasise the positive aspects of diversity: that people of foreign origin bring a lot of shopping facilities with them, and you get to know people who you would otherwise not have met living in a less diverse neighbourhood. Most other interviewees also emphasise the positive aspects.

“Like with my Moroccan neighbours, I have good contact with them. When you [have that] it is enriching.” (R24, male, 61-75, living alone/with his child, Belgian origin)

Talking about negative aspects of diversity, several elderly inhabitants of Belgian origin mention that people of foreign origin lack knowledge of the Dutch language. R12 experienced this at her former neighbourhood in Antwerpen-Noord.

“It bothered me that that person lived there for so many years and she couldn’t even say [name interviewee] to me. It bothered me enormously. [...] That person never went outside. So she couldn’t talk to anybody. And when the children came home from school, they spoke Berbers at home.” (R12, female, >75, living alone, Belgian origin)

Apart from the language barriers, this group also mentions other negative aspects linked to diversity. The garbage on the street, which they sometimes connect explicitly with diversity, annoys interviewees. Some interviewees use the deprived position of migrant groups as an explanation. Migrants and other deprived groups are too busy surviving and therefore ‘forget’ to put the garbage outside on time. Other interviewees see the fact that people are used to throwing their garbage on the street or spitting on the street as a ‘cultural differences’.

Although most elderly inhabitants have accommodated to the ethno-cultural diversity in their neighbourhood, others are still having difficulties with it. Two interviewees in Deurne-Noord were very explicit. One woman in Deurne-Noord would rather move to a homogeneously white Belgian village. She does not like the way diversity influences the streetscape and it bothers her to see women wearing headscarves. In another interview, a couple complains that people of foreign origin lack social norms and values: they are loud and do not adapt their behaviour. The couple argues that foreigners act like they used to do in their country of origin and that they do not integrate. They knew one person of Moroccan origin, who was well integrated and who adapted his behaviour, but he died a few years ago. However, when they start to talk about his funeral, they say it was very traditional compared to a ‘Belgian’ funeral.

“R: The men go first to the cemetery.

R2: The women were not allowed

R: No women. That was much later. So, first the men. Yes, that is very typical. I don’t have problems with that; they can do what they want.

R2: Yes, but I think when they want to be buried like that, well, go back to Morocco.

R: Yes, but the wife did not want that.

R2: Yes, but then, they have to adapt.”

(R48, lesbian couple, 61-75, living together, Belgian origin)

Interestingly not only long term residents of Belgian origin are critical about the changes within the neighbourhood. One long term resident of foreign origin was especially critical about the presence of one ethnic group, the Kosovars, in the neighbourhood some years ago. Talking about Kosovars she used the same discourse that people who are negative about immigrants in general use, namely complaining about noise and garbage.

“There were too many Kosovars, too many foreigners, too. I am a foreigner myself, but I found it too busy. [...] The garbage, it always smelt there [...] Noisy, it was always noise. Otherwise, fighting, or talking too loud. [...] And a lot, above all, a lot of illegal dumpers. [...] Now, it is much better. [I: who is living there at the moment?] Either Turks or Poles. You almost don’t hear them.” (R50, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

Another interviewee is in general very critical about the inflow of immigrants. He was raised in Antwerpen-Noord by his parents, who were born in the Middle East, and he was shocked by the change of the neighbourhood when he moved back for the cheap housing. He did not like the presence of so many foreigners. He has also lived in a small village for a while and said:

“The situation [in that village] is not disturbed by newcomers. While the situation here in Antwerpen-Noord is totally disturbed. Actually, it is totally fucked up.” (R29, male, 31-45, living alone, Middle-Eastern origin)

The other old inhabitants of foreigner origin we spoke do not agree. They are in general not negative about the changes. R11 for example was raised in Borgerhout and mentioned that first, there were only Belgian shops and now, there are Moroccan, Turkish, African and Chinese shops. She likes this diversity of shops, also because it is very easy for her nowadays to find Moroccan products. It is no problem for her that the neighbourhood changed from a Belgian, to Moroccan-Belgian, and nowadays to a much more mixed neighbourhood.

Perceptions of the neighbourhood, newcomers of foreign origin

Newcomers of foreign origin take a rather critical stance concerning diversity. Talking about the positive aspects, they mention the fact that they are not the only persons of foreign origin and therefore feel comfortable, as explained in section 4.2. They also appreciate the presence of shops where they can find products from their home country.

“And this supermarket nearby Diepestraat. All the Moroccan shops are there. And there you can find some Indian shops. And all the African shops.” (R10, female, 18-30, living with her partner, Asian origin)

Apart from the positive aspects, most newcomers of foreign origin mention some problems with diversity and specifically with the people of foreign origin. Some interviewees complain about the children. R16 explains that he has a problem with the children who play outside late at night. Because of the language barrier, it is hard to talk about these problems.

“When you begin to speak to the parents, they tell you [that] they don’t speak the languages. Yeah, today, luckily I don’t hear anything. You see them (the children) maybe 11 or 12 o’clock at night. And it is so loud, they play, everywhere is noisy.” (R16, male, 46-60, living alone, West African origin)

Another complaint is related to sexual intimidation. The female interviewees connect this with people of foreign origin. This topic came up much more explicitly in the interviews with females of foreign origin than in interviews with females of Belgian origin.

“Yes, maybe you would call me a racist, but I was already thinking [that the neighbourhood is] a little bit too Arabic. [...] I was never against them, I always loved them. But, I was walking and behind me kids were shouting ‘prostitute, Russian prostitute’. [...] I had it several times.” (R8, female, 31-45, living with her partner, Eastern European origin)

Perceptions of the neighbourhood, newcomers of Belgian origin

Newcomers of Belgian origin mostly deliberately choose for this specific neighbourhood, are aware of the diversity and appreciate it. However, positive aspects of the neighbourhood are much more related to the urban environment and ambience than to diversity per se (cfr. Weck & Hanhörster, 2014). The newcomers like the facilities in the neighbourhood, the fact that you do not need a car and the festivities in the neighbourhood. They ‘consume’ the city and the diversity that comes with it.

“You have the feeling that you are on vacation here. Being away. I think because there are a lot of small stores here, which are more southern. The mentality, which is more lively. It is more exciting and more challenging and harder.” (R44, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Western European origin)

Perceptions of diversity become more critical when people start to talk about schools and social contact. We elaborate on this in sections 4.5 and 4.6. Newcomers of Belgian origin also refer to other difficulties. Like the elderly inhabitants, they also connect garbage on the streets with the presence of foreigners and mostly use their deprived position as an explanation.

4.3.4 Conclusions

People define their neighbourhoods in different ways and do not employ static boundaries. Most interviewees do not use physical boundaries as a strategy to distinct themselves from others. However, when people live on the boundary between a ‘good’ and ‘bad’ neighbourhood

they explicitly distinguish themselves from the 'bad' neighbourhood and in this way, implicitly from the people living there.

When people talk about their own neighbours, a lot of interviewees refer to the inflow of people of foreign origin and the inflow of the white middle class gentrifiers. The inflow of this last group is among policy-makers seen as something positive, but the interviews show that opinions about them are more mixed. Although this middle class lives in a diverse environment, some people have the idea that they distinguish themselves from others and live in their own homogeneous social world.

Interviewees also refer to the inflow of people of foreign origin. Elderly inhabitants were not always positive about this, but their opinion mostly changed over time. This confirms the idea, that when people start to get confronted with ethno-cultural diversity, the 'group threat theory' (Schlueter & Scheepers 2010) is confirmed, and when people get used to it and establish more contacts, the 'intergroup contact theory' (Pettigrew 1998) gradually becomes a better predictor of perceptions of ethno-cultural diversity (Thijssen & Dierckx 2011; Downey & Smith 2011). However, some long term residents are still negative about people of foreign origin.

Another group, that was critical about the number of people of foreign origin living in the neighbourhood, were people of foreign origin themselves. This may be explained by the fact that they mostly did not choose to live in this diverse area and that they were not used to living in such a heterogeneous neighbourhood.

4.4 ACTIVITIES IN AND OUTSIDE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

In this section we investigate how important the neighbourhood is in the daily activities of people living in a diverse neighbourhood. Nowadays the importance of the neighbourhood is questioned, because people are more mobile than ever. Individuals can have friends on the other side of the world and are, in general, less dependent on their local environment for their daily activities and social networks, although there are differences between social groups (see for instance Duyvendak and Hurenkamp 2004; Karsten, Lupi, and Stigter-Speksnijder 2012; Lupi and Musterd 2006; Putnam 2000; Wellman 1979).

In this section, we first investigate whether residents prefer to spend time inside or outside the neighbourhood. Which activities do residents do inside the neighbourhood and do they meet neighbours by doing so? We will argue that the neighbourhood is still important in the daily lives of the interviewees, but that different social groups use different places in the neighbourhood. Only public places succeed in bringing a diverse group of residents together. We elaborate on this in section 4.4.2.

In the last section, we take a closer look at the importance of associations in the neighbourhood. Local associations struggle to reach different social and ethnic groups, but most succeed more or less. However, the contact between different groups remains limited.

4.4.1 Activities: where and with whom?

Living in the same street, but in different social worlds

Different groups of people do different activities in the neighbourhood. However, for every group the neighbourhood is still an important place for the activities in which they participate. People do not only use the neighbourhood to buy their groceries, but also to spend free time. Several interviewees of foreign origin do not use a lot of facilities in the neighbourhood, except for public spaces where they go with friends and family (see paragraph 4.4.2).

Several middle class newcomers use the neighbourhood actively and like to go there with friends. Popular places are new cafes and coffee bars. They are aware of the fact that it is mostly white middle class people that visit these places.

“I have to say honestly, that cafes are quite similar in terms of turnout. I find it hard to describe [...]. It's almost exclusively white people, I think. [...] Occasionally, there are people of foreign origin at the bar drinking beer. Actually, more and more. But perhaps I did not notice until now. I see them. I think it has more to do with class.” (R15, female, 31-45, living with her family, Belgian origin)

In this quote, the interviewee explicitly links class and ethnic background to describe the category of people she meets when going out in the neighbourhood. It also became clear in other interviews that people tend to go to cafes where they can find ‘people who are like them’, to interact with people from a similar social class and/or ethnic background and similar age. However, there is limited contact with these ‘people like them’, because they mostly go there with friends and do not encounter other people they do not know. A lot of people find it unfortunate that there is a lack of places where people with different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds come together. As we will show in paragraph 4.4.2, the public parks are an exception.

Belgian people often mention the cultural centre Roma as a place that is used by people with different class backgrounds and ages. However, ethno-cultural diversity is rather limited. Although most inhabitants want to get in contact with people of other origins, they seem to live in different social worlds.

There are few exceptions where people go to more mixed places or to places where people of other origins come. One couple, both born in Western Europe, choose to live in Antwerpen-Noord because of its diversity and because they like to visit Portuguese cafes. The other interviewee (of West African origin) visits mixed places and goes to the same Portuguese cafes.

“We love the Portuguese, they are very warm people. We used to live in Italy and they remind us of Italians.” (R26, couple, 46-60, living together, Western European origin)

4.4.2 The uses of public space

In the previous paragraph, we described the lack of spaces for encounter. However, there are some public spaces that seem to be successful in bringing different groups together: two public parks, namely Rivierenhof and Park Spoor Noord. Rivierenhof is located in Deurne and is the biggest park of the city. The park offers a lot of leisure activities; there is for example, mini-golf, a cafe, an open-air theatre and a children’s farm. The park also offers various walking and playing areas for children. Rivierenhof is not only popular among people living in Deurne, but also those living in Borgerhout and to a lesser extent, in Antwerpen-Noord. Interviewees use it to go for a walk, to go jogging, to play with the children, go for a picnic or hang out with friends.

The other popular place, Park Spoor Noord, is located in Antwerpen-Noord and has a different character to Rivierenhof, because it has a lot of open space and few trees. The park was created recently: half of the park opened in 2008 and the other half in 2009. The park has quickly become very popular, not only for the residents of Antwerpen-Noord, but also of Borgerhout and to a lesser extent, Deurne-Noord. Like Rivierenhof, this park offers a range of leisure activities. There is a popular cafe, public barbecue areas and sport and skating facilities.

Both parks attract a very diverse group of people: Belgian and non-Belgian, higher class and lower class, elderly and young. Every interviewee visits (one of) these parks. Several interviewees said that they like it that a lot of different people come together at these places. Although different groups use the same parks, contact between these groups is rather limited. Similar results were found in earlier research (see for instance Peters, Elands, & Buijs, 2010).

“I really find that both Park Spoor Noord and the Krugerplein, more than Terlooplein here, are the places where you can say the whole of Borgerhout comes together. And yes, it is true that [...]



Rivierenhof

Park Spoor Noord

the Flemish families sit on the terrace and have a drink and the immigrant families usually sit on a picnic blanket or couch with their own drinks. [...] On the other hand, the kids play together in the playground or play together in Park Spoor Noord, and in this way, there is indeed contact. [...] It is how it is, from a socio-economic point of view, 80-90% of the Flemish families in Borgerhout have dual income, and 80-90% of the immigrant families in Borgerhout have single income as well as families where no-one has a paid job.” (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

R30 connects the segregation of Belgian and non-Belgian families with the socio-economic status of the different groups. She is not the only interviewee of Belgian origin doing this. In another interview, it was noticed that in Park Spoor Noord, you can find the white middle class people at the side located close to the neighbourhood ‘Eilandje’, a wealthy neighbourhood, and that people of foreign origin use the part located close to the more deprived area called ‘Stuivenberg’.

Notwithstanding this segregation (only mentioned by white middle class interviewees) there is some contact between the groups through the children and this is appreciated. Most residents find it important that there are some places in the city, like the park, where all different groups of residents come together. Interviewees did not clearly explain to us why they find this important.

4.4.3 The importance of associations

Several interviewees mention that there are several associations active in the neighbourhoods, and when you want to be active in the neighbourhood, there are enough opportunities. Examples of associations active in the case study area are community centres, neighbourhood associations, youth organisations, migrant self-organisations and poverty organisations. Most interviewees are not active in any associations in the neighbourhood. They participate in the Opsinjoren³⁵ activities, such as street festivities (see section 4.5) and that is enough for a lot of residents. However, interviewees highlight the importance of associations.

Several interviewees make use of the community centres, mostly of Centrum de Wijk, Dinamo, Werkhuys and Cortina. This is not surprising, because we got into contact with some interviewees through the first two community centres. Residents who are very active in these community centres, but also residents who visit these places sporadically, are very positive about the presence of such meeting places in the neighbourhood.

“And there are a lot of initiatives here to teach people the Dutch language and so on. And actually, to make more contact with the neighbourhood and so on. So, in that respect, the community centre here is a good thing.” (R24, male, 61-75, living alone/with his child, Belgian origin)

The community centres offer the opportunity to get to know more people in the neighbourhood and to participate in activities. Not only community centres, but also other associations can function as meeting places, like R22 describes.

“Yes, actually during the first three years, I did not have any contact with anybody, no. [...] Lonely. Therefore, we went to this place [poverty organisation], because of the loneliness.” (R22, female, 61-75, living alone, Belgian origin)

These meeting places are very important for people with small social networks, but do not necessarily function as bridging places for groups with different ethnic backgrounds. People of Belgian origin, for example, often mention the community centre the Werkhuys, but mention that the visitors are mostly white people. Notwithstanding the lack of ethno-cultural diversity, there is diversity in class and age according to the interviewees.

The coordinator of an organisation that aims to bring women together mentions that her organisation does not succeed in reaching women with different ethnic backgrounds even though she offers low threshold activities.

“[My] association is actually established [...] for women here in the neighbourhood, to meet up [...] Sometimes they have a very small house and actually really want to be outside. And [the aim is to] bring them together with a cup of tea, coffee [...] and it is not obligatory, but whoever wants can make something of it, and show that to other women. It’s not only Moroccan women, everyone is welcome. But mostly, it is the Moroccan [women] who come.” (R50, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

Another association active in the neighbourhood, poverty organisation Recht-Op³⁶, struggled with the fact that they hardly get people of foreign origin involved. Therefore, they contacted a migrant organisation to help them reach a more diverse group. Although this contact resulted in a separate group for migrant women, it is a first step to establish more ethno-cultural diversity within both associations.

“They [Recht-Op] only had white women actually and sometimes there were one or two women of foreign origin, but they never stayed. And then they asked us, ‘do you want to do a group each week?’ So, I also go there.” (R50, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

4.4.4 Conclusions

For almost all interviewees, the neighbourhood remains an important place where different activities take place. However, the social spaces that people use are divided along class and ethnic lines.

Public spaces are (by several interviewees) seen as one of the few places where all residents of Antwerp come together. Some interviewees experienced that different groups use different parts of the parks. They see some segregation between people of foreign and Belgian origin and explain this partly by different class positions. However, this is not experienced as problematic per se. Although the contact between different groups is rather limited, people appreciate the fact that there are places in the city where there is the possibility to meet different people.

Community centres also attract diverse groups and are seen as important places to meet up with people from the neighbourhood. A lot of interviewees are not active in a neighbourhood association or community centre, but they agree that these places are important, especially for people with a rather small social network. As in public spaces, there is not necessarily interaction between people of different ethnic backgrounds through associations. Some associations struggle to reach the entire diverse population, but organisations can help each other to reach a more diverse group of residents.

4.5 SOCIAL COHESION

This section focuses on social cohesion and the relationship with diversity. Although the exact effect of ethno-cultural diversity on social cohesion is unclear, most research shows that *“heterogeneity merely undermines intra-neighbourhood social cohesion: people in ethnically heterogeneous environments are less likely to trust their neighbours or to have contact with them.”* (Meer and Tolsma 2014: 474).

However, there are different degrees of social cohesion. As shown in earlier research in the Netherlands, people are nowadays less connected to one single community but are connected to several ‘light communities’ (Duyvendak & Hurenkamp 2004). In this chapter we therefore make a distinction between ‘strong ties’ and ‘weak ties’ to study the social cohesion within the neighbourhood (Granovetter 1973).

We first elaborate how diverse the social networks of the residents living in a diverse neighbourhood are. In this first section, we focus on ‘strong ties’. Wessendorf (2013) showed that personal networks in a diverse neighbourhood are rather homogeneous, we argue that this is the same in our case study area.

Second, we focus on the relationships people have with their neighbours. How is their daily contact? Is there mutual support in the neighbourhood? In this section, we focus on neighbourhood relationships, which are dominated by ‘weak ties’. The effect of diversity on these ‘weak ties’ is rather limited in our case study area, which was also found in earlier research (van Eijk 2012). Because several interviewees refer to social control in the neighbourhood, we also elaborate on this theme. Aside from the daily contact, several interviewees live in a street with activities of Opsinjoren. This municipal initiative offers financial and logistic support to residents who wish to organise a street activity. We will show that these activities struggle to attract a diverse group of people.

4.5.1 Composition of interviewees’ networks

In general, the social networks of the interviewees are homogeneous networks in terms of class and ethnicity. This is especially the case for people of Belgian origin. Newcomers of foreign origin seem to have more heterogeneous networks concerning ethnicity. The neighbourhood does not play a strong role in the egocentric networks.

Inhabitants of Belgian origin

The interviewees of Belgian origin do have the most homogeneous social networks of ‘strong ties’. Older Belgian people often have rather small networks, limited to one or two good and long-time friends with whom they regularly do activities. Their friends are mainly people of Belgian origin, often in the same class position. When they have family members, they are also very important to them.

“So actually, it is family [who are the most important], the little family which is left, because there are not many anymore.” (R1, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

Most newcomers of Belgian origin, mainly those aged 31 to 45 years, have a very broad network of friends. These friends are almost always of Belgian origin and have the same class position. Most newcomers of Belgian origin are middle class, and their network consists mainly of other Belgian middle class people. This is also the case for the people who were raised in a diverse neighbourhood. Interviewees got to know their friends mainly through studying and through youth movements such as ‘scouts’ and ‘Chiro’³⁷. Although youth movements are nowadays slowly becoming more diverse (De Haene, Schuermans & Verschelden, 2014), they are still predominantly white organisations. Therefore, it is not surprising that friends, whom interviewees know from the youth movement, are mostly of Belgian origin.

The places where friends of inhabitants of Belgian origin live are rather diverse. A lot of interviewees have friends inside and outside the city. Location therefore does not seem to be that important in their social networks. The contact with people of other origin or other class positions is often limited to neighbours and ‘weak ties’ (see paragraph 4.5.2). Almost none of the interviewees of Belgian origin maintain friendships or ‘strong ties’ with people of foreign origin.

Long term inhabitants of foreign origin

In the first instance, family is very important for long-term residents of foreign origin. Yet, this contact is not always considered as necessarily positive. R34, for example, describes that the close contact with her family hinders her from building other relationships, including neighbours (see paragraph 4.5.2).

“Because in my family, it’s this [snaps her fingers] and you have to jump. And I put all my energy in that, really against my will.” (R34, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

Two other long-term inhabitants of foreign origin did not have much contact with their family and found new friends who belong to other ethnic groups. One of them grew up in a Belgian family, but barely has friends of Belgian origin. Another one grew up in a Middle-Eastern family, but has no friends of Middle-Eastern origin. His group of friends is very mixed. Interviewees who rebelled actively against their family tend to end up in more culturally diverse social networks.

“My parents are also strict religious, Islamic. I was also raised like that. Until I was 16, almost 17, I rebelled. I became an apostate in their opinion.” (R29, male, 31-45, Middle-Eastern origin)

In general, the friends of the long-term residents of foreign origin are of the same origin. Although there is contact between them and people of other origins (including people of Belgian origin), the most important friends are almost always people of the same origin as is also the case for people of Belgian origin.

“Well, they are mostly German friends and my neighbours. [...] I don't have close friendships with the Flemish actually, only one neighbour.” (R47, female, 61-75, living alone, Western European origin)

Newcomers of foreign origin

The newcomers of foreign origin have the most diverse networks of ‘strong ties’. Most newcomers that we interviewed came here alone. Some moved in with their (Belgian) partner, while others did not know anybody. Although most do not have family close by, their family is still very important and they often have contact with them. Their networks are more mixed in ethnic terms. These mixed networks are established through an intimate relationship, work or language lessons. However, the best friends of the newcomers of foreign origin are mostly people of their own origin.

“Two or three times, we've had some kind of festival. And all the Tibetan people get together. There, you can see all your friends from India or people from India.” (R10, female, 18-30, living with her partner, Asian origin)

So, through cultural activities they get to know people of their own background. The church and the mosque are also important places where newcomers of foreign origin can meet people. These places can be seen as bonding places, examples are the African church, the Polish church and so on. At these places, people can create friendships with people like themselves.

4.5.2 Living together with neighbours

Daily contact

Contact with neighbours is mostly limited to greeting each other and small talk on the street. People greet their direct neighbours or smile at people who they know from the neighbourhood. A lot of interviewees describe the relationship as neighbourly or friendly, without visiting each other.

The small conversations are experienced as positive. People feel comfortable with the idea that they know their neighbours and this can also contribute to the fact that people have the idea that their neighbours can be trusted. Related to ethno-cultural diversity, people appreciate the

fact that neighbours sometimes share food, mostly in the context of religious festivals. This is an important contact moment between neighbours of different origins and is a bridging activity.

Some interviewees mention that the daily contact with their neighbours is good, but they find it difficult to have contact beyond saying 'hi'. They do not manage to transform the 'weak ties' into 'strong ties'. When residents do maintain strong ties with neighbours, it is with neighbours of the same origin and/or the same class position. R44 describes how the diversity influences the daily contact in the neighbourhood.

"When you go to a shop, it's very easy to, maybe in a superficial way, to make contact. People talk a lot easier. [...] But on the other hand, entering into closer contact and building friendships with people of different cultures is a lot harder." (R44, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Western European origin)

Several interviewees argue that the daily contact in a diverse neighbourhood differs from that in a homogeneous neighbourhood. This is mostly said by Belgian interviewees who state that the other Belgian people living in these neighbourhoods are *"open towards diversity"* (R27, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin). However, it also works the other way round. Living in a diverse neighbourhood and the contacts with different people contributes to becoming more open towards diversity.

"When you live here, you stay a bit more open. I think that is also important. Yes, that you stay in contact with different people." (R32, female, 31-45, living with her partner and child, Belgian origin)

Mutual support: borrow tools, bring food

Although a lot of people do not have close connections with their neighbours, they do experience some kind of support. Often mentioned forms of support are borrowing tools and watering the plants while the neighbours are on holidays. This first type of support is especially present in neighbourhoods where there is an inflow of young middle class families, many of whom renovate their house.

"I know that contact details and reviews of contractors are exchanged on this street, which is related to the types of houses. It is often about specific things. [...] New people moved in to this street, a bit older, who wanted to renovate the house and they immediately let us in to have a look [...] They rang the door and asked 'who did your roof?'. I say it is a mini-culture." (R15, female, 31-45, living with family, Belgian origin)

Another form of support is helping elderly people with their groceries and sharing food, for example with the Ramadan feast. Another interviewee had a relationship with a Moroccan man and she mentioned that the bonds with her Moroccan and Islamic neighbours changed after she had an Islamic boyfriend.

“Or, when I wasn’t in a relationship [with my Moroccan boyfriend] yet, I always got [...] those cookies. And, several times, I got some food, because they would find [...] some pork in it or something like that, and then they would give it to me, [...] but they don’t do that anymore. But now, I always get, well not me, my boyfriend gets meat and lamb from some people during the Sacrifice Feast.” (R13, female, 31-45, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

These small and sometimes practical forms of courtesy or support do not develop into other forms of support, like helping each other with personal matters. Most interviewees mention that they do not ask for personal support, but they think that their neighbours would help if they would, without distinguishing between ethnic, class, age or other groups.

Social control

Some people do not want to have contact with their neighbours and appreciate that they are not obliged to do so. People who chat with their neighbours appreciate the anonymity, which is mostly connected to city life.

“Here, you can be pretty anonymous. While over there [where I was born] [...] it has always been that everybody knew me and I never knew anybody [...] When you live in such a small village, it is annoying that you don’t know anybody. While here, you just don’t know anybody, it is not annoying.” (R13, female, 31-45, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

This anonymity is sometimes related with limited social control. One of the interviewees moved from a place with a lot of social control by her family-in-law, because she and her Moroccan husband did not like this. In the present neighbourhood there is still some social control, but there is a clear difference, because they are not part of the Moroccan community in their new neighbourhood. Therefore, they do not have to care tremendously about what people think of them.

“For example, there are a lot of Moroccan families living near us... Yes, it is a group actually. I don’t say that everyone knows everyone, but most go to school here and they are often on the street together. And then, people look at how you live. Yes, like such control. I just find that negative.” (R23, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, South-American origin)

One other interviewee also mentions this form of social control among the Islamic Moroccan community. She is concerned about this.

“Or for example, a girl who doesn’t want to wear a headscarf, must accept a lot of criticism and comments. And the sad thing is that they leave the neighbourhood. Precisely because they want to escape the social control. As a result, that pattern will continue, because everybody who is different leaves.” (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

This form of social control, where people cannot behave in the way they want to, is seen as negative and is connected with the dominance of one ethnic group. It may be the result of the contradiction between the liberties allowed by the host society and the obligations coming from the norms of a migrant community. We did not find this form of social control among Belgian residents. However, as R13 mentioned, she appreciates the city because she does not like the social control within the village where she was born, which was almost entirely populated by people of Belgian origin.

A milder form of social control is experienced as positive, people of different socio-economic and ethnic background refer to a village mentality where you watch out for each other's houses and know who is living next to you without interfering in each other's lives. Interviewees themselves describe this as a positive form of social control, which is experienced between members of different social groups, while the strict social control is only experienced within groups.

“It is that kind of neighbourhood, everyone knows everyone. So there is a positive kind of social control. [...] When someone doesn't open their curtains for three days, people start to knock on the door to check if everything is ok.” (R4, male, 46-60, Belgian origin)

Street parties, some groups hardly participate

One way to improve the social cohesion are the street activities, supported by the municipal service Opsinjoren, like a barbeque, drinks, or playing on the street. Several interviewees live on a street with Opsinjoren activities and are very positive about it. Through Opsinjoren, neighbours have more contact and it helps them to get to know each other better. Although everyone is positive about this initiative, there is one difficulty, namely that Moroccan and Turkish people hardly participate. Neighbours often link the non-participation to the Islamic faith of Moroccan and Turkish people. Therefore, a lot of streets offer halal food and sometimes separate alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks. But even then, the participation of Moroccan people is very limited. The people who organise these events are mostly people of Belgian origin. Some of the interviewees are frustrated and it bothers them that some groups do not participate (see also De Coster, 2015). In this way, the differences between groups become more visible in these activities.

“But when there is a party, regrettably... There is a Russian on the street, we have Bolivians – you name it. They all participate, except for the Turkish and Moroccans. But what we have is, when it's 'Neighbours Day' for example, they also don't come. But, they come with a tray, with mint tea, and glasses and so on. They bring something, but they do not stay.” (R2, female, 61-75, Belgian origin)

However, participation is defined in different ways. Bringing tea, without sitting outside is by some organisers seen as 'not participating' (like R2 said), while others experience this as 'participating in their own way'. Because a lot of interviewees mention this difficulty, the danger

of these Opsinjoren activities is that people become more aware of the differences between groups instead of overcoming differences. These differences remain less visible when people do not organise activities with their neighbours.

Another way of dealing with the non-participation is to accept it. R44 for example wonders whether it is problematic that her Moroccan neighbours do not participate at the New Year's drinks, while they are very active during other activities, such as the flea market.

"We invite them to our New Year's drinks and also to feasts during that period and they don't come. [...] Then we on the street started thinking, maybe we have to start a conversation about that, about why that happens... But on the other hand, we think, yes maybe, [...] it's also okay like this, that everybody [does] their own thing. The fact that they participate in the flea market; we think that maybe they [...] like that and okay, [...] (silence) that we don't have to see each other at all activities and that everybody can have their own thing for themselves. These are difficult themes, hey?" (R44, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Western European origin)

We did not interview residents who lived on a street with Opsinjoren activities and never participated. However, we spoke to three residents who knew why others do not participate, apart from a lack of time. First, people do not participate, because of peer pressure and cultural differences. R30 describes that her Moroccan neighbour attended a street festivity once, but refused to stay when she asked her to join the next activity.

"She said, 'you have no idea how many months we have had to hear that, both my husband and I. That we were just sitting on the street'. So people asked her husband why his wife was sitting on the street at a table with other men and where alcohol was served. Most remarkable of all, these people drink alcohol themselves, occasionally, red wine in a coke glass so that nobody can see. But would they allow their wives to do so? No. That would be unbearable for them. And that is why I say that I find that problematic and that they place themselves outside our society through this." (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

R30 believes this behaviour is caused by the fact that people in her street are starting to adopt a more conservative interpretation of Islam, and is worried about this. According to her, this was initiated by a mosque. One of the reasons that people do not participate could be peer pressure and a strict interpretation of Islam. However, one of the Moroccan Islamic interviewees argues that it has more to do with culture than religion, as will be demonstrated below.

Second, people do not participate because they do not feel comfortable. They do not know anybody, do not speak the language and are not used to these kinds of street parties. One of the interviewees experiences this with her husband, who is neither from Belgian nor Moroccan origin.

“Yes, it is also related to the Dutch language. He comes when his friend who lives some houses further down the road, also a French speaking African, comes as well. Or when I say, ‘well come on, don’t you come for a chat?’ Than he comes, but he still feels a bit excluded... or he finds it perhaps a bit weird to come outside for something that is organised...” (R33, female, 46-60, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

This can be seen as a cultural difference. R33 says that her husband finds it weird to come outside on the street, because he is not used to this. R34 of Moroccan origin mentions the same.

“The street festivity – that is something. In Morocco, it would not be organised. And even if it would be organised, then it would only attract men and teenagers. Children, guys, teenagers and men.” (R34, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, North African origin)

The third reason mentioned why people do not participate is that they are too busy with family matters. R34 is of Moroccan origin and she does not want to participate in the neighbourhood activities and explains that this is partly because she has to take care of her family, and she does not want to be obliged to do things in the neighbourhood. So, it has nothing to do with halal food, alcohol being served or the fact that men and women are sitting at the same table, but to the fact that she (and with a lot of people of Moroccan origin) are expected to do a lot for their family. Therefore, when she is home, she does not want to invest in neighbourhood relations, as she already has to invest a lot of time in family relations.

4.5.3 Conclusions

Friendly relations among inhabitants living in a diverse neighbourhood in Antwerp are rather homogeneous. Friends mostly have the same ethnic background and class position. People who were raised in a diverse neighbourhood also have a homogeneous network. Despite these homogeneous social networks, the relationships with neighbours of different ethnic backgrounds and class positions are mostly good. People appreciate the small talk on the street and the mutual support. However, some residents would like to establish ‘strong ties’ with their neighbours and mention that it is harder to create these with neighbours who are different and that it is easiest to maintain strong ties with similar neighbours.

With regard to social control, most people appreciate some social protection, where there is mutual support and where they know who is living next to them. This form of social control is also present in diverse streets and takes place across group boundaries. Some residents, however, experience negative social control. This can take place when there is one dominant ethnic-cultural group in the street. We have only heard about negative social control within a group. A strong group formation is therefore not always positive, because it creates the power to exclude people who are different (see Elias and Scotson, 2008/1965). Group boundaries were sometimes brightened by Opsinjoeren activities. Although, there are several groups who do not participate in these activities, non-participation is linked to being Muslim, according to the organisers.

To conclude, the respondents engage in loose and ‘light’ contact with their neighbours and maintain good neighbour relationships (van Eijk 2012). However, strong ties between neighbours almost only exist between people with the same class position and/or ethnic background.

4.6 SOCIAL MOBILITY

This section focuses on the question to which extent people think that the neighbourhood influences their and their children’s social mobility. Some interviewees argue that social control weakens opportunities for social mobility. We, however, did not find any evidence that the reputation of the neighbourhood hinders people’s in their social mobility, for example in finding a job (cfr. Wacquant, 2008).

The second paragraph addresses the question about whether growing up in a diverse neighbourhood negatively impacts the outcomes and life chances of children. This is where neighbourhood effects become clearer. We give specific attention to parental school choices. Earlier research has shown that schools in mixed neighbourhoods are not always representative of the neighbourhood population. This is because people of higher social classes often view the neighbourhood school as a ‘bad’ school of low quality (Butler 2003). Our results show that this view is prevalent among the higher social classes, but also among diverse social and ethnic groups.

4.6.1 Neighbourhood effects on interviewees’ social mobility

Actual social mobility

During the interviews we asked residents about their current and former job to gain a better understanding of their actual social mobility and the influence of the neighbourhood on this. None of the interviewees themselves mentioned that the neighbourhood influences their actual social mobility or that they found their job with help from neighbours. They also did not experience problems finding a job or getting a mortgage due to the bad reputation of the neighbourhood. On the contrary, interviewees feel that the central location of their dwelling helps them finding work as they are well connected to public transport.

However, one interviewee mentions that living in a diverse neighbourhood can contribute to the social mobility of women of foreign origin. In most of the Moroccan families she knows, the male is the only working person in the household and the wife is expected to take care of the children. While some women agree with this, others would like to work themselves. For this latter group, living in a diverse neighbourhood has an important advantage.

“If the woman works, it is secretly. They sometimes come and ask: ‘Do you know anyone looking for a cleaner? But you’re not allowed to tell other Moroccans that I’m looking for a job.’” (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

Because of the strong social control within the community, R30 is not allowed to tell others if someone is looking for a job. On the one hand, living in such a neighbourhood with strict social control hinders these women and their social mobility. On the other hand, because of the diversity in the neighbourhood and the presence of people who are not part of the Moroccan community, these women are able to improve their situation. They can ask neighbours of other origins about job opportunities and by working in an informal economy, they are able to work while it remains invisible to the Moroccan community.

One other interviewee also referred to the strong sense of community within the Moroccan community, which can hold people back from taking initiatives and building diverse networks. R51 explains that he climbed the social ladder but believes that a lot of other people of North African origin do not do that. Hence, he succeeded in improving his position despite living in a neighbourhood that did not help improve his social mobility.

“I was able to approach society differently. Because those people, I think they always stay, like within their structure, their mode of life... [...] Yes, I think these people actually... they are okay with it and do not want to change it. Could also perhaps be a lack of ambition... Because people my age for example, are, mostly married. Most are already married, with children. And they still live in the same neighbourhood as their parents. And yes, do the same job as their parents.” (R51, male, 18-30, living with his parents, North African origin)

So, the neighbourhood only indirectly influences social mobility through local social networks that shape ambitions and expectations in life. As R51 explains, it is the combination of the strong sense of community and living together in the same neighbourhood that contributes to low aspirations and people's lack of motivation to improve their social position.

Perceived influence on social mobility

To get a better understanding of the perceived influence of the neighbourhood on social mobility, we asked interviewees to which extent living in the neighbourhood helps or hinders them from taking advantages in life. In general, most interviewees do not perceive any influence of the neighbourhood on their social mobility. One interviewee was an exception and said that living in this neighbourhood had a bad influence on his health and that this may affect his social mobility.

“It's going to destroy me one day. [...] For me, it is not good in all aspects. For my health, my mental health, physical. I think that here, every wise, balanced person in this neighbourhood, will become crazy, crazy. [...] It is the bustle, the violence, and the pollution. [...] When you go to a rich white neighbourhood, the streets are clean. [...] It is for two reasons. It is well-maintained because the bourgeoisie live there. And the bourgeoisie don't pollute it.” (R29, male, 31-45, living alone, Middle Eastern origin)

People who say that their neighbourhood helps improve their social mobility often refer to the idea that living in a diverse neighbourhood makes people more open and tolerant. This is seen as an advantage, because the world is becoming more diverse. Residents of diverse neighbourhoods learn how to deal with cultural differences and are more open, while people living in the countryside often fear diversity.

“I worked for a long time in [a village]. It was different there. Everyone had his own farm or posh house. You would use the car to go to the bakery and that seemed or felt safer and neater. Yes, they found it adventurous coming here. [...] You don’t understand a lot [of the languages] or you are confronted with different backgrounds.” (R44, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Western European origin)

4.6.2 Raising children in a diverse neighbourhood

When asked about the impact of the neighbourhood on the social mobility chances of their children, interviewees perceived more effects. Although they expect their children to benefit from diversity in the neighbourhood, many interviewees voiced their doubts and concerns about whether or not diversity at school is beneficial for their children. Some interviewees were also worried about the impact of the presence of crime on their children.

As mentioned in the previous section, interviewees argue that living in a diverse neighbourhood keeps them open-minded and teaches them how to deal with different cultures. This argument is also used for children. Interviewees found this important, because ‘diversity is reality’.

“I think that they [my children] will be better off in society, which will be much more diverse. [...] Diversity is a given, for them. [...] Learning how to deal with differences and also learning how to overcome these differences. The children also become – yes, how do you say it – streetwise.” (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

Living in the city, however, is not always positive for raising children because of the presence of crime. Children may be confronted with criminality and people do not want their children to think that this is normal. Interviewees, however, do not connect this with diversity, but with city life.

A very important aspect mentioned in many interviews is the difficulty of finding a good school. Diversity is seen as an important criterion. People seem to have a specific idea about how much diversity a ‘good’ school should have. The ‘perfect’ mix seems to be 50% children of Belgian origin and 50% children of other origins. Moreover, a school with (almost) only children of Belgian origin is less problematised than a school with (almost) only people of foreign origin.

“I am going to change schools. [...] because it is too diverse. Too many Muslim children (sigh). And we are surprised ourselves because we chose that school to contribute to the diversity of the

school. But we thought our daughter would be with more white children in the class, but there are only two [white children] and 20 to 25 children who do not speak Dutch. [...] We were really shocked about the class, the group, the children who don't go to childcare, do not speak Dutch and are still wearing diapers. It is a totally different way of raising children. [...] We are really disappointed, but we are afraid that if we keep her there it will influence her development.” (R44, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Western European origin)

R44 also mentions the views of other parents of white children, mostly of Belgian origin. Her first comment is that the school is too diverse, but then also mentions a lack of diversity; the majority are non-white Muslim children. Parents feel uncomfortable if their child is the only white student in the class and therefore avoid choosing a ‘concentration’ school for their child because they don’t want them “*to feel like a foreigner in their own country*”. (R27, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

Another reason why many parents prefer a school with Belgian children is that they are afraid that the level of education is inferior in concentration schools due to the number of children that do not speak the Dutch language. Some parents succeed in finding a mixed school and white parents generally choose pre-dominantly white schools. These parents often say that they are disappointed that the school is predominantly white, but that they chose the school because of its method of teaching.

The idea that concentration schools are bad schools does not only circulate amongst white, higher- or middle class parents. Most people of other origins also prefer a mixed school or even a predominantly white school over a concentration school, also using the ‘quality of education’ argument. R23 explains why she prefers a school outside the neighbourhood.

“A lot of people ask me why I take my children all the way to Deurne Zuid [to go to school] [...] Here [in Deurne-Noord] it is not really mixed anymore. In Deurne-Noord it is really like... they used to call them 100% schools [with almost only people of foreign origin] [...] In Deurne Zuid, there is still a mix [with Belgian children and children of foreign origin].” (R23, female, 31-35, living with her partner and children, South-American origin)

Some interviewees talk about difficulties at schools with predominantly children of foreign origin. One of the interviewees wanted to contribute to diversity in schools and started a project to encourage parents of Belgian origin to enrol their children in concentration schools, so that their child is not ‘the only white kid in the class’. She enrolled her own children in a concentration school.

“She [my daughter] has a very good friend at the moment, a Moroccan girl, from a very nice family. [...] But with my son, for example, there are five children of Belgian origin in his class, and that makes it much easier. [...] On the first day of school, he was very unhappy. He came home and said that his best friend of the past few years said to him ‘you can’t be my friend

anymore because you are not Muslim.’ I discussed it with the mother and they talked about it at school. So, it is no longer a big deal... This is the first year that he is mostly drawn to the Belgian children. [...] We never questioned whether we made the right decision to do so [to send children to a concentration school] but it is not always the easiest choice, I am absolutely convinced about that.” (R30, female, 31-45, living with her partner and children, Belgian origin)

Friendships between different ethnic or religious groups are not common, also not amongst children. R30 expressed this and another interviewee also talked about how children can be very conscious of ethnic differences and draw boundaries between groups.

“My child is often beaten up. We contacted the parents two to three times because four or five Moroccans grabbed him and pushed him to the ground. My small child was on the ground and they kept pushing him more and more. They wouldn’t stop. Then, my little child comes home and tells me ‘Yes, they beat me because I am a Kosovar.” (R38, female, 18-30, living with her partner and children, South-Eastern European origin).

As mentioned before, most parents of foreign origin prefer not to send their children to a concentration school. However, not all concentration schools allow children to wear a headscarf. One parent was therefore forced to change schools and feels bitter about the restrictive approach to diversity at her daughter’s school.

“My daughter says ‘I want to wear a headscarf’. I was like, do whatever you want, if that makes you happy, do it. On the very first day [...] my husband got a phone call ‘what’s wrong, is your wife doing well?’ What did they think? [Name interviewee] died’, that could be ‘and so [name daughter] has to wear a headscarf now, because of her religion’. We thought she is just experimenting. ‘Last year, she went to school with a Spanish dress on but that was okay for you’ [...] I don’t like hypocritical diversity. Such as, look, ‘this is diversity, but when you don’t fit in, you are not welcome anymore.’ [...] And the IQRA school was not on my list at all. [...] A friend said, as a joke, the IQRA school is open. Your daughter can wear a headscarf over there. [...] [My daughter] said, ‘mum, you can register me there.’ [...] And [now my daughter is at that school] she comes home with ideas sometimes that shock me. [...] I have to give it a chance. It could be that I remove my daughter when I think like, ooh, too conservative.” (R34, female, 31-45, living with her partner and child, North African origin)

Because her daughter wanted to wear a headscarf, she was forced to move from a mixed school to a school with almost 100% Muslim children. She feels that not all expressions of diversity are accepted and is concerned that her daughter will be influenced by conservative Islamic ideas that may limit her social mobility.

4.6.3 Conclusions

Living in a diverse environment can contribute to social mobility by broadening your horizons and helping you to become more open-minded. Maintaining a certain level of tolerance and

open-mindedness is seen as an individual commitment. Although it may require some effort to live in a diverse social environment, contact with a diverse set of people is seen as necessary to move upwards. However, the neighbourhood can also have a negative effect on social mobility. Social networks within the neighbourhood can shape ambitions and expectations in life. This may result in people lacking motivation to improve their social position.

When asked about the impact of the neighbourhood on the social mobility chances of their children, interviewees perceived more direct effects. For the social mobility of children, diversity can also help to broaden their views, but at school, most people agree that Belgian children should be part of the diversity. When there are almost no Belgian children at school, people of Belgian and foreign origins believe the school is of bad quality. People who send their child(ren) to schools where the majority of children are of foreign origin say that children create group boundaries based on ethnicity or religion. Hence, being confronted with diversity from a young age is not enough to become open-minded. Interviewees say it is important that children learn how to deal with diversity but they also mention real-life, negative experiences with diversity.

4.7 PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

In this section, we first describe what residents know about public policies. In 2013, the Flemish nationalist party N-VA, came into power in Antwerp. This was a historical event as it was the first time in decades that the municipal government was not led by social-democrats, as we explained in chapter 3. To what extent do interviewees refer to this change and do they consider diversity an issue? We will also refer to the question to which extent people are aware of the governance initiatives we studied in the previous phase of this research project (see Saeys *et al.*, 2014). Second, we describe what people want for their neighbourhood. Do different groups want different things?

4.7.1 Perception and evaluation of existing policies and initiatives: what do residents know?
Most interviewees are not familiar with the policies for and in their neighbourhood. Some are aware of the city's policies, but their knowledge is mostly limited to perceptions of the current city council and mayor. People who are positive about diversity, are in general, negative about the current mayor. Some interviewees also refer to the fact that the mayor immediately removed the municipal slogan 'The city belongs to everyone'. They have fears that the current municipal government draws rigid boundaries between groups.

"I'm afraid that they are going for polarisation in intercultural relations." (R15, female, 31-45, living with her sister, Belgian origin)

If people are aware of policies in the neighbourhood, they mostly refer to two things. First, changes in the infrastructure, such as the construction of Park Spoor Noord and other public spaces; and second, the 'war on drugs'.

With regard to the creation of public places, most people refer to the previous social-democratic mayor and some of them believe that the current mayor has done nothing to improve public spaces. Another interviewee had the feeling that this is in generally how things work in Belgium regarding planning: 'there is a lot of discussion, but nothing happens'.

"They wanted to build a park here, but the park still isn't here and the plans have already been put aside. They wanted to make a low-traffic street, here around the square, but that also didn't happen. [...] Always, there are things... that they want to improve. But it doesn't happen." (R6, female, 31-45, living alone, Western European origin)

Second, people refer to the 'war on drugs', the repressive policy of the municipality to reduce drug use and dealing. Some argue that the previous mayor started this, while others associate this repressive policy with the current mayor. Mostly, people who have directly experienced problems with drugs in their neighbourhood are positive about this policy.

*"R1: But he [the previous mayor] started cleaning it up. [...] It was just terrible. They were standing here on the street corner clearly intoxicated by drugs, dealing and...
R2: there were needles and silver paper everywhere"*. (R26, couple, 46-60, Western European origin)

Aside from the city's policies, we also asked interviewees about several governance initiatives. Almost all interviewees were familiar with the initiative 'Opsinjoren', and people started talking about it even before the topic came up in the interview. Sometimes people describe certain activities, but are not aware that these are connected with Opsinjoren. The main criticism regarding this initiative is that not all ethnic groups participate. The head of department at Opsinjoren is also aware of this criticism and the organisations try to attract a more diverse group of people (Saeys *et al.* 2014). However, there is an important difference in views regarding why some groups do not participate. Whilst most residents connect this non-participation with ethno-religious factors, the department of Opsinjoren use socio-economic status as an explanation (Saeys *et al.* 2014). The reasons why people do not participate have important implications for the changes that are necessary to include all neighbours. For example, if people do not participate in a street barbeque because they do not have enough money, it is important to keep the costs low, whereas if people do not participate because of their religion, you should make sure there is food available that people of different religions can eat. This discrepancy can be problematic when the department offers solutions which focus on the idea that people do not participate because of their social status, when in reality, it has to do with religion. The communication between Opsinjoren and the neighbours who organise the festivities is therefore very important if they want to succeed in including all residents.

The other initiative that almost everyone knows about is the street festival, BorgerRio. People are very positive about this initiative because it is very successful in bringing all kinds

of different groups together. During the festival, everyone is out on the streets and people experience the festival as very diverse.

Other initiatives that are often recognised are the language activities, especially Taal*ooR, although people confuse different language activities. Residents find these kinds of initiatives very important; either because they want to learn the Dutch language or because they believe it is important that others learn the language. However, it is not easy to organise these activities. One interviewee mentioned the vast range in terms of the participants' Dutch language proficiencies. One of the project coordinators also emphasises this problem and says that she tries to overcome it by creating multiple groups for the different levels of language proficiency (Saeys *et al.* 2014). However, this does not solve the problem, as within each group, there remains a huge range in terms of language proficiency among participants. Another problem the project faces is the lack of volunteers (Saeys *et al.* 2014). One of the interviewees was asked to volunteer as project moderator. She declined, because in her opinion, professionals should be performing such roles.

*“Taal*ooR, they asked me to do that. [...] to moderate a women’s group, who know nothing [about the Dutch language] and then start a conversation. I think that is something for professionals. [...] I found myself not qualified to do it.”* (R18, female, 61-75, living with her partner, Belgian origin)

Hence, it is not easy to find volunteers who are and feel capable of volunteering for such a project. To overcome this problem, the organisation offers schooling opportunities for the volunteers who moderate the sessions. The final problem of this initiative was mentioned by a girl who wanted to practice her language skills, but was not aware of the existence of initiatives such as Taal*ooR. The interviewees did not mention the other initiatives we studied earlier (see Saeys *et al.*, 2014).

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

In general, interviewees do not refer to diversity when asked about policy priorities, with the exception of those who say that the inflow of immigrants needs to be stopped. These views are generally held by interviewees who are negative about the number of people of foreign origin living in their neighbourhood.

“Yes, the inflow of newcomers, actually it has to stop. (silence) It is also not possible to put more people in a room than the amount of square meter that is available.” (R29, male, 31-45, living alone, Middle Eastern origin)

However, most residents just want a clean, green and quiet neighbourhood to live in. Road safety is an important policy priority mentioned by people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, because they are worried about their own safety or the safety of their children. The current city council is viewed as a council that gives priority to cars rather than cyclists.

“It’s a big street. But there is no bike path at all. And sometimes if I go by bike, I really need to be careful.” (R10, female, 18-30, living with her partner, Asian origin)

One of the interviewees is an active member of the movement ‘trage zondag’, meaning ‘slow Sunday’, which is committed to road safety. She knows that almost all her neighbours are concerned about this. However, she also has the idea that the white middle class is more willing to do something concerning this problem than other groups. She experienced this when she helped to organise a demonstration.

“And then they said, ‘yes, we are really going to participate and we are also going to tell our family to do so, because it is indeed terrible on our street’. But when the time comes, yes, it is again the people of Belgian origin who are there. [...] Because even then the poorer Belgians in the area of the Stuivenbergplein, [they are also like], ‘wow, great, we are really annoyed and it is not safe to let our children go to the park’. So, they share that opinion, but they are not there’ [at the demonstration].” (R36, female, 31-45, Belgian origin)

So, although road safety is important for the whole neighbourhood, the people who campaign actively against it are, according to the active interviewees, mostly white middle class people.

4.7.3 Conclusions

Most interviewees are not aware of the city’s policies for, and in the neighbourhood. Policies that they do know about are mostly decisions that affect them directly or that are known as key priorities of the city council, like the ‘war on drugs’. A lot of interviewees have an opinion about the current municipal council, but they do not know exactly what the city council does for their neighbourhood. Residents know a little more about the policies for the city, but the knowledge remains very vague and generic. Some initiatives, however, are well known and people underline the importance of initiatives like Opsinjoren and BorgerRio. Opsinjoren is well known because almost all interviewees know someone who lives on a street with Opsinjoren activities, or they themselves live on a street with these activities. BorgerRio is a big street festival that takes place each year with a lot of media attention and therefore this is also well known.

Themes that should become policy priorities according to interviewees are road safety and the lack of green space. Talking about policy priorities, residents mostly refer to nuisance or problems which they experience (almost) daily. Different themes are addressed by different groups and do not depend on ethnicity, class, age or any other category. However, the people who actively mobilise to influence urban policies around these themes mostly belong to the white middle class.

4.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we showed how residents of hyper-diverse neighbourhoods experience living in hyper-diversity. Contrary to the dominant view in existing literature, diversity is not an important motive for gentrifiers in moving to their current neighbourhood. Also, other residents of Belgian origin do not mention diversity as a primary motive to move there. Low housing prices and location are much more important. Most people of foreign origin, however, do find it important to not live in a homogeneous white neighbourhood, as they do not want to stand out. At the same time, this group is more critical about the concentration of foreigners in their neighbourhood because it hinders them for example in practicing their language skills.

Residents of Belgian origin are in general positive about diversity, but many of them live in rather homogeneous Belgian parts of the neighbourhood and can choose when or whether they want to be confronted with diversity. The diversity of shops is seen as a nice contribution of the presence of people of foreign origin. In this sense, diversity is 'consumed' by many residents. Most long-term residents we interviewed had difficulties with the inflow of migrants in the beginning, but got used to it in the meantime.

Although most interviewees want to have contact with people of different ethnic origins or class backgrounds, places like cafes and restaurants are divided along these lines, with the exception of public places. However, within the parks, some people still experience segregation among class and ethnic lines and contact between the different groups in public space is rather limited.

In general, people experience a divide along class and ethnic lines in the social life of the neighbourhood. Relationships among neighbours from all different backgrounds are generally good. However, 'strong ties' with neighbours almost only exist between people of the same ethnic origin and/or class position. Hence, social cohesion in diverse neighbourhoods is in general good, but strong ties exist mostly between similar people. These strong ties can be perceived as negative when it leads to strict social control.

Contrary to the negative idea that diversity weakens social cohesion in the neighbourhood, we argue that the character of the social cohesion within a diverse neighbourhood is different. Social cohesion in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods is based on 'weak ties' rather than on strong ties. Instead of problematising the lack of strong ties, it might be better to focus on the opportunities these weak ties offer to the creation of inclusive communities.

The perceived effects of living in a diverse neighbourhood on social mobility are rather limited. However, strong social control within the neighbourhood can hinder social mobility. The presence of other groups can then be important to get the opportunity to improve the social position. In order to escape social control, people may ask neighbours of other origins for job opportunities within an informal economy that is not known to people of their origin, so that they are able to work secretly. Living in diversity can also contribute to becoming open-minded

and to learning how to deal with cultural differences. This diversity is for example seen to be important in schools. Children will learn how to deal with diversity, but it is important that Belgian children are part of the diversity. Parents (of Belgian and foreign origin) are concerned about the quality of the school when a school (almost) only consists of children of foreign origin and non-Dutch language backgrounds. They are afraid that it will negatively affect the social mobility of their children. In this sense, living in a diverse neighbourhood can have a (perceived) negative effect on social mobility.

When talking about the city's policies, most interviewees did not refer to diversity. In general, they are not aware of the city's policies for and in the neighbourhood. Some initiatives, however, are well known and people underline the importance of initiatives like Opsinoren and BorgerRio.

5 ENTREPRENEURS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we focus on entrepreneurs in deprived and diverse neighbourhoods in the city of Antwerp and the conditions that support and sustain their economic performance and development. We aim to demonstrate the relationships between urban diversity and the performance of entrepreneurs.

The city of Antwerp is an important economic centre in Belgium. The number of firms located in Antwerp is currently estimated to be 94,257, of which 54% are in the service sector, about 14% in the secondary or industrial sector and another 10% in the quaternary or non-commercial sector³⁸. Most of the firms in Antwerp are active in wholesale, retail and repair of motor vehicles (22.9%), intellectual, scientific and technical activities (9.6%), industry (8.7%), hotels, restaurants and catering (6.1%) and construction (4.9%)³⁹. Creative enterprises⁴⁰ constitute 9.5% of the firms in Antwerp. While these are the general numbers for the city of Antwerp, we will focus in this chapter on the deprived, dynamic and diverse neighbourhoods Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout Intramuros.

Our case study area does not constitute the economic heart of the city. While there are 19,068 and 18,348 firms in respectively Antwerpen-Centrum and Antwerpen-Zuid, there are only 7,658 firms located in Antwerpen-Noord, 3,503 firms in Borgerhout Intramuros and 1,838 firms in Deurne-Noord⁴¹. With regards to the economic sectors in which the firms in our case study area are active, we can observe more or less the same distribution as that of the city of Antwerp in general. In the case study area, most of the firms are active in the service sector (51.2%), followed by the secondary sector (15%) and the quaternary sector (9.7%)⁴². Similar to the findings for the city of Antwerp in general, most of the firms in the case study area are active in wholesale, retail and car repair shops (23.8%). In the case study area, the proportion of firms active in the restaurants and catering sector (9.1%) is slightly higher than in the city of Antwerp in general. The proportion of firms in the secondary sector (8.7%) is the same in the case study area as in the city of Antwerp in general. While we can observe that the proportion of intellectual, scientific and technical activities (6.6%) is lower in the case study area than in the city of Antwerp in general, the proportion of construction firms (5.9%) is slightly higher in the case study area. The mean proportion of creative enterprises in the case study area (9.2%) is the same as the proportion in the city of Antwerp in general. Nevertheless, there are important differences between the neighbourhoods. While the proportion of creative enterprises is low in Antwerpen-Noord (8.4%) and the more residential Deurne-Noord (5.2%), the lively and diverse Borgerhout Intramuros hosts a remarkably high proportion of creative enterprises (13%).

Compared to the rest of Antwerp, our case study area is socio-economically deprived. In 2012, the average income in the case study area was € 14,408 per year, much lower than the € 19,089 per year in Antwerp in general. With an average income of € 13,403 per year, Antwerpen-Noord is the poorest neighbourhood in the city. While the unemployment pressure⁴³ in the city of Antwerp in general is 11.3%, the unemployment pressure in the case study area is as high as 16.7%. Antwerpen-Noord has the highest unemployment pressure (18.7%), followed by Borgerhout Intramuros (15.7%) and Deurne-Noord (13.3%). As we have seen before, Antwerp is a diverse city hosting 166 different nationalities in 2015. In the city of Antwerp, the unemployment pressure for people of foreign origin (15.9%) is more than twice that of natives (7.5%). For certain ethnic minorities like Northern Africans and Western Asians, amongst which Turks, the unemployment pressure is higher (18.1%) than for other minorities like Eastern Europeans (11.9%).

With regards to self-employment, about 12% of the economically active population in our case-study is self-employed, which is less than the 15% self-employed in the city of Antwerp in general. On the national level, 11.6% of the native Belgian economically active population is self-employed, while only 6% of first and second-generation migrants of non-EU origin are self-employed (Djait, 2015, p. 7). Although there are less entrepreneurs of non-EU origin on the national level, our case study area has a much higher concentration of entrepreneurs of non-EU origin. In the case study area, less than half of the entrepreneurs are of Belgian origin (45.9%), while 18% of the entrepreneurs are of Maghrebi and Middle Eastern origin, 13.4% of other non-EU origin, 11.3% of Eastern-European origin, 9.3% of North Western European origin and 2.3% of Southern European origin. In the city of Antwerp in general, 64.6% of the entrepreneurs are of Belgian origin, while 9.5% are of Maghrebi and Middle Eastern origin, 9% of other non-EU origin, 9% of North Western European origin, 6.2% of Eastern European origin and 1.7% of Southern European origin. Among the Turkish in Antwerp there is a higher number of self-employed (18.9%) than the Belgian average, whereas for Moroccans there is a lower level of self-employment (7.2%) than Belgian average⁴⁴. In the city of Antwerp, 69% of the entrepreneurs are male, and 31% are female. This gender imbalance is even more pronounced in the case study area where 73.7 % of the entrepreneurs are male and only 26.3% are female.

In the following sections, we will first briefly discuss our methodology and selection of respondents. Consequently, we will look at the characteristics of entrepreneurs who started their businesses in diversified neighbourhoods. It may be expected that factors such as ethnic background, age, gender, education and previous work experience are important determinants for entrepreneurs starting up their businesses. After discussing the existing literature, we look at the reasons why entrepreneurs start a business in a diverse neighbourhood. Furthermore, we will explore the economic performance of the enterprises and assess whether neighbourhood diversity is important for their businesses. In the final section, we will evaluate the institutional support and government policies towards entrepreneurs at different levels.

5.2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter is based on semi-structured interviews with 42 entrepreneurs conducted between July and December 2015 in selected neighbourhoods of Antwerp. In this paragraph, we explain how we selected our interviewees. In the first place, we focused on entrepreneurs who had their businesses in the most deprived and diverse neighbourhoods in Antwerp. Most of the interviews took place in the neighbourhoods Antwerpen-Noord (20 interviews) and Borgerhout Intramuros (20 interviews), as these neighbourhoods are among the poorest in Antwerp and have high numbers of entrepreneurs of diverse origins. Borgerhout and Antwerpen-Noord are also of special interest because of the presence of some important cultural and creative enterprises. Outside these neighbourhoods, we also conducted an interview with an entrepreneur who had moved his business from Antwerpen-Noord to Deurne-Noord and a consultant in Kiel who worked with entrepreneurs in the case study area. We did not conduct more interviews in Deurne-Noord as this is mainly a residential area. Besides interviews with entrepreneurs, we interviewed two civil servants from the department Work & Economy of the City of Antwerp in order to have a general view on the economic development of the neighbourhoods. To gain access to the entrepreneurs, we visited shops in the neighbourhoods and asked if we could interview the owner of the business. We found some entrepreneurs online through their webpages. We focused this research on ethnic, highly skilled and creative entrepreneurs, for reasons that are explained in the next chapter. The groups we missed are those involved in informal economic activities, home-based and part-time entrepreneurs. In the following section, we will discuss in more detail the demographic characteristics of the entrepreneurs interviewed and their businesses.

5.3 THE ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR BUSINESSES

5.3.1 Characteristics of entrepreneurs

In this section, we will highlight the main characteristics of the entrepreneurs interviewed by taking into account their ethnic origin, gender, age and their education, former jobs and previous experiences before they became entrepreneurs. Given the importance of ethnic diversity in our case study area, we focus first and foremost on what can be called 'ethnic entrepreneurs'. While the term 'ethnic entrepreneurs' is used to refer to people sharing a common ethnic background or migration experience (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 1990), others argue that ethnic entrepreneurship should be defined by the levels of personal involvement of the entrepreneur in the ethnic community instead of the entrepreneur's reported ethnic grouping (Chaganti & Greene, 2002). Although we agree that ethnicity should not be seen as an essential feature of entrepreneurs, we will use the term 'ethnic entrepreneurs' for pragmatic reasons in order to refer not only to first-generation immigrants but also to the second-generation. In total, we interviewed 34 entrepreneurs of immigrant origin, of which 13 entrepreneurs were of Moroccan origin, six entrepreneurs of Turkish origin, four of Chinese/Tibetan origin, four of Nigerian origin, two of Polish origin and the rest from various countries

like Pakistan, Iraq and Libya. Among the entrepreneurs of foreign origin, 18 were first-generation immigrants while 16 were of the second-generation. Almost all of the immigrants we interviewed have lived for more than five years in Belgium. Besides one refugee who came from Iraq four years ago, none of the entrepreneurs in our sample were newcomers.

In order to have a balanced sample of male and female entrepreneurs, we interviewed 17 female entrepreneurs, of which 13 had an ethnic minority background, most of them engaged in conventional sectors like retail, bars and restaurants. Besides ethnicity and gender, another demographic variable is the age of the entrepreneurs. The average age of the entrepreneurs we interviewed was 47, with the youngest entrepreneur being 24, and the oldest 64 years old. The age differences often also reflect differences in work experience.

Besides the demographic characteristics of the entrepreneurs, we also took into account the characteristics of the businesses. While most ethnic entrepreneurs work in low-end sectors like retail, pubs and restaurants, we also looked at creative and highly skilled entrepreneurs (with or without a migration background) who are believed to play an important role in the regeneration of deprived and diverse areas according to Florida (2004). Aside from creative and cultural enterprises, we also focused on highly skilled entrepreneurs active in intellectual and liberal professions such as lawyers and medical doctors. In Florida's view, those working in knowledge-based sectors like health care and the legal sector are also part of the 'creative class'. Rather than seeing health care professionals and lawyers as part of the 'creative class', however, we use the distinct category of intellectual and liberal professions in order to underline the role of education in social mobility in deprived neighbourhoods.

With regard to the entrepreneurs' work history, we observed that the majority of our respondents had previously worked as employees before becoming self-employed. Few respondents in our sample mentioned that they were unemployed before starting a business. Only one entrepreneur was on social welfare before he started a night-shop. In our sample, we can distinguish between those who only run one business and those with more than one business. With 39 respondents declaring that their current business is their first and only business, it is clear that the respondents who have more than one business are exceptional.

When it comes to the duration of self-employment, the entrepreneurs in our sample have been running their businesses on average for about 14 years. While it could be expected that the long-standing entrepreneurs would mainly be native Belgians, we encountered 10 ethnic entrepreneurs who had their businesses already for 20 to 30 years. Among the ethnic entrepreneurs, the long-standing entrepreneurs were mainly of Moroccan and Turkish origin, while the starters come from various other countries like India and Pakistan. Most of the creative enterprises were established more recently than the longstanding ethnic businesses in the area.

5.3.2 Characteristics of the businesses

While we discussed the demographic characteristics of the entrepreneurs in the previous section, we will now look at the characteristics of the businesses in more detail, their evolutionary paths and fields of activity. This section aims to find out what distinguishes enterprises from each

other such as specific type of products or services as well as the numbers of employees. We try to find out how enterprises adapt themselves to changing conditions and why there is a change in the fields of their activities. We also look at the old and newly emerging businesses in the case study area. With regards to the sectors in which the entrepreneurs have their businesses, we interviewed 16 entrepreneurs in retail and wholesale, 15 entrepreneurs in the service sector, eight in restaurants and beverage-serving activities and six in the cultural and creative sector. While we distinguished different groups based on the characteristics of the entrepreneurs in the previous section, we will now look at different types of businesses from a sectorial perspective.

Retailers

Out of all business types, retail is the most popular among the ethnic entrepreneurs in our sample. Retailers and wholesalers make up a large part of the businesses in the case study area. When we look in more detail at the specific types of products sold, we can see that the majority of the retailers in our sample either sold daily convenience products such as food and clothing, or unique speciality products. In our sample, we interviewed five clothing retailers, five food retailers, two construction material retailers, two retailers specialised in products for babies and children, a furniture retailer, a retailer of Islamic cultural artefacts and a design retailer.

Among the clothing retailers, there were shops that sold cheap clothes and textiles imported from low-income countries, but also high-end fashion shops selling Moroccan wedding and party dresses made by hand with high-quality materials. These fashion designers of Moroccan origin can be considered as ethnic entrepreneurs producing and selling clothes based on their ethnocultural heritage. For other retailers, their ethnic background or that of their customers did not influence the products they sold, as in the case of construction materials, furniture, baby and children's products.

With regards to food retailers, we can distinguish between those processing and producing food and convenience stores. The first consists of butcheries and bakeries, the latter include supermarkets and late night shops. We observe that ethnic entrepreneurs offer several products targeted at specific ethnic groups like halal meat for Muslims, pastries, vegetables and fruits from migrants' countries of origin. Both ethnic and native Belgian entrepreneurs adapt their products to the changing demand in the neighbourhoods. The retailers in our sample often started with general food products for everyone then added special ethnic products later on.

Restaurants and bars

The second most popular business type among ethnic entrepreneurs in our sample was restaurants and beverage serving activities. An interesting phenomenon in Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout is the combination of food retail shops with restaurants. Several fish retailers began offering their customers the facility to not only buy fish but also to eat the selected fish products in an adjacent dining room. Although most of these fish retailers are of Moroccan origin, the fish shops/restaurants are not serving ethnic dishes; the customers can create their own fish dish themselves. In the case study area, there are many restaurants serving ethnic dishes, such as Chinese, Thai and Turkish restaurants. While some of them are simply take-away

snack bars, others have developed into fine dining restaurants. Aside from the restaurants, there are also many bars in the case study area. Although bars are public meeting places for people, we can observe that bars in the case study area often attract specific ethnic groups. While some old pubs have their regular Flemish customers, more recent bars and lounges predominantly cater towards specific ethnic groups such as Moroccans, Nigerians, Portuguese, Chinese or Tibetans, etc. For Muslims, for example, teahouses emerged where no alcohol is served and shisha lounges where people can smoke water pipes. At the same time, some Belgian entrepreneurs established new trendy pubs and coffee shops aimed at young urban professionals. All these different establishments add to the diversity of the neighbourhood.

Businesses in the service sector

The third most popular business type among our sample worked in the service sector. We encountered businesses ranging from personal services such as physical well-being activities, medical and dental practices to financial and judicial services, consultancy and insurances. These activities usually require specific skills and/or degrees. Besides highly-educated entrepreneurs offering services based on formal knowledge and skills, some of the entrepreneurs we interviewed started a business based on culturally specific know-how from their countries of origin. We can mention for example the Moroccan entrepreneur who constructed a hammam with traditional bathing rituals and massages. In Antwerp's Chinatown, we can also find practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine, specialised in acupuncture, massages, dietary therapies, etc. In the case study area, we also interviewed medical doctors and dentists of migrant origin who obtained their medical degree in Europe. Offering modern medical services to patients of diverse origins, they distinguished themselves from native Belgian doctors because they can help patients in their own language. Other entrepreneurs in the service sector are active in financial, judicial, insurance and consultancy activities.

Creative and cultural enterprises

While retailers, bars and restaurants make up the majority of the businesses in the case study area, several creative and cultural enterprises have emerged in the case study area. In 2001, the Design Centre De Winkelhaak was built as part of a public project to revitalise a run-down area in Antwerpen-Noord. The Design Centre offers about 30 offices where product designers, architects, graphic and multimedia designers can start their own creative enterprises. Nearby the Design Centre, other entrepreneurs established design shops selling works by young designers, vintage furniture and art objects. In Borgerhout, a civil society initiative led to the restoration of the large event hall De Roma by hundreds of volunteers. Since its reopening in 2003, the event hall has become a popular place not only for performances by international musicians and film screenings but also for local events and debates. A smaller venue in Borgerhout is 't Werkhuys, offering working spaces for local groups and individuals to practice music, dance, theatre and other socio-cultural activities. Furthermore, Borgerhout also hosts the TRIX music centre, which is not only a concert venue for alternative music but also offers rehearsal rooms for local musicians. In sum, our case study area hosts very diverse creative businesses ranging from individual designers to large cultural venues offering a stage to musicians and other performers.

With regard to the size of the firms, we note that most firms in the case study area are small businesses. There were 11 businesses with no employees besides the entrepreneur. These were mainly small retail shops and pubs. In the case of 16 businesses, the entrepreneur received help from one employee, usually the wife or husband. On average, the businesses in our sample had around three employees. These included larger retailers, wholesalers and some successful businesses in the service sector. Ethnic entrepreneurs employed not necessarily co-ethnic workers but also workers of different origins. The largest enterprises in our sample were the cultural venues De Roma and TRIX, with respectively 22 and 15 employees. Besides paid workers, these cultural and creative enterprises also relied heavily on volunteers. In the retail and wholesale sector, employees were generally low-skilled while there were more highly skilled employees in the service sector.

5.3.3 Information on the sites of the enterprises

Following the discussion of the characteristics of the entrepreneurs and their businesses, this section aims to give information about the physical conditions and the ownership patterns of the shops, offices or production sites. With regards to the physical conditions of the urban environment in which the businesses are located, we can describe the geographical location of the shopping streets in the case study area. The municipality of Antwerp measures the vacancy rates, the retail and commercial density of the shopping streets in the city every three years. Figures 1 and 2 show the shopping streets in Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout Intramuros where the proportion of commercial premises in the street is higher than 50% (Stad Antwerpen, 2014). Areas with more dispersed and fewer businesses are not included in these maps. The figures also show the types of businesses. The red dots are convenience stores. The blue dots refer to restaurants and bars. The green dots refer to personal equipment/clothing shops. The black dots are vacant buildings. The other colours refer to various other businesses offering leisure products, personal care, services, garden and home appliances, cars, motorcycles and bikes.



Figure 5.1 Businesses in Antwerpen-Noord

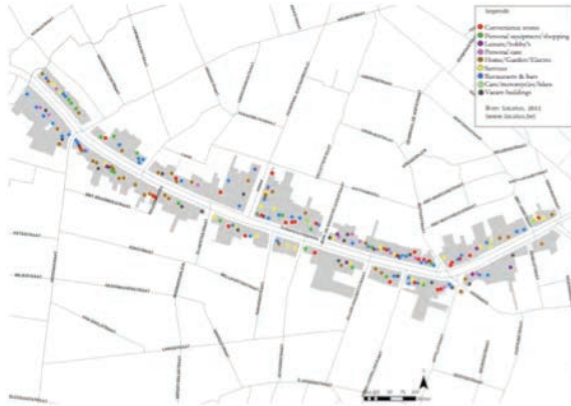


Figure 5.2 Businesses in Borgerhout Intramuros Source: Meting van de Antwerpse winkelstraten 2013

While we distinguished retailers, restaurants, bars, services and creative enterprises in the previous section, we can now identify their specific locations. In Antwerpen-Noord, there is a tangled web of adjoining shopping streets starting from the streets south of Central Station, moving north to a large square in the upper-left corner of Figure 1. The blue dots at the bottom of Figure 1 indicate many snack bars. The street dominated by green dots is the Offerandestraat. Previously, prestigious boutiques were located on the first pedestrian shopping streets in Antwerp, whereas nowadays this street hosts numerous cheap clothing shops run by immigrants. At the top of these streets, the municipality built the Design Centre De Winkelhaak that attracted some design shops in its vicinity. The street with many red dots in the right corner of Figure 1 is the Handelstraat, mainly known for its many Moroccan food retailers, in particular fish shops and teahouses. Other adjacent streets have a lower commercial density and higher vacancy rates. In the upper-left corner of Figure 1, there is a large square surrounded by pubs and restaurants, among them many Portuguese pubs. A distinctive street in Antwerpen-Noord is the Van Wesenbekerstraat, known as the little Chinatown of Antwerp, with its many Asian restaurants, convenience stores and the largest Asian supermarket in the country, accounting for a commercial density of 69%. At the entrance of this narrow street, a traditional Chinese arch was constructed in 2011, accompanied by four Chinese lion sculptures. At the southern border of Antwerpen-Noord, there is a busy traffic lane nearby Antwerp Central Station, called the Carnotstraat. This street merges into the Turnhoutsebaan, the main shopping street in the district of Borgerhout.

Contrary to the tangled web of narrow streets in Antwerpen-Noord, the commercial heart of Borgerhout is one large and busy traffic lane that crosses the whole district. With a high commercial density of 75%, the Turnhoutsebaan hosts a broad array of retailers, service businesses, pubs and restaurants but also has vacant buildings. Hosting 241 businesses in 2013, the Turnhoutsebaan is one of the largest commercial streets in the whole city. While the narrow streets in Antwerpen-Noord are difficult to reach by cars or public transport, the Turnhoutsebaan is a major passageway for cars, buses and trams. On the other hand, the

busy traffic on the Turnhoutsebaan leads to road safety problems, especially for cyclists and pedestrians. Besides the many shops, major cultural enterprises like De Roma and TRIX music centre are situated near the Turnhoutsebaan. In some side streets of the Turnhoutsebaan, new trendy pubs and other businesses are emerging. The Turnhoutsebaan continues in Deurne-Noord, but the commercial density is lower there. Because of its low commercial density, we did not include a map of Deurne-Noord here. As we will see later, the different geographical distribution of the businesses in Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout coincides with differences in ethnic concentration and types of businesses in specific streets.

There are very few chain stores in the case study area. Almost all entrepreneurs in our sample had just one small business in one location. Only three entrepreneurs had started a second or third business in another location but still in the same neighbourhood. Some entrepreneurs simply expanded their first business by acquiring an adjacent premise next to their shop. About half of the entrepreneurs in our sample, mainly starters and newcomers, rented the premise where their business was located. The other half, mostly long-standing entrepreneurs, owned the building in which they had established their business. Most owners of the premises in Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout were Belgians and established immigrants, who rented spaces to newcomers.

5.3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, we discussed the characteristics of the entrepreneurs in our sample, their businesses and the sites of the enterprises. In our case study area, we found many ethnic entrepreneurs. Beyond the conventional view that ethnic entrepreneurs predominantly work in low-end sectors like retail, pubs and restaurants, we also found a limited number of highly skilled entrepreneurs who were mainly active in the service sector. We also looked at the role that some cultural and creative enterprises play in the socio-economic development of the case study area. With regards to the sites of the businesses and the urban environment, we see that several businesses form ethnic enclaves in specific streets in Antwerpen-Noord, while the main shopping street in Borgerhout hosts a broader mix of ethnic and non-ethnic businesses. With regards to ownership, we observed that our case study area is characterised by self-employed entrepreneurs with one small business.

5.4 STARTING AN ENTERPRISE IN A DIVERSE URBAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

5.4.1 Introduction

Motivation is a key factor in starting and growing a business in deprived and diverse urban neighbourhoods. In this section we will focus on the questions why people become entrepreneurs, why they have chosen their current location and line of business. Related to these questions, we also look at the forms of capital, support and information that entrepreneurs have in order to run their business. While we first discuss personal motives to start a business, we will look later at more contextual factors influencing this career path.

Motives to become an entrepreneur have been grouped in positive 'push' and negative 'pull' factors in entrepreneurship literature (Amit & Muller, 1995; Cooper & Dunkelberg, 1987; Gilad & Levine, 1986; Shapero & Sokol, 1982). 'Push' factors refer to the dissatisfaction of people with their previous positions that pushes them to start their own business. 'Pull' factors refer to the reasons why becoming an entrepreneur and its implications are attractive to people. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) has named these two motivational types 'necessity' and 'opportunity' entrepreneurship respectively (Reynolds, Camp, Bygrave, Autio, & Hay, 2002).

It has been argued that migrants and ethnic minorities are pushed towards necessity entrepreneurship because of social exclusion, marginalisation and high unemployment rates (Kloosterman, van der Leun, & Rath, 1998; Taşan-Kok & Vranken, 2008). Due to language barriers, low education levels and discrimination, migrants may not be able to find a job in the host country's wage labour market or are stuck in low-paid jobs that block upward social mobility. For these reasons, they might prefer to become self-employed and thus create their own jobs. There are also other reasons why migrants and ethnic minorities become entrepreneurs. The motives to become an entrepreneur often appear to be a mix of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Masurel *et al.* (2002) found that the one of the main motivations to become an entrepreneur is to be one's own boss rather than someone's subordinate. More motives found in the research were (in descending order of importance): the need for achievement, financial progress, unemployment, dissatisfaction with their current job, continuation of a family business, and discrimination. While first-generation migrants are usually driven by negative push motives, Rusinovic (2006, p. 52) found more positive pull motives among the second-generation, such as finding new market opportunities and striving for independence. Alternative pull motives are found among creative entrepreneurs who are often motivated by a bohemian lifestyle, characterised by a devotion to art for art's sake (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006).

Besides the motivations to become an entrepreneur, we also look at the reasons why entrepreneurs chose the current location for their business. In many cities, ethnic businesses are spatially concentrated in neighbourhoods with high shares of co-ethnic residents (Kaplan, 1998; Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999). This spatial clustering of co-ethnic residents and entrepreneurs can be a resource for the development of small ethnic businesses. In terms of demand and supply, ethnic entrepreneurs might benefit from the proximity to co-ethnic customers and from access to a supply of co-ethnic workers. Furthermore, the spatial clustering of ethnic businesses may also help to exchange information and other support among the entrepreneurs (Portes & Manning, 1986). In this sense, the spatial segregation of ethnic groups can actually have a positive effect on the economic performance of entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, it has been observed that more ambitious entrepreneurs in search of wider, non-ethnic markets tend to move out of the neighbourhood (Taşan-Kok & Vranken, 2008).

From another angle, it has been argued that the social and ethnic diversity in cities attracts a creative class of high-skilled workers (Florida, 2004). Based on the idea that the creative class stimulates economic growth, urban regeneration policies have focused on attracting creative entrepreneurs to deprived neighbourhoods. Although such creative class policies have been

successful in making these neighbourhoods more attractive for higher-income residents, they are often more concerned with real estate revitalisation than with issues of social inclusion and emancipation (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010).

To understand in which sectors of a diverse neighbourhood entrepreneurs start a business, we have to take into account both the demand and the supply side of local urban economies (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990). The literature indicates that entrepreneurs of non-EU origin are mainly active in low-skilled and labour-intensive sectors, such as retail and catering industries. The low entry barriers might explain the prevalence of migrants and ethnic minorities in these sectors. In the service sector, the share of second-generation migrants is higher than that of first-generation migrants (Lens & Michielsen, 2015b; Rusinovic, 2006). In the liberal and intellectual professions, migrants and ethnic minorities remain underrepresented.

In the following sections, we will discuss the motivations of entrepreneurs for establishing a business, their choice of the location, their lines of business and the forms of capital they have at their disposal.

5.4.2 Motivations for establishing a business

Why do entrepreneurs start a business? As stated before, we can divide the various reasons to become an entrepreneur between ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. It should be noted that entrepreneurs often mention both push and pull factors. Our interviews confirm that first-generation migrants are often driven to entrepreneurship by push factors like unemployment, dissatisfaction with their previous jobs, the language barrier, non-recognised diplomas and discrimination. Some entrepreneurs also mentioned health problems as one of the main reasons to start their own business. When it comes to pull factors, our interviews indicate motives like striving for independence, the need for achievement, finding new and underserved markets and the opportunity of taking over an existing business. Creative entrepreneurs are often motivated by intrinsic goals like innovation and creating new products and ideas. Besides push and pull factors, it should be noted that some entrepreneurs simply took over the family business of their parents. Others became entrepreneurs because of their professional background as butchers or bakers. Beyond the distinction between push and pull factors, we argue that there are other motivations that show the limits of this model, which we call here ‘mixed motives’.

Push factors

For more than a quarter of our respondents, starting their own business was a necessity. In particular, first-generation immigrants mentioned push factors like unemployment and dissatisfaction with low-paid jobs as reasons to start their own business. For example, a Polish woman with a university degree worked as an accountant in Poland, but when she came to Belgium in the 1980s, she could not find a job here because of the language barrier. Together with her husband, she decided to open a pub. Some highly skilled immigrants cannot find a job in the host country because they don’t have the required diplomas or their degrees are not recognised. A Pakistani cameraman, for example, started a small convenience store as he could not find a job fitting his skills. Some entrepreneurs explicitly mentioned discrimination in the formal labour market as a reason to start their own business.

Other migrants did find jobs in Belgium but were dissatisfied with the working conditions of these often low-paid and precarious jobs. A female refugee from Tibet and her husband worked as dishwashers in various places before they decided to start their own Tibetan restaurant. A man who worked previously as a security guard at night decided to join the construction materials business of his brother-in-law as he was not satisfied with the working hours of his previous job.

Pull factors

Besides the negative push factors, our interviews confirm that entrepreneurs were also motivated by positive pull factors like striving for independence, perceiving new opportunities and the need for achievement. For a young second-generation Moroccan-Belgian entrepreneur, striving for independence was a major motivation to become an entrepreneur:

“My aim has always been to not just work for a boss. I always wanted more and more. Since I was 14-15 years old, I’ve been dreaming of starting my own business. When I was 18 and finished electro-mechanics, I went on to study something else in order to be able to open my own business.”
(R1: male, 36, insurance, Moroccan-Belgian)

Another example of an entrepreneur striving for independence was a Turkish entrepreneur who used to work as an economic consultant in the public sector. As he did not like to work for the government anymore, he decided to start his own consultancy agency.

Perceiving new opportunities and underserved markets is another important motivation to start a business. With the growing presence of migrants and ethnic minorities in the city, the entrepreneurs who first perceived these groups as potential customers could fill a gap in the market. Many ethnic businesses emerged because entrepreneurs saw a market opportunity in the needs of ethnic groups. The above-mentioned auto-mechanic who turned his garage into a hammam, for example, saw a unique opportunity in creating a hammam for the Moroccan community in Antwerp, as there were no such businesses in Antwerp at that time.

Another motivation is the need for achievement. Some entrepreneurs sought greater social recognition in their communities and saw their business as an opportunity to obtain this. A Nigerian entrepreneur who launched his own fitness school stated that he wanted to create something that his children can be proud of. Also driven by a need for achievement, a practitioner of Chinese medicine wanted to create a more positive image of traditional Chinese medicine with her business. She started her business at a time when non-Western medicine was receiving negative media attention in Belgium. With her practice, she wanted to show the benefits of traditional Chinese medicine.

Mixed motives

Some motives do not easily fit the dichotomy between push and pull factors. While the above-mentioned examples refer to the launch of new businesses, there are several entrepreneurs who continued or expanded a family business, or took over someone else’s business. A second-generation Turkish-Belgian entrepreneur, for example, told us how he was obliged to take over

his father's furniture store. Another example of motives beyond the push and pull dichotomy are the female entrepreneurs who stated that entrepreneurship was an attractive option because it gave them the freedom to combine their job with family life. For example, Polish woman who started a night-shop chose this business because it allowed her to spend more time with her children during the day.

Finally, we have to say that many entrepreneurs mentioned both push and pull factors in their motivations to start a business. Even though starting a business may be necessary to make a living, the entrepreneurs actively looked for new opportunities to make their business successful. Some entrepreneurs have been able to turn negative life events into new opportunities. Health problems, for example, have been mentioned as a push factor to become self-employed but the entrepreneurs turned this into new opportunities. There is the case of a Moroccan auto mechanic who suffered from backache, who decided to turn his garage into a hammam. In this example, the entrepreneur was not only driven by economic motives such as profitmaking, but also by personal motives such as the wish to change his career or the creative drive to innovate products and services.

5.4.3 The location and the importance of diversity

Besides the various motivations to become an entrepreneur, we asked our interviewees why they choose the current location of their business in a diverse neighbourhood. The businesses in the case study area are concentrated in a limited number of shopping streets. In what follows, we will discuss why the entrepreneurs we interviewed located their businesses in these neighbourhoods and how they perceive the diversity in their neighbourhood.

As motivations for choosing the location of their business, the entrepreneurs mentioned the proximity to potential customers, proximity to other businesses and proximity to their homes. Our interviews confirm that high concentrations of ethnic residential groups attract ethnic entrepreneurs. The local concentrations of Moroccan, Turkish and Chinese businesses in the case study area can be described as 'ethnic enclave economies' (Portes & Manning, 1986). In Borgerhout, nicknamed 'Borgerrocco', we found that many entrepreneurs chose to start a business because of the many people of Moroccan origin living there. For example, a Moroccan-Belgian retailer was explicitly looking for a place with many Moroccans as she was selling Moroccan decorations and festive dresses mainly to this ethnic group.

At the same time, native Belgian residents had left the neighbourhood, and, with them, the native Belgian entrepreneurs. As the market for the native population was declining, the previous Belgian shopkeepers felt that they had to leave the neighbourhood. A Belgian retailer of high-end clothing confirmed that she lost most of her clients after native Belgians moved out of the neighbourhood. By contrast, another Belgian retailer saw an opportunity in starting a shop in Borgerhout. As a market vendor, he had experienced that his cheap textiles were popular among people of Moroccan origin. For this reason, he decided to open a permanent shop in Borgerhout where many Moroccan customers lived.

In line with what has been described as 'ethnic enclave economies', entrepreneurs of Moroccan origin concentrated in neighbourhoods with many residents of Moroccan origin

such as the Handelstraat. Over the last three decades, this street evolved into an enclave with almost exclusively Moroccan shops. As certain Moroccan entrepreneurs in the Handelstraat founded their shops decades ago, they have been able to consolidate their businesses. With some of them already being third generation, the Moroccan entrepreneurs of the Handelstraat have built up properties and capital, making them a new middle class in the neighbourhood. The concentration of many similar businesses in a small area leads to much competition. For this reason, an entrepreneur who previously had a business in Antwerpen-Noord decided to move to Deurne-Noord where he had fewer competitors.

Another ethnic precinct in Antwerpen-Noord is the Van Wesenbekastraat, also known as Antwerp's Chinatown. Several Asian entrepreneurs started their business in or near this short street because they feel part of the culture. This Asian enclave hosts not only Chinese, Tibetan and Thai restaurants but also the largest Chinese supermarket in Belgium, Asian grocery shops, a Kung Fu School and Chinese medicine practitioners. Asian entrepreneurs may settle in Antwerp's Chinatown because they can receive support from their community to start a business there. Some starting entrepreneurs have received loans or have rented a building from wealthy Asian property owners. A Chinese medicine practitioner mentioned that she started her business in this street because it fit in with the ethnic culture:

“At that moment, I felt like this is a part of Chinese things, part of Chinese culture.” (R39: female, 50, medical services, Chinese-Belgian)

With regards to creative entrepreneurs, the owner of a design store argued that the diversity of the neighbourhood worked as an inspiration for their design products. The designer's collection reflects styles from all over the world, including different styles of traditional clothing. When it comes to their sales, however, he complained that the neighbourhood was too far away for most of their customers, which suggests that their target group does not live in the neighbourhood.

In the deprived neighbourhoods of Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout, most businesses offer cheap products. An entrepreneur of Turkish origin regretted that he located his business in the



Street in Antwerp's Chinatown and (right) a Chinese medicine practitioner's office.

Handelstraat because the customers in this diverse and deprived neighbourhood expect cheap prices.

Most of the entrepreneurs we interviewed lived close to their businesses. Several of them moved to live closer or sometimes even in the same building as their shop in order to reduce the stress of commuting. This desire to live close to their business is widespread among entrepreneurs regardless of their origin. By contrast, one of our respondents who lived close to his business just moved away from his business in order to protect his private life from continuous work intrusions.

5.4.4 Selecting the line of business

In this section, we explore why entrepreneurs start their business in a specific sector and why they select a specific line of business. As we have seen, entrepreneurs in our case study area are active in more or less the same sectors as entrepreneurs in the city of Antwerp in general. Entrepreneurs of non-EU origin, however, are over-represented in low-skilled and labour-intensive sectors like retail and catering industries (Lens & Michielsens, 2015b, p. 30). In Antwerp, only 12.6% of the entrepreneurs with a non-EU background and 18.9% of those from another EU-background are active in the liberal and intellectual professions, compared to 22.5% of the Belgian entrepreneurs. In the service sector, the share of second-generation migrants is higher than that of first-generation migrants.

We observed that newcomers often choose businesses with a low entry barrier. On the Turnhoutsebaan in Borgerhout, for example, there are several convenience stores, night-shops and shisha bars. A Pakistani refugee who runs a convenience store selected this line of business because he had very few means to start with:

“I had experience as a salesman. I started slowly, with small things, very small things. One by one. Some drinks like Coca-Cola, Fanta, things like that. Then I used the money to slowly pay off the interest. With the profits, I bought more and more things.” (R11: male, 49, convenience store, Pakistani)

Other entrepreneurs took over an existing business. The owner of a shisha bar explained that he knew the bar as a customer and took it over when he had the opportunity because the bar was successful. Some entrepreneurs had family members that owned a business and took over the family business. A fish retailer in Antwerpen-Noord took over the business that his Moroccan father had established 20 years ago. This way, he inherited not only the premise but also the customers that have known the business for many years.

Some entrepreneurs tried out several lines of business in order to find out what works best. A female entrepreneur explained why her Turkish family established a clothing store for women:

“We tried and saw what was working on the market. Women always do more shopping. Maybe that’s why it worked. We presented our products on the market and found our way.” (R24: female, 24, retail, Turkish-Belgian)

Following her entrepreneurial family, the young woman opened another store herself. First, she also ran a clothes shop for women, but then she changed it to a baby shop. She discovered that the baby products were selling well, so she continued the other line of business.

Other entrepreneurs first conducted research to identify a gap in the market before they started their business. For example, Moroccan-Belgian entrepreneur opened a shop for baby products in Borgerhout because he realised there was no such shop in the neighbourhood. Once an entrepreneur runs a successful business, it has been common that others copy this line of business. We have observed this ‘followers’ effect’ with the fish restaurants in the Handelstraat, but also with other lines of businesses. A female entrepreneur who hires out party decorations and festive dresses claimed that there were very few decoration rental shops ten years ago when she started. Since then, several entrepreneurs have copied the idea and started their own decoration rental shops.

On the supply side, the prior experiences or education of entrepreneurs often determine their line of business. Based on education and experience, it is for example not surprising that a fashion designer opened a fashion shop. After graduating and working as a pattern maker, stylist and fashion designer, she used this experience to start her own business. Other entrepreneurs undertook new studies with the aim of starting a business in another sector. An entrepreneur who had studied electro-mechanics began studying bookkeeping and insurance in order to establish his own insurance office in the future.

Sometimes, hard-to-copy expertise based on first-hand knowledge from the country of origin provides entrepreneurs with a competitive advantage. A Moroccan-Dutch owner of a hammam explained how he grew up with the hammam and wanted to share this experience with people



A hammam, a festive dress shop and a dental practice

in Antwerp. As running a hammam is a unique service to offer, the entrepreneur realised that this could be a commercial advantage because a hammam does not have many competitors. A Nigerian who created his own fitness school with African workout techniques underlined how he found a way to introduce his unique cultural heritage to the Western fitness industry.

5.4.5 Information, support and capital formation

In order to establish a business, entrepreneurs need information, support and capital. In this section, we look at where and from whom entrepreneurs obtain their knowledge, support and capital. In general, we can distinguish between formal and informal ways to obtain information, support and capital. Most entrepreneurs mentioned both formal and informal ways to obtain information, support and capital. While we look here at all the ways in which entrepreneurs obtain information, support and capital, we will discuss the support provided by local and central governments more in detail in a later section.

To obtain information, some of the interviewed entrepreneurs mentioned formal information channels like the Business Desk [*Bedrijvenloket*] of the municipality of Antwerp, the union of self-employed entrepreneurs UNIZO, or accountants. Most of the entrepreneurs, however, referred to their accountant as the person who informed them about their finances, laws and taxes. Furthermore, it is important to note that self-employed entrepreneurs in Belgium are required to obtain a certificate in business management. Despite this legal obligation, entrepreneurs obtain their knowledge from a variety of formal and informal sources. A second-generation Moroccan-Belgian entrepreneur working in the services sector mentioned how he gathered knowledge from the internet and books, as well as from friends, other entrepreneurs and the authorities.

With regards to support, ethnic entrepreneurs often start businesses that rely on hard work from themselves and family members, since typically they start with less financial resources than Belgian entrepreneurs. Even if ethnic entrepreneurs claimed that they established their businesses 'all by themselves', further questions revealed that they received support from their family, friends or others. Although the owner of the hammam developed the business himself, he received help from friends for the construction work. We also found that entrepreneurs did not only receive help from family and friends. A Moroccan-Belgian entrepreneur who took over a shisha bar received support from the previous owner. Cultural and creative businesses often received support from volunteers. The manager of the cultural event hall De Roma told us how his organisation is driven by the work of more than 400 volunteers.

With regards to the financial capital needed to start a business, entrepreneurs indicated they obtained this either in a formal way like a bank loan, through informal networks such as family and friends, or by using their own savings. Socio-cultural enterprises often receive formal subsidies from the municipality or other authorities. Several ethnic entrepreneurs mentioned that they received financial support from their family. A Moroccan-Belgian retailer, for example, said that he started his business with the financial help of his father in addition to his own savings. Another Moroccan-Belgian entrepreneur argued that Muslim entrepreneurs do not want loans from the bank because their religion prohibits the charging of interest. For this reason, this entrepreneur always used his own capital to start his business. However, not

all Muslim entrepreneurs followed this rule and did ask for bank loans. A Moroccan-Belgian shisha bar owner simply went to the bank for a loan. Since the bank agreed, he could finance his business and is now paying back his loan. Also the Moroccan owner of the hammam had no problems submitting a business plan to the bank to get a loan, even though he also used some of his own savings to start his business.

Not all entrepreneurs, however, receive a loan from the bank. Banks refuse to give loans to entrepreneurs who have insufficient guarantees that they can pay back the loan. In order to help those entrepreneurs who are denied a loan from the banks, the micro-finance agency Microstart opened a local branch in Antwerpen-Noord in 2014. Microstart offers loans between € 500 to € 15,000 to entrepreneurs who want to start a business. Because the micro-finance agency has a higher interest rate than that of the banks, the manager argued that Microstart is the last resource for starting entrepreneurs. They only go to Microstart when they cannot find any other way to finance their business.

Finally, social and cultural enterprises can obtain financial support from the municipality and regional government. To start an artistic design shop in Antwerpen-Noord, the shop owners initially received project subsidies from the municipality to start up the concept, even though they run the business themselves now, with the help of volunteers.

5.4.6 Conclusions

In this section, we have discussed the motivations to start a business and the role of urban diversity. We have distinguished between 'push' and 'pull' factors in the motivations to become an entrepreneur. We observed that most entrepreneurs mentioned both push and pull factors or mixed motives to start a business. Even though starting a business may be a necessity to make a living, entrepreneurs actively looked for new opportunities to make their business successful. As motivations for choosing the location of their business, the entrepreneurs mentioned the proximity to potential customers, proximity to other businesses and proximity to their homes. Ethnic entrepreneurs tend to start businesses where there are high concentrations of co-ethnic residents. With regard to the sectors in which entrepreneurs start their business, we observed that migrant entrepreneurs often choose a sector with a low entry barrier. Many entrepreneurs in the case study area are active in low-skilled and labour-intensive sectors such as retail and catering industries. In order to choose their line of business, the entrepreneurs relied on niche market opportunities and on their own experience, knowledge and education. In order to build up a business, entrepreneurs need information, support and capital. Most entrepreneurs mentioned both formal and informal ways to obtain such resources.

5.5 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

In this chapter, we look at the factors that are important for the profits and losses of enterprises in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods. In existing literature, it has been argued that diversity can positively influence the economic development of cities (Bodaar & Rath, 2005; Eraydin, Taşan-Kok, & Vranken, 2010; Quigley, 1998; Taşan-Kok & Vranken, 2008). This argument

has been supported by those who claim that openness to immigration is crucial for economic growth (Zachary, 2003). Bellini *et al.* (2008), for instance, found a positive correlation between diversity and productivity, claiming that diversity expands the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation. Several authors have for example highlighted how immigrant entrepreneurs can strengthen the local economy of deprived and diverse neighbourhoods (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999; Waldinger *et-al.*, 1990), while some claim that diversity helps to attract a ‘creative class’ of highly skilled and talented workers to the city (Florida, 2002, 2004). Others, however, have argued that higher levels of ethnic diversity reduces economic growth due to a decrease in trust and weaker social ties (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2005). While the above-mentioned arguments underline how diversity can contribute to the economic performance of cities as a whole, we will focus here on the economic performance of entrepreneurs in the neighbourhoods of Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout. Nathan stressed that the relationship between diversity and economic performance can be measured at the individual, firm, or urban level (Nathan, 2011). In this section of the paper, we focus on the individual and firm level.

5.5.1 Economic performance

The aim of this chapter is to describe how entrepreneurs view the economic performance of their enterprises. Many immigrant entrepreneurs start from a disadvantaged position compared to native entrepreneurs. This can be due to an insufficient knowledge of the local language and legislation, lower levels of education and/or a lack of financial capital. Mampaey & Zanoni (2013) found that immigrants tend to avoid sectors that require large capital investments. Consequently, they tend to start businesses in sectors with low barriers-to-entry such as retail, restaurants and beverage serving activities (Kloosterman *et al.*, 1998). These are often highly saturated and labour-intensive sectors with high levels of competition and small profit margins. By consequence, many immigrant entrepreneurs struggle to survive. While immigrant businesses display a spatial concentration and trade in a homogeneous set of goods and services in their survival phase, more successful immigrant entrepreneurs often move to other locations in the competition phase targeting broader markets (Taşan-Kok & Vranken, 2008). Due to better knowledge of the local language and higher levels of education, second-generation immigrants are better equipped to enter more profitable sectors of the economy (Rusinovic, 2006).

In previous research, Lens & Michielsen, (2015b) investigated to what extent immigrant entrepreneurs in Antwerp perceived themselves as successful. They found that second-generation entrepreneurs of Maghrebi origin saw themselves as the most successful, while entrepreneurs of other non-EU origin, mainly Asians, considered themselves the least successful. Immigrant entrepreneurs in the intellectual and liberal professions described themselves as more successful than those in the retail sector, while those in construction and industry saw themselves as less successful. In relation to their motivations, the entrepreneurs who were pushed by necessity into entrepreneurship considered themselves as less successful than those for whom push factors were not important. Finally, the authors found that entrepreneurs using formal financial support saw themselves as more successful than those who relied on informal financial support.

Quite remarkably, Lens & Michielsens found no significant correlations between self-reported success and the entrepreneurs' education and knowledge of the Dutch (local) language.

With regards to the economic performance of the enterprises in our case study area, we asked our respondents how their profit and turnover had developed and whether they were satisfied with this. As our respondents were very reluctant to reveal financial details, we relied on their answers on how they perceived their economic performance and which factors they deemed important in the performance of their firms. Among the entrepreneurs we interviewed, we can distinguish between those who are just managing to survive and others who made profits that some invested in the expansion of their business. The entrepreneurs mentioned that their most difficult period was when at the start-up of their business. Some also noted that their turnover had decreased since the onset of the economic crisis in 2008, even if the Belgian economy suffered less than other countries.

The entrepreneurs who were just managing to survive were mainly small retailers, restaurant and pub owners. When asked about the economic performance of his business, a Pakistani convenience shop owner in Borgerhout described it like this:

"It is only to survive. Surviving means that you pay the bills, eat the bread and you save little bit at the end of the year to buy the books for your son. It's more profitable now, but you also have to pay [taxes] for self-employment. But there are no other jobs. I'm almost fifty now, and nobody wants me anymore." (R11: male, 49, Pakistani, retail)

Not only immigrants but also native Belgian retailers struggled to keep their head above water. A Belgian clothing retailer in Antwerpen-Noord told us about her financial difficulties over the last few years. She did not make a profit but was able to pay her bills thanks to her husband who had stable employment elsewhere.

When asked about the reasons for the negative performance of their businesses, the entrepreneurs mentioned various reasons. A Belgian retailer blamed the bad reputation of the neighbourhood due to crime, drugs and nuisance as a reason why customers from further away did not come to his shop anymore. Other entrepreneurs lost customers because of competition from the informal market. A clothing maker of Moroccan origin complained about the unfair competition from undeclared home-based workers who worked for cheaper prices.

Amongst those who consider their business as profitable, highly skilled and creative entrepreneurs are strongly represented. An entrepreneur of Moroccan origin started with little means, an advertising agency. Yet, with the profits, he opened a retail shop and later an insurance company. Rather than saving his money, he explained how he kept investing in new activities to increase his profits.

Other respondents emphasised the importance of social networks and mouth-to-mouth publicity as factors that contributed to the success of small businesses. Finally, among the most successful businesses in the case study area were the creative and cultural enterprises. Our respondents referred to the hard work of volunteers as one of the main reasons for the success of the cultural enterprises.

We noticed that to a great extent, the economic performance of businesses depends on the sector and the markets in which they are active. A significant part of the entrepreneurs in the case study area are struggling to survive, which implies that they can hardly make investments in the development of the neighbourhood. In the following section, we will look more in detail at the customers and suppliers of the businesses in our case study area.

5.5.2 Market: customers and suppliers

In this section, we look at the main markets, the customers and suppliers of the businesses in our case study area in order to evaluate the role of diversity in their economic performance. We aim to investigate whether entrepreneurs capitalise on their ethnic origin, skills and/or local or transnational networks. We want to find out whether entrepreneurs benefit from being in close proximity to their customers, or whether they would rather serve other places in the city or beyond. In this sense, we not only look at the demographic characteristics and the diversity of the customers, but also at the geographical location of customers and suppliers. We found that entrepreneurs who take into account the diversity of the neighbourhood were more successful.

In the interviews, native Belgian entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood stated that the increased ethnic diversity had affected their economic performance. A Belgian clothing retailer who started her business in the 1980s said that her sales had decreased significantly since the 2000s because her Belgian customers had left the neighbourhood. While this Belgian entrepreneur remained oriented towards a declining market of Belgian customers, another native Belgian entrepreneur saw an opportunity in the emerging market of immigrant customers. As he experienced that his textiles were popular among immigrants, he opened a textile shop in the diverse neighbourhood of Borgerhout. He saw the diversity of the neighbourhood as an advantage because it enabled him to sell to more than one group of customers.

With regards to ethnic entrepreneurs, Chaganti & Green (2002) argued that ethnic entrepreneurship should be defined by the levels of personal involvement of the entrepreneur in their own co-ethnic community. In our case study area, some entrepreneurs mainly targeted co-ethnic customers by offering products that cater to the needs and tastes of their ethnic community. A fashion designer of Moroccan origin told us she sold Moroccan dresses, called kaftans, almost exclusively to women of Moroccan origin for festivities within their community. Likewise, the Moroccan founder of a hammam started his business in the first place in response to the needs of the Moroccans in Antwerp. He was aware, however, that opening a hammam was a risk because the Moroccan community was not very large. Over the years, however, more Belgian and other customers found their way to the hammam. This tendency could also be observed in other businesses where ethnic entrepreneurs tried to open up their niche business to a broader market beyond the ethnic community. Immigrant entrepreneurs, however, do not only offer ethnic products or services but can also provide non-ethnic products or services. A Moroccan fish retailer, for example told us how his father's business first sold fish to mainly co-ethnic customers but later attracted a broader diversity of customers of all kinds of nationalities. This suggests that ethnic entrepreneurs do not necessarily target their own co-ethnic group but can also serve the diverse population in the neighbourhood. A Turkish furniture retailer with a super-diverse clientele, however, complained that his customers

bargained too much to get the cheapest price. He wanted to reach more Belgian customers who are able to pay a better price for his products. In order to sell at higher prices, some ethnic entrepreneurs marketed ethnic products or services primarily to the native Belgian market. With a fitness school based on African music, for example, a Nigerian entrepreneur attracted mainly Belgian women.

Likewise, the cultural and creative enterprises in the case study area primarily serve the native Belgian market. Our respondents claimed that this is mainly due to their programming and the fact that cultural productions are not affordable for everyone. In order to make the cultural venue more accessible for different socio-economic groups, De Roma introduced the € 2 pass to allow people living below the poverty line to attend performances for just two euros.

With regards to the location of customers and suppliers, we note that most of the customers of ethnic entrepreneurs and small Belgian businesses are from the neighbourhood, while the cultural and creative enterprises attracts clients from not only the city of Antwerp but also from the rest of the country. Most of the suppliers of the small businesses in the case study area are also located in the neighbourhood or nearby. Only a small number of entrepreneurs can afford to travel to other countries to buy materials. Contrary to the expectations of transnational connections, it is mainly native Belgian entrepreneurs who travel to other countries to buy their supplies. A Belgian textile retailer travels to Asia several times a year to collect his stock which he promotes as '*Textiles from all around the world*'.

With regards to markets and customers, we found various strategies by which entrepreneurs in the case study area take into account the diversity of the neighbourhood. Some native Belgian entrepreneurs remain primarily oriented towards the native Belgian market. Likewise, certain ethnic entrepreneurs mainly target their own co-ethnic community. Alternatively, there were both Belgian and immigrant entrepreneurs that served a more diverse market. The entrepreneurs who take the diversity of the neighbourhood into account seem to be more successful than those who remain oriented towards their own community. Nevertheless, the cultural and creative enterprises and ethnic entrepreneurs who mainly serve Belgian customers benefit from the higher purchasing power of native Belgian customers. While having sufficient customers is important for businesses, relations among entrepreneurs also have a significant influence on the economic performance of businesses of both native Belgian and immigrant entrepreneurs. In the following section, we will look more in detail at the relationships between entrepreneurs in terms of competition and cooperation in the neighbourhood.

5.5.3 Relationships between entrepreneurs in the same neighbourhood: competition or cooperation

When it comes to the relationships between entrepreneurs in a diverse neighbourhood, we can observe not only competition but also cooperation. Even though most entrepreneurs only had few or superficial contacts with other entrepreneurs, the concentration of businesses in the same shopping streets has an important influence on their economic performance. Besides competition between individual entrepreneurs offering the same products or services, we also observed tensions between various groups of entrepreneurs in the same neighbourhood. With regards to cooperation, there is not only interdependence between individual entrepreneurs

but also cooperation at the level of the local business associations, which we will discuss in the chapter on institutional support.

As we have seen before, ethnic entrepreneurs tend to locate in places where they have most co-ethnic customers. In addition, ethnic entrepreneurs often start businesses in low-barrier sectors like retail, bars and restaurants. Consequently, we see a concentration of ethnic businesses of the same sector in the case study area. In Antwerpen-Noord, for example, the Handelstraat is a street with many Moroccan fish retailers and fish restaurants. Although there is competition, the cluster of fish businesses can also be an advantage as the street is well-known for offering a wide variety of choice to customers.

Among the ethnic entrepreneurs in the Handelstraat, our respondents noted a strong social control with regards to maintaining the same prices, respecting the closing days, the space the entrepreneurs occupy on the streets, etc. If an entrepreneur does not respect these rules, the others will denounce this with a complaint. In other streets in the case study area, where there is a more diverse mix of entrepreneurs, our respondents mentioned less social control and more competition. A clothing maker of Moroccan origin at the Turnhoutsebaan, for example, complained about unfair competition from others who sell at prices so cheap that it is not possible to make a profit anymore.

When it comes to relationships between native and immigrant entrepreneurs, the highly skilled immigrants in the health care sector mentioned that they had little contact with Belgian professionals. The practitioners of Chinese medicine, a Moroccan and a Libyan medical doctor felt that there was not enough cooperation between them and Belgian health care professionals.

With the arrival of new immigrants in the neighbourhood of the Offerandestraat, cheap clothing shops emerged where there used to be fancy boutiques. This has led to tensions between different groups of entrepreneurs. While the native Belgian entrepreneurs deplored the coming of the cheaper shops of Turkish immigrants, nowadays the Turkish clothing retailers are now also facing competition with new immigrants who are selling even cheaper products. Furthermore, with the rising importance of e-commerce, entrepreneurs are increasingly confronted with competition from online businesses. A Belgian entrepreneur complained about online shops that sold products from abroad for dumping prices.

Besides competitive pricing between individual entrepreneurs in the same sectors, the respondents also mentioned more collective tensions between different groups of entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood. These tensions evolve around the image of the neighbourhood. On the one hand, the case study area hosts many pubs, teahouses and shisha bars, mainly frequented by Moroccan men. On the other hand, there are clothing retailers and high-end shops that want to attract women and customers from outside the neighbourhood. According to a civil servant from the municipality, the two camps are very clear. On the one hand, there are pubs where the drug dealers allegedly are, and on the other hand, there are the longstanding retailers who have built up nice and clean shops.

The dingy pubs with their male customers are a thorn in the side of retailers who want to uplift the status of the shopping street in the neighbourhood. A Belgian retailer claimed

these pubs lower the image of the neighbourhood as customers no longer feel safe to come. Immigrant retailers also were not happy with the bars in the street. A female clothing retailer of Moroccan origin said she wished there were less bars in the street as they attract the 'wrong' people to the neighbourhood. Moreover, as many of these bars are registered as non-profit associations (*club vzw's*), they hardly pay taxes, which leads to complaints about unfair competition from other entrepreneurs who do pay taxes. On the other hand, the owners of the bars defended their presence in the neighbourhood and emphasised their role in the social cohesion of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, established entrepreneurs also complained about the waves of new, but short-lived businesses who are often copying other businesses.

In sum, relations among the entrepreneurs in the case-study area are characterised not only by economic competition between individual businesses in the same sector but also by tensions between different classes of entrepreneurs about which businesses are good for the image of the neighbourhood. Apart from the distance between native Belgian and immigrant entrepreneurs, the major opposition in the case study area is between the retailers who want to uplift the public image of the neighbourhood and the bars that are seen as sources of nuisance, crime and unfair competition.

5.5.4 Long-term plans and expectations of entrepreneurs

The economic performance of businesses influences directly or indirectly the long-term plans and expectations of entrepreneurs. In this section, we will discuss the long-term plans of the entrepreneurs that we interviewed. We asked if they planned to continue with their business, and, if so, whether they planned to go beyond local markets, to change their business strategies, or to recruit more employees in order to reach higher levels of economic performance.

The entrepreneurs who were struggling to survive with their business were not sure whether they would be able to continue with their business. The long-term plans of entrepreneurs also depended on their age. The older entrepreneurs planned to retire and sell their businesses. Some immigrant entrepreneurs dreamed of returning to their country of origin. Some entrepreneurs wanted to pass on their business to a successor, although an older Belgian entrepreneur claimed that nowadays this is no longer evident in the rapidly changing neighbourhood. High-skilled entrepreneurs claimed that it would be difficult to pass on their business to someone else because of their personal knowledge and contacts. Some entrepreneurs realised that they would need to recruit more employees in order to continue or to expand their businesses. Recruiting more employees, however, often proved to be too expensive for the entrepreneurs. Most of the long-term plans of the entrepreneurs were limited in scope. While some entrepreneurs considered expanding the space of their businesses, others wanted to add new services or products to existing supplies. Only a few entrepreneurs mentioned the idea of opening a second business in a different location. Mostly, they mentioned locations outside the case study area, such as the centre of Antwerp, or other Belgian cities looking for new markets.

The long-term plans of the entrepreneurs often remained provisional and depended on their economic performance. In this sense, the insecure expectations the entrepreneurs can be seen as an indicator of their actual economic performance. Those struggling to survive deemed it likely that they would have to stop their business in the near future. The more successful

entrepreneurs nevertheless had modest ambitions such as recruiting more employees, offering new services or products, renovating or expanding their businesses. Opening a new business outside the case study area did not seem a feasible option in the near future for most of our respondents but remained a dream for some entrepreneurs.

5.5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, we discussed the factors that are important in the economic performance of businesses in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods. In our case study area, we identified entrepreneurs who are struggling to survive and entrepreneurs who are more successful. It is mainly the small retailers, pub and restaurant owners that complained about financial hardships. The highly skilled entrepreneurs in the service sector and creative businesses were more positive about their economic performance. The bad reputation of the neighbourhood and competition from the informal economy were mentioned as reasons for poor economic performance. Factors that contributed to the success of some businesses were mouth-to-mouth publicity, social networks and the support of volunteers in the case of cultural and creative enterprises.

With regards to the markets, we can confirm that entrepreneurs who took the diversity of the neighbourhood into account were more successful. Nevertheless, cultural enterprises in the case study area were successful even if they mainly served the native Belgian market in a diverse neighbourhood. Between the entrepreneurs in the case study area, the major opposition was between retailers who wanted to upscale the neighbourhood and the pubs that were seen as sources of nuisance and crime. Although the economic performance of the businesses was not always positive, the entrepreneurs who took the diversity of the neighbourhood into account beyond their own group claimed to be more successful. In what follows, we will look in more detail at the institutional support and government policies in our case study area.

5.6 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

This chapter will discuss the institutional opportunity structure that the local and central governments provide to entrepreneurs in the form of legislation, pecuniary and non-pecuniary measures, incentives and assistance. We will also explore the importance of business associations and other non-governmental initiatives for the economic performance of entrepreneurs.

In entrepreneurship literature, the economic performance of entrepreneurs has mainly been explained in terms of personal resources such as human capital, social networks and, in the case of ethnic entrepreneurs, in terms of their specific ethnocultural knowledge, family ties and co-ethnic bonds. In order to overcome a too narrow focus on the personal resources of entrepreneurs, the concept of 'mixed embeddedness' has been proposed (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Kloosterman, van der Leun, & Rath, 1999). The mixed embeddedness approach aims at linking personal and group factors with the economic and institutional context of the host society. Regulations constrain and enable market exchanges. Not only state laws, but also non-state actors such as associations and unions that play a role in the regulatory processes of markets.

When it comes to the promotion of diversity in entrepreneurship, Rath & Swagerman (2015) observed that most government policies and programmes tend to prioritise general measures over group-specific measures. According to Rath & Swagerman (2015), the most vulnerable and difficult groups to reach may best be served by group-specific measures such as tailor-made services, preferably in immigrant languages, with intercultural mediators and outreach officers, while colour-blind general measures facilitate access of these entrepreneurs to mainstream networks and institutions. Another question is whether policy-makers should target the entrepreneurs themselves or the opportunity structures. Whilst policy measures such as providing information and training are aimed at remediating the deficiencies of entrepreneurs, an alternative would be to remove structural barriers for these entrepreneurs, for example by recognising foreign degrees, offering training in multiple languages and reducing taxes.

Following Richard Florida's (2004) influential thesis that sees the 'creative class' as crucial for the economic development of post-industrial cities, urban policy-makers have aimed at attracting highly skilled and creative entrepreneurs to their cities in order to stimulate economic growth. While creative enterprises have been used to revitalise deprived neighbourhoods, the presence of these creative businesses has often led to gentrification, eventually displacing the original inhabitants of these neighbourhoods (Peck, 2005). In the end, gentrification and rising house prices can actually erode the diversity that was supposed to attract the creative class.

In what follows, we will look at the approach and the types of support provided by the central and local governments in the case study area in Antwerp.

5.6.1 Views on the effectiveness of business support provided by local and central governments

Government policies and institutional support concerning entrepreneurs in Antwerp exist on different levels. On the national level, the Belgian Federal Public Service 'Economy, SMEs, Self-Employed and Energy' is responsible for the development and international competitiveness of the Belgian economy. Notwithstanding its broad mandate, this federal ministry supports businesses mainly through tax reductions. An important legislation for entrepreneurs is the Belgian 'establishment law' [*Vestigingswet*]. This legislation requires those who want to become self-employed to prove their knowledge of business management. For certain professions, the law also requires entrepreneurs to prove that they have sufficient professional skills (e.g. bakers, hairdressers). The requirement that the business management exam has to be taken in the local Dutch language in Flanders can be a hindrance for immigrant entrepreneurs.

On the regional Flemish level, the Entrepreneurship Agency [*Agentschap Ondernemen*] stimulates the development of entrepreneurship in Flanders. An important financial support mechanism for entrepreneurs is the Participation Fund, a credit organisation that offers subordinated loans to the self-employed, independent professionals, SMEs, start-ups and job seekers who want to start their own business. Important from the perspective of our research focus is the establishment in 2004 of the Flanders District of Creativity, an organisation that aims to stimulate the creative economy and innovation in Flanders. Besides the above-mentioned governmental institutions, there are influential non-governmental organisations such as the Union of Self-Employed Entrepreneurs (UNIZO) and Flanders' Chamber of

Commerce and Industry (VOKA). While VOKA is a network of large enterprises, UNIZO is the union of the small and medium sized businesses.

On the local level, the Business Information Desk [*Bedrijvenloket*] is the main municipal contact for new and established entrepreneurs in the city of Antwerp, providing information about the permits required to operate a business in the city, suitable business premises, renovation grants, local markets and fairs, etc. Until 2005, there existed a municipal consultancy for immigrant entrepreneurs [*Adviesbureau Allochtoon Ondernemen*], but nowadays immigrant entrepreneurs must, like all entrepreneurs, go to the Business Information Desk. Over the last decade, there have been some temporary initiatives targeted at immigrant entrepreneurs. Most of these initiatives were on the Flemish level, often coordinated by UNIZO in collaboration with local public services, and focused on the training and guidance of immigrant entrepreneurs (Lens & Michielsen, 2015a). Until today, UNIZO and other organisations continue offering information sessions, training and other projects directed at immigrant entrepreneurs. With the aid of the Flemish Entrepreneurship Agency, Starters' Lab [*Starterslabo*] recently developed a department called 'Ethno Entrepreneurship' that focuses on the training and coaching of ethnic entrepreneurs. With regard to financial support for entrepreneurs, 'Microstart', a cooperative partnership affiliated to a private bank, opened a branch in Antwerpen-Noord in 2014. Microstart offers microcredits or loans between € 500 and € 15,000 to entrepreneurs who lack the credentials to receive a loan in the regular bank system. Although Microstart offers its services to everyone, many of its clients are immigrant entrepreneurs of diverse origins. In sum, we can note that most initiatives for ethnic or disadvantaged entrepreneurs are implemented by private or non-governmental organisations, with or without support from the Flemish government.

Besides group-specific initiatives for immigrant entrepreneurs, we can outline Antwerp's area-based policies for restaurants, catering and retail businesses – the most common sectors in our case study area. In 2008, the municipality of Antwerp published a policy plan [*Horecabeleids-en actieplan*] in response to the large number of bankruptcies in the restaurant and catering services sector. The policy plan considered the diversity in Antwerpen-Noord as an opportunity, but also mentioned problems such as people feeling unsafe and a lack of cleanliness. For the retail sector, the municipality published a policy plan in 2013 [*Beleidsnota Detailhandel 2013*] which delineated 19 key commercial areas where municipal managers can offer guidance and support to local entrepreneurs. In order to strengthen these commercial areas, the policy plan aimed at attracting more quality shops and encouraging the use of vacant buildings through renovation subsidies and temporary 'pop-up shops'.

Entrepreneurs in the case study area, however, do not always feel supported by the local government – quite the contrary. For example, at the end of 2010 the city council issued a ban on outdoor alcohol consumption in specific streets and an early closing time for some pubs and teahouses in the area in order to reduce public drunkenness, noise, vandalism, etc. Another example is the introduction in 2015 of a controversial tax on 'image-lowering businesses'. The municipality already had a list of what it called 'image-lowering businesses' referring to late-night shops, video rental shops, call shops, sex shops, gambling sites and shisha bars. These businesses were considered as causing nuisance and lowering the image of the neighbourhood.

Since 2015, 'image-lowering businesses' had to pay a start-up tax of € 6,000 and an additional tax of € 1,500 annually to continue their business. The introduction of these taxes was met with protests, not only by the targeted entrepreneurs, but also from civil society and opposition political parties. As many of the targeted entrepreneurs were immigrants, the tax has been called a form of 'latent racism', even by some of the ruling parties (De Standaard, 2014).

It was not only the entrepreneurs of 'image-lowering' businesses who were opposed to the tax. Other entrepreneurs also argued that this policy measure would not improve the image of the city but would mainly affect entrepreneurs who were already struggling to survive. Some understood that the tax was directed at illegal practices like drug dealing. Nevertheless, a tax on 'image-lowering businesses' was not considered the best approach to deal with this problem:

Shisha bars are often linked to drugs. If it is linked to drugs, then do something with the drug laws, but do not tax all the image-lowering businesses. That will not solve the problem.” (R28: female, 32, financial services, Belgian)

With regards to creative enterprises, the municipality has mainly focused on creative hotspots in the city centre, more specifically, the trendy Zuid area. With the establishment of the Design Centre De Winkelhaak in Antwerpen-Noord, the municipality aimed to revitalise the deprived neighbourhood around the Offerandestraat. Since its construction in 2001, the large and modernist Design Centre contrasts with the small, low-end shops and pubs in the street. While the building hosts many offices with creative entrepreneurs, the surrounding area remains dominated by small and low-end retailers.

Contrary to the Design Centre which has few connections with the diversity in the surrounding area, the cultural event hall De Roma in Borgerhout participates in many local events and has managed to become a cultural centre for the diverse population in the neighbourhood.

In the following section, we will discuss the important intermediary role that local business organisations have played in the relationships between individual entrepreneurs and the municipality.

5.6.2 Wider awareness of organisations and initiatives to support entrepreneurs

Business organisations play an important role in the implementation of urban initiatives and programmes to support entrepreneurs. We asked our respondents whether they were aware of existing business organisations and initiatives. Most entrepreneurs know UNIZO, the Union of Self-Employed Entrepreneurs but only few of our respondents are members. For many entrepreneurs, the UNIZO membership fee of € 195 per year is too expensive. Those who are members of UNIZO mainly used the organisation to gain information. Almost all of the entrepreneurs we interviewed know the local business organisations in their neighbourhood.

In the case study area, several local business associations unite the entrepreneurs in the respective shopping streets in Borgerhout and Antwerpen-Noord. In Borgerhout, the local business organisation BoHo 2140 aims to be a platform for the entrepreneurs at the Turnhoutsebaan and its surroundings. Until 2013, this business organisation was called

‘Voorstad’ but some entrepreneurs of immigrant origin criticised its board for being a group of exclusively native Belgian entrepreneurs. During our interviews we noticed that there were still tensions between some entrepreneurs and the business organisation BoHo 2140 regarding membership fees and the democratic functioning of the business organisation. One of the major activities of the business organisation BoHo 2140 is the annual street festival BorgerRio. While entrepreneurs who want to expose their goods on the street during the festival have to pay a membership fee, it is only the board of the business organisation that makes the main decisions. Despite complaints about its democratic functioning, most of our respondents applauded the many efforts of the business organisation to improve the image of the neighbourhood and to attract more customers.

While there is a large and longstanding business organisation in Borgerhout, this is not the case in Antwerpen-Noord where there are only relatively small business organisations. Five years ago, the entrepreneurs of the Handelstraat-Korte Zavelstraat founded their business organisation in response to problems in the neighbourhood such as illegal drug trafficking, violence, lack of parking space, etc. For the entrepreneurs on these streets, the business organisation functioned as an intermediary to communicate with the municipality. Most of the members of the business organisation were retailers of Moroccan origin. Quite remarkably, few owners of shisha bars and teahouses on the street were members of the business organisation. Like in Borgerhout, there were also tensions in Antwerpen-Noord between the retailers who wanted to improve the image of the neighbourhood and the bars in the street that allegedly caused nuisance. Besides dealing with the problems in the neighbourhood, the local business organisation implemented an annual street fair called ‘Tour de Nord’ in the neighbourhood with subsidies from the municipality and European funds between 2010 and 2014.

Also in Antwerpen-Noord’s Chinatown, there is a local business organisation that undertakes activities such as the Chinese New Year celebrations. The organisation also managed to construct a Chinese architectural arch to indicate and promote the Chinese shopping street in Antwerp. In other streets of Antwerpen-Noord, local business organisations are emerging. Although there has not been a business organisation in the Offerandestraat for several



The street festivals BorgerRio (left) and Toer de Nord (right) organised by local business organisations in Borgerhout and Antwerpen-Noord respectively

years, a native Belgian entrepreneur is currently trying to unite both native and immigrant entrepreneurs to form a new business association.

The local business organisations play an important mediating role between the municipality and the entrepreneurs. Only local business organisations can administratively apply for support and subsidies from the municipality to organise activities and to embellish the streets. As individual entrepreneurs have to unite themselves in order to apply for public support, a strong local business organisation is crucial for the economic development of neighbourhoods.

5.6.3 Policy priorities for entrepreneurs

This section provides information on the views of entrepreneurs regarding policy priorities. Regardless of their origins, most entrepreneurs want more support and intervention from the municipality with respect to the image and liveability of the neighbourhood, drugs, the informal economy, waste, traffic and parking spaces.

A recurring theme in the interviews was the demand of entrepreneurs to improve the image and the liveability of their neighbourhoods. Entrepreneurs who were targeting higher-income customers, such as fashion retailers and those in the service sector, argued that the numbers of pubs in their neighbourhood should be restricted because male-dominated pubs cause nuisance and scare away female customers in particular. Some entrepreneurs argued that there should be more diverse businesses in the street instead of similar businesses offering the same products. Rather than a tax on 'image-lowering' businesses, however, the entrepreneurs claimed that it would be better if the municipality provided more support and advice to starting entrepreneurs to help them select a line of business and location.

In addition, almost all entrepreneurs were in favour of more actions against the illegal drug trade in the area. Although the entrepreneurs believed that the municipality's 'war on drugs' has reduced the nuisance caused by the illegal drug trade in the area, the presence of drug dealers and addicts in the neighbourhood remained a thorn in the side of the entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs claimed that the municipality should assert more control over tax evaders who were undermining their businesses through unfair competition. Another suggestion was for the municipality to improve waste management on the streets.

Finally, most entrepreneurs mentioned problems with mobility and accessibility as a priority to be dealt with by policy-makers. Entrepreneurs in Antwerpen-Noord as well as in Borgerhout complained about the lack of parking spaces for their customers. The entrepreneurs at the Turnhoutsebaan denounced the heavy traffic that would make the road unsafe for vulnerable road users, and argued that measures should be taken to make the area look more like a shopping street.

5.6.4 Conclusions

In this section, we discussed the institutional support and policies towards entrepreneurs in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods. With regard to diversity, public policies and programmes prioritised general measures over group-specific measures. For immigrant entrepreneurs, however, non-governmental organisations like UNIZO have set up some temporary initiatives focused on the training and guidance of immigrant entrepreneurs. With regard to the different

sectors in the case study area, we could observe tensions between entrepreneurs targeting higher-income customers versus the owners of low-end businesses and pubs that were blamed for causing nuisance and lowering the image of the neighbourhood. Through a heavy tax on 'image-lowering' businesses, the municipality of Antwerp intervened in this discussion declaring certain types of businesses as undesirable. As the municipal's policies were mainly punitive measures, many entrepreneurs felt that they did not receive enough support from the local government. In order to apply for support from the municipality, however, local business organisations played an important intermediary role between individual entrepreneurs and the municipality and seemed to be the driving forces in the economic development of the neighbourhoods.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

To summarise, our aim was to investigate how urban diversity influences entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods. While the literature suggests that urban diversity would stimulate economic growth, our findings show a more ambiguous picture. Contrary to the idea that cities open to diversity attract new entrepreneurs from elsewhere, most entrepreneurs in our case study area had already been living in or nearby the neighbourhood and had often worked as employees before they started their businesses. Aside from many examples confirming that ethnic entrepreneurs predominantly work in low-end sectors such as retail, pubs and restaurants, we also found some highly skilled entrepreneurs of immigrant origin active in health care, juridical and financial services. Rather than an inflow of highly skilled entrepreneurs from elsewhere, however, these were mainly second-generation immigrants that had achieved higher levels of education.

After discussing the characteristics of entrepreneurs and their businesses, we looked at their motivations for starting a business and the role of urban diversity in establishing a business. While we distinguished between 'push' and 'pull' factors in the motivations to become an entrepreneur, we also observed that many entrepreneurs had mixed motives to start a business. Even when starting a business was a necessity to make a living, the entrepreneurs actively looked for new opportunities to make their business successful. We found some support for the theory of 'ethnic enclave economies' (Portes & Manning, 1986) as ethnic entrepreneurs tended to start businesses in areas with high concentrations of co-ethnic residents. As immigrant entrepreneurs often choose sectors with a low entry barrier, many of them were active in low-skilled and labour-intensive sectors such as retail and catering industries. In order to choose their line of business, the entrepreneurs relied on niche market opportunities as well as on their own experience, knowledge and education. In order to build up a business, most entrepreneurs mentioned both formal and informal ways to obtain resources like information, social support and financial capital.

In the chapter on economic performance, we discussed the main question about how urban diversity influences the economic performance of businesses in deprived neighbourhoods. Contrary to overly optimistic accounts that see diversity as a source of economic growth, we

found many entrepreneurs who were struggling to survive in our case study area. Among those struggling to survive were not only immigrants, but also native Belgian entrepreneurs. In terms of sectors, most complaints regarding financial hardship came from small retailers, pub and restaurant owners. The highly skilled entrepreneurs in the service sector and the creative sector were more positive about their economic performance and future. As reasons for their poor economic performance, entrepreneurs blamed the bad reputation of the neighbourhood in terms of safety and competition from the informal economy. In order to become successful, the entrepreneurs mentioned factors such as mouth-to-mouth publicity, social networks and the support of volunteers in the case of cultural and creative enterprises. Most importantly, entrepreneurs who targeted more diverse customers saw this as a strategy to improve their economic performance. Some entrepreneurs, however, did not take into account the diversity of the neighbourhood such as the cultural enterprises that mainly served the more affluent native Belgian market. Highly skilled entrepreneurs of immigrant origin felt that there was a lack of cooperation with native Belgians in their sector. The most important tensions, however, were between different classes of businesses like high-end retailers who blamed pub owners for causing nuisance.

Towards the end, we discussed the institutional support and government policies targeting entrepreneurs. Many entrepreneurs felt that they did not receive enough support from the local and central governments. Some even believed that the municipality of Antwerp introduced measures against them, e.g. a controversial tax to discourage 'image-lowering businesses'. Through punitive measures, the municipality intervened in the conflict between different classes of entrepreneurs defining which businesses are not welcome in the city. While individual entrepreneurs felt they received insufficient support from the authorities, local business organisations played an important intermediary role between the entrepreneurs and the municipality. By organising events to make the neighbourhood more attractive, local business organisations aimed at improving the economic development of the neighbourhood. In this sense, we can conclude that diversity needs institutional support to be turned into a positive asset for the economic development of deprived neighbourhoods.

Based on our findings, we can outline which kinds of policy recommendations may be helpful in stimulating entrepreneurship in deprived and diverse urban areas. First, our findings indicate that many entrepreneurs in the case study area were not aware of existing governmental support programmes and initiatives. Therefore, we would recommend that public institutions communicate more about the support programmes and initiatives they provide, particularly in neighbourhoods where many entrepreneurs are struggling to survive. The recent opening and popularity of a private initiative such as the micro-finance agency Microstart in Antwerpen-Noord indicates that there is demand for financial support and guidance for entrepreneurs who cannot get a loan from the bank. Furthermore, there should not only be support and guidance for starting entrepreneurs but also for more experienced entrepreneurs who are suffering economic hardship. Rather than remediating the deficiencies of entrepreneurs, however, more emphasis should be put on removing structural barriers for entrepreneurs and creating better economic opportunities, for example by investing more in the material infrastructure of neighbourhoods.

Many entrepreneurs complained about the negative image of their neighbourhoods that are associated with poverty, crime and social problems. Besides repressive measures against crime, drugs, waste and other nuisances, we also recommend investment in establishing a more positive image of the neighbourhoods in order to attract more customers. Initiatives such as the street festivals *BorgerRio* and *Tour de Nord* proved to be successful in attracting people from all over the city to the neighbourhoods and creating a better image of the area. In order to sustain such initiatives, local business organisations need more structural support from the local governments. While policy-makers expect cultural and creative enterprises to stimulate the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods, we would recommend that the cultural and creative enterprises take into account the diversity of the neighbourhood in order to serve the local population.

Furthermore, with regard to the taxes on ‘image-lowering’ businesses, the precarious situation of many entrepreneurs in these low-end businesses will most likely lead to more bankruptcies and vacant buildings in the neighbourhoods. Instead of this negative policy measure, we believe that the image of the neighbourhoods would benefit more from positive measures such as support for the embellishment of existing businesses and attracting quality businesses to these neighbourhoods. We would recommend organising a dialogue between these groups in order to find practical solutions to reduce nuisance and tensions.

Finally, we would recommend more support for local business organisations and cultural enterprises in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods to enable them to organise activities that stimulate the economic development as well as the social cohesion of these neighbourhoods. The municipality should not only focus on the businesses in the city centre but also on those in more peripheral neighbourhoods. The local government could not only provide more financial and logistical support to local business organisations and cultural enterprises in these neighbourhoods but also involve them more in the political decision-making regarding the neighbourhoods and its entrepreneurs.

6 CONCLUSIONS: DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

6.1 BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE BOOK

6.1.1 Dimensions of diversity

In chapter one, we introduced the concept of hyper-diversity, which refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). This multi-layered process of diversification is also occurring in Antwerpen. With more than half a million inhabitants, Antwerp is the second largest city in Belgium. Throughout most of the 20th century, the city of Antwerp lost population to the surrounding areas, but it re-absorbed much of this urban flight through the merger with eight neighbouring municipalities in 1983. It also started growing again in the early 2000s, mainly through external migration. Antwerp has the second largest seaport in Europe and is an important employment centre. It boasts the second most important cluster of petrochemical industries in the world and is strongly specialized in transport and logistics.

Antwerp has been attracting immigrants from distant places for a long time, but migration numbers rose especially after the second World War. In 2012, 41% of all inhabitants of Antwerp were 'allochthonous' (i.e. either non-Belgians, those that acquired Belgian citizenship and the children of both groups). The people living in Antwerp come from all over the world, but the biggest allochthonous group has its origins in North Africa, with Moroccans being the biggest ethnic minority. Allochthones are especially concentrated in the 19th century industrial belt neighbourhoods to the north of the historic city centre, where our case study area is located.

The three areas selected as our case study area are Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout Intramuros and Deurne-Noord. These three adjacent areas are known for their highly diverse population. The case study area has a total of 95,642 inhabitants. Antwerpen-Noord is the most ethnically diverse area, with more than 60% inhabitants of foreign origin. Borgerhout Intramuros is located south of Antwerpen-Noord and houses a high amount of people of Moroccan descent. Deurne-Noord has become ethnically diverse more recently. The neighbourhoods with the highest ethnic diversity are also the neighbourhoods where median income is lowest. In Antwerp, ethnic diversity and socio-economic deprivation are strongly correlated. The average income in the case study area is much lower than that in Antwerp in general.

Antwerp has long been an electoral stronghold of the extreme right. Ethnic and cultural diversity has for decades been bound by conflicts and tensions. Positive discourses on diversity are often marginalised as 'naive' and 'politically correct'. The biggest challenge for Antwerp is to develop a positive, constructive and optimistic approach towards urban diversity.

6.1.2 Towards neo-assimilationist policies

In chapter three on the policy discourses in Antwerp, we have explored the governance structures and the key shifts in policy approaches to migration, citizenship and diversity. We analysed these policy discourses and strategies through the lens of the recognition, encounter, and (re)distribution framework proposed by Fincher & Iveson (2008). Besides analysing the municipal policy discourses and strategies, we have focused on the non-governmental perspectives on diversity policies and some governance arrangements and initiatives.

With regard to the recognition of diversity, we argue that neo-assimilationism has become the dominant policy discourse in Antwerp by phasing out facilities that empowered ethnocultural minority groups in favour of individual integration trajectories. In order to achieve social cohesion in the city, the current municipal council sees the knowledge of Dutch as an indispensable condition for the social cohesion of the city and the social mobility of migrants in the labour market. Even if neo-assimilationist discourses are increasingly dominant today, the development towards neo-assimilationism can be traced back to the previous legislative session 2007-2012. The introduction of the dress code that prohibited wearing religious symbols in municipal front-office positions was seen by many of our interviewees as a turning point in the diversity policies of the city as it contradicted earlier multicultural policies that encouraged the recruitment of ethnic minorities in the municipal services.

After the controversial ban on religious symbols, the municipality introduced new policy plans promoting the idea of 'broad diversity'. Beyond the specific focus on ethnocultural diversity, the new policy plans broadened their scope of diversity to include age, gender, sexual preference, disability and socio-economic status. Through the broadening of diversity policies, other multicultural arrangements such as the structural involvement of migrant organisations in policy-making have been abandoned while the funding of these migrant organisations has been reduced. Arguing that migrant organisations were not representative of the migrant populations in the city, the municipality no longer assigned a political role to migrant organisations, and by 2007, the Diversity Council of migrant umbrella organisations ceased to exist.

Rather than fostering spaces of encounter and democratic deliberation between groups, we observe how the present but also the former Antwerp municipal government has emphasised the need for security and the enforcement of the law. As a result of an institutional marriage of social services with security entities, social issues are increasingly treated as security problems to be surveyed and even sanctioned if necessary. In times of austerity, the current municipality has increased the budget for security measures. With the threat of Islamist terrorism, migration and ethnic diversity have increasingly become the objects of a securitisation process that risks to stigmatise certain communities.

Finally, we notice how policy discourses in Antwerp stress individual responsibility to achieve upward social mobility and to contribute to the economic performance of the city. The Antwerp municipal government conducts an activation policy that aims to reduce poverty by leading

more people into jobs. The responsabilisation of disadvantaged groups is emphasised without questioning structural inequalities. In line with assimilationist policies, the knowledge of Dutch is seen as an indispensable condition to benefit from the social services. Those who do not make enough efforts to learn the language risk to be punished by losing their social benefits.

6.1.3 Diversity and social cohesion

For most inhabitants of diverse and disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the diverse population is not a primary motive to settle in the neighbourhood. Considerations such as house prices and location are much more important. Furthermore, insofar as diversity plays a role in the decision to move (or not), it differs for different groups. Diversity is an important aspect in the housing choice for people that have a negative view on diversity. They move out of diverse neighbourhoods and feel much better in homogenous white areas. People with a migration background appreciate a minimum of ethno-cultural diversity, in the sense that they do not want to be the only 'foreigner', but some also avoid neighbourhoods that are dominated by one ethnic group. Newcomers are sometimes critical about the concentration of foreigners in their neighbourhood, because it hinders them for example in practicing their language skills.

Residents of Belgian origin are in general positive about diversity, but a lot of them live in rather homogeneous Belgian parts of the neighbourhood and can choose when or whether they want to be confronted with diversity. The diversity of shops is seen as a nice contribution by people of foreign origin to city life. In this sense, diversity is 'consumed' by many residents rather than actively and deeply engaged with. Most long-term residents we interviewed had difficulties with the inflow of migrants in the beginning, but got used to it in the meantime.

When interviewees describe their neighbours, they often refer both to the inflow of people of foreign origin and to the inflow of white middle class gentrifiers. The inflow of this last group is among policy-makers seen as something positive, but the interviews show that opinions about them are more mixed. Some residents blame them for exhibiting feelings of superiority, while still living in their own homogeneous social world.

For almost all interviewees the neighbourhood remains an important place. However, the social spaces that people use are divided along class and ethnic lines. Several interviewees see public spaces as one of the few places where all residents of Antwerp come together. Although the contact between different groups is rather limited, people appreciate the fact that there are places in the city where there is the possibility to meet different people.

Contrary to the negative idea that diversity weakens social cohesion, we argue that social cohesion in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods is based on weak rather than strong ties. Small talk with others on the street is important to establish social cohesion through weak ties. Strong ties are not necessary in creating social cohesion in the neighbourhood. Strong ties mostly exist between people of the same ethnic origin and/or class position and can create communities with strong social control, which some co-ethnic residents experience as negative. Strong group

formation is therefore not always positive, because it creates the power to exclude people who are different.

Although it takes effort to live in a diverse social environment, contact with a diverse set of people is seen as necessary to move up. For the social mobility of children, diversity can help to broaden their view, but at school most people agree that Belgian children should be part of the diversity. When less than half of the pupils at school are of foreign origin, the school often acquires an image of bad quality.

6.1.4 Diversity and entrepreneurship

In the chapter on entrepreneurs dealing with diversity, we investigated how urban diversity influences entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods. While the literature suggests that urban diversity stimulates economic growth, our findings show a more ambiguous picture. Many examples confirmed that ethnic entrepreneurs predominantly work in low-end sectors such as retail, pubs and restaurants. Nevertheless, we also found some highly skilled ethnic entrepreneurs active in health care, juridical and financial services. Rather than an inflow of highly skilled entrepreneurs from elsewhere, however, these were often natives or second-generation immigrants that had achieved higher levels of education. In recent decades, some important cultural and creative enterprises have been established in the case study area.

With regard to the motivations for entrepreneurs to start up a business and the role of urban diversity in establishing a business, we can distinguish between 'push' and 'pull' factors, but entrepreneurs also often had mixed motives. Even when starting a business was a necessity to make a living, entrepreneurs also looked actively for new opportunities to make their business successful. We also found that ethnic entrepreneurs tended to start businesses in areas with high concentrations of co-ethnic residents. As immigrant entrepreneurs often chose sectors with a low entry barrier, many of them were active in low-skilled and labour-intensive sectors such as retail and catering industries. In order to choose their line of business, the entrepreneurs relied on niche market opportunities as well as on their own experience, knowledge and education. In order to build up a business, most entrepreneurs mentioned both formal and informal ways to obtain resources like information, social support and financial capital.

In the chapter on economic performance, we discussed the question about how urban diversity influences the economic performance of businesses in deprived neighbourhoods. Among the many entrepreneurs who were struggling to survive in our case study area, there were not only immigrants but also native Belgian entrepreneurs. In terms of sectors, most complaints about financial hardship came from small retailers, pub and restaurant owners. The highly skilled entrepreneurs in the service sector and the creative sector were more positive about their economic performance and future. As reasons for their poor economic performance, entrepreneurs blamed the bad reputation of the neighbourhood and competition from the informal economy. In order to become successful, the entrepreneurs mentioned factors such as mouth-to-mouth publicity, social networks and the support of volunteers in the case of cultural and creative enterprises.

Most importantly, entrepreneurs who targeted more diverse customers saw this as a strategy to improve their economic performance. Some entrepreneurs, however, did not take the diversity of the neighbourhood into account, such as the cultural enterprises that mainly served the more affluent native Belgian market. Highly skilled entrepreneurs of immigrant origin felt that there was a lack of cooperation with native Belgians in their sector. The most important tensions, however, were between different classes of businesses such as high-end retailers who blamed pub owners for causing nuisance.

Furthermore, entrepreneurs felt that they did not receive enough support from the local and central governments. While individual entrepreneurs felt insufficiently supported by the authorities, local business organisations played an important intermediary role between the entrepreneurs and the municipality. By organising events to make the neighbourhood more attractive, local business organisations aimed at improving the economic development of the neighbourhood. In this sense, we can conclude that diversity needs institutional support to be turned into a positive asset for the economic development of deprived neighbourhoods.

6.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY

6.2.1 Governance of diversity

The analysis of the governance of diversity in chapter 3 suggests at least four lessons. First, policy-makers in Antwerp need to pursue a more positive approach towards diversity and can facilitate peaceful co-existence in disadvantaged and diverse neighbourhoods by publicly recognising the value of living in diversity. As a long-time electoral stronghold of the Flemish extreme-right (Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang), ethnic and cultural diversity has long been a highly sensitive political issue and there is strong pressure to be 'tough on diversity'. The increasing dominance of neo-assimilationist strategies and policies (e.g. the imposition of language as conditionality for access to social services and resources and the dress code in municipal front-office positions) promotes the framing of diversity as a problem to be contained. Policy-makers can learn about the positive potential of diversity from the inclusive and pluralist approaches to diversity that are pursued in many bottom-up initiatives in Antwerp.

Second, diversity policies should acknowledge and address the strong relationship between ethnic and cultural diversity and poverty and unemployment with a combination of strict anti-discrimination and anti-racism policies and supportive policies for social and economic inclusion. We observe that policy concerns are increasingly focused on individual aspirations and responsibilities and downplay structural explanations for social and economic inequalities. This creates a bias towards the 'successful' aspects of diversity in cities, e.g. successful migrant entrepreneurs, while other parts of the urban diverse population are less valued by policy-makers. Policy-makers and civil society initiatives should value all sections of the diverse urban population and should give more attention to equality of outcomes rather than just equality of opportunities. Only in this way can Antwerp realise its potential as a diverse city.

Third, the institutionalisation of diversity in public and private organisations by working with community representatives is important as a transitional strategy as long as ethnic and cultural minorities are not fully socially integrated in society. In Antwerp, the introduction of municipal voting rights for migrants and the shift from multicultural to diversity policies has led the city council to question the political role of migrant (umbrella) organisations. Although assigning a political representation role to migrant (umbrella) organisations should be a transitional strategy to avoid social control of elites over all members of minority groups, especially when ethnic and cultural groups occupy a subordinate position in society, migrant organisations may have an important political role to play to voice concerns and defend interests to policy makers and mainstream organisations.

Fourth, policy-makers should refrain from imposing strict policy objectives and elaborate administrative requirements on local civil society driven initiatives on urban diversity. These initiatives are more effective when they can focus on the actual needs of diverse urban populations, can maintain a flexible approach and rely, to a significant extent, on volunteers. The city council can facilitate a diverse urban society by supporting or offering staff and volunteer training, by providing assistance regarding financial and organisational planning for local organisations, and by organising networking possibilities and maintaining community centres to support local intercultural exchange. Local initiatives should invest more in building bridges with supportive local public institutions.

6.2.2 Stimulating social cohesion and social mobility

On the basis of our findings on how residents deal with diversity (see chapter four), we can formulate at least six policy recommendations. First, since low house prices and location are the main reasons why people, including so-called gentrifiers, move to diverse and disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods in Antwerp, policy-makers should not work with the general expectation that cultural diversity is an important factor of attraction for these neighbourhoods. The group of explicit 'diversity seekers', the importance of which is highlighted amongst others in the 'creative city' approach, is at most a small group in the neighbourhood. Housing policies for these areas should support the function of providing affordable housing.

Second, policy-makers and civil society organisations should provide more support to places and situations in the neighbourhood in which diversity is seen as threatening, particularly in schools. We observed that perceptions of diversity of by residents vary widely according to the place where one is confronted with diversity. Residents tend to be more sensitive to diversity in schools than to diversity in shops or restaurants. This may have to do with the role of schools in the reproduction of people's position in society.

Third, policy-makers and civil society representatives should be aware of the 'diversity within diversity' in diverse and disadvantaged neighbourhoods and also stimulate that awareness among the general population. Both the binary distinction between 'autochthonous' and 'allochthonous' residents and the division of residents in neatly separated ethnic and cultural groups fails to capture the heterogeneity in educational levels, lifestyles, legal statutes, socio-

economic positions of residents in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods. Natives tend to overlook the diversity amongst residents with a migrant background and mainly look at the balance between natives and foreigners, e.g. when judging schools.

Fourth, instead of problematising the lack of strong ties, it may be better for policy-makers and civil society organisations to focus on the opportunities weak ties offer to the creation of cohesive communities. Contrary to the negative idea that diversity weakens social cohesion in the neighbourhood, we argue that the character of the social cohesion within a diverse neighbourhood is different. The social life in the neighbourhood in general is experienced as divided along class and ethnic lines and strong ties with neighbours mainly exist between people of the same ethnic origin and/or class position. Still, most people that were interviewed want to have contact with people of different ethnic origins or class backgrounds and the relationships with neighbours of all different backgrounds are in general positive. This leads us to the conclusion that social cohesion in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods is based on weak rather than strong ties.

Fifth, policy-makers and civil society organisations should acknowledge the temporary benefits that the spatial concentration of ethnic and cultural minorities in certain neighbourhoods offers to newcomers, but should also attend to its negative effects when social integration in the broader society is not happening. The dense social networks that often develop amongst immigrants in diverse neighbourhoods can provide protection against the pressures and social exclusions from mainstream society as well as impose social control and push down expectations of its members. We found the latter reflected in the perception of immigrant residents with high ambitions for upward social mobility: they find the presence of native residents important (e.g. to practice the native language), while the presence of different ethnic groups is thought to provide protection from excessive community-based control.

Sixth, when approaching diversity, policy-makers should be aware that conflicts around living in diversity do not only revolve around ethnocultural distinctions, but also around socio-economic and associated cultural distinctions. This is notably the case with conflicts and fears induced by gentrification processes, whether steered by policies or not. In disadvantaged and diverse neighbourhoods, the arrival and presence of the new urban middle classes leads to mixed feelings amongst established residents. Negative perceptions are related to the fear for rising house prices, the loss of identity and the clash of lifestyles, while positive perceptions refer to an improved reputation of the neighbourhood.

6.2.3 Stimulating entrepreneurship

Our findings on how entrepreneurs deal with diversity (see chapter five) lead us to formulate the following six suggestions for policy-makers. First, local policies often have a one-sided focus on the highly skilled, creative or innovative enterprises and can become more effective by taking into account and supporting the full variety of entrepreneurship in diverse neighbourhoods, for example small retailers, pub and restaurant owners. Whereas most creative enterprises and highly skilled entrepreneurs in diverse neighbourhoods perform well economically, many 'non-innovative' immigrant enterprises often generate just enough money to make ends meet. Many

small local enterprises such as retailers, pubs and restaurants play an important role in diverse neighbourhoods by providing affordable and specialised goods and services and employment opportunities for disadvantaged people, but they often feel underappreciated by governments. Moreover, smaller enterprises feel the impact of taxation and regulation more than larger enterprises and therefore expect more from local government in terms of the provision of legal and general advice, the organisation of 'single points of contact' and the fostering of connections with them.

Second, although valuable as a source of income and autonomy, migrant entrepreneurship will not address the structural problems of newcomers and people with a migration background on the labour market. For a large group of migrant entrepreneurs setting up a business is the necessity to make a living and many of them are struggling to survive. Policy-makers are therefore advised to develop inclusive labour market policies to open up other and more stable income earning opportunities for migrants.

Third, public institutions should build trust and engage with entrepreneurs through supportive actions and effective communication as well as by minimising bureaucratic procedures. Migrant entrepreneurs, especially from smaller enterprises, are not used to co-operating with public institutions and are seldom aware of governmental support programmes and policies and often mistrust public authorities. Since many migrant entrepreneurs encounter problems in accessing finance, this is one area in which local governments can provide support, especially in the start-up phase, e.g. through micro-credit and financial advice (e.g. the micro-finance agency Microstart in Antwerpen-Noord).

Fourth, local policy-makers can invest more in creating a positive image of the neighbourhoods in order to attract more customers, e.g. by supporting street festivals such as BorgerRio and Tour de Nord. Many entrepreneurs complain about the negative image of their neighbourhoods that are associated with poverty, crime and social problems. Repressive anti-crime and anti-nuisance measures are not deemed to be sufficient, as they may also reinforce the negative image of the neighbourhood.

Fifth, we recommend providing more public financial and logistical support for local business organisations and cultural enterprises in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods to enable them to organise activities that stimulate the economic development of these neighbourhoods and involve them more in the political decision-making regarding the neighbourhood. Local business organisations can play an important intermediary role between local entrepreneurs and the municipality.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. LIST OF INTERVIEWEES FROM GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Respondent	Organisation	Position	Level of governance
1	Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism	Director	Federal government
2	Ministry of Integration	Adjunct Head of Cabinet	Flemish government
3	City of Antwerp	Former Mayor	Municipal government
4	City of Antwerp 'Living Together' Business Unit	High-ranking Officer	Municipal government
5	City of Antwerp 'Diversity Management'/'Poverty & Welfare Unit'	Head of Poverty & Welfare Unit	Municipal government
6	City of Antwerp 'Living Together' Encounter Service	Policy Advisor Encounter Unit	Municipal government
7	City of Antwerp Councillor for Diversity Office	Collaborator Councillor of Diversity	Municipal government
8	Minorities Forum	Director	Non-governmental
9	Integration Centre De8	Director	Non-governmental
10	Centre for Foreign Workers (CBW)	Founder	Non-governmental
11	Federation of Moroccan Organisations (FMV)	President	Non-governmental
12	Union of Turkish Organisations (UTV)	President	Non-governmental
13	Platform of African Communities (PAG)	President	Non-governmental
14	International Committee	Coordinator	Non-governmental
15	Gemstar bvba	Indian businessman	Non-governmental
16	University of Antwerp	Professor	Non-governmental
17	VOKA (Flemish Network of Enterprises)	Jobkanaal Coordinator	Non-governmental
18	City of Antwerp	Policy Advisor	Municipal government

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF ROUND-TABLE TALK PARTICIPANTS

Date: July 3, 2014

Place: University of Antwerp, Belgium

Participants:

- Opsinjoren coordinator
- City Talk coordinator
- 2 City Talk participants
- Coordinator Neighbourhood Treasures
- President of Let's Go Urban board
- Tour of the North coordinator
- Participant and winner of Kif Kif Awards
- 2 members of the business association involved in BorgerRio
- Cultural coordinator of BorgerRio
- Professor cultural anthropology

APPENDIX 3. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES

We conducted 51 interviews in total, three of which were couples. Therefore, we interviewed 54 residents in total. The general characteristics are as follows:

- 38 interviewees were female and 16 male;
- 21 interviewees live in Deurne-Noord, 16 in Antwerpen-Noord and 17 in Borgerhout;
- 24 people were of foreign origin and 30 of Belgian origin. The interviewees of foreign origin came from Europe (7), Asia (1), South America (2), Africa (11) and the Middle East (3).
- There is a mix of couples without children (12), families with children (17), people living alone (15), people who live only a part of the week with their child(ren) (3) or living alone with a child (1). The other three interviewees lived with family members.
- Half of the interviewees belong to the age group 31-45, 10 interviewees belong to the group 46-60 and 8 to the age group 61-75. We only spoke with two residents older than 75 years and five younger than 31 years.
- The income per adult in a household of 21 interviewees is low/medium-low and 22 interviewees had a high/medium-high income. The income of six interviewees is unknown and two interviewees classified their income as medium.⁴⁵
- Parts of the research areas are gentrified. We define gentrifiers here as newcomers who moved to a deprived neighbourhood (maximum 10 years ago) and are highly educated. In total, we spoke to 14 gentrifiers, based on this definition.

APPENDIX 4. LIST OF RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED

	Age group	Gender	Position in Household	Income ⁴⁶	Ethnic group
1	61-75	F	Living with her partner	L*	Belgian
2	61-75	F	Living with her partner	ML*	Belgian
3	31-45	M	Living with his partner	ML	West African
4	46-60	M	Living alone	L*	Belgian
5	31-45	F	Living alone	ML*	Belgian
6	31-45	F	Living alone	MH*	Western European
7	18-30	F	Living alone	L	Middle Eastern
8	31-45	F	Living with her partner	ML*	Eastern European
9	>75	M	Living alone	MH*	Belgian
10	18-30	F	Living with her partner	unknown	Asian
11	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	MH*	North African
12	>75	F	Living alone	ML	Belgian
13	31-45	F	Living with her partner	MH*	Belgian
14	46-60	F	Living alone	unknown	Belgian
15	31-45	F	Living with friends/family	H	Belgian
16	46-60	M	Living alone	unknown	West African
17	46-60	F	Living alone	ML	South American
18	61-75	F	Living with her partner	H*	Belgian
19	31-45	M	Living alone	L	Middle Eastern
20	46-60	M	Living alone/with his child	L	Belgian
21	31-45	M	Living alone	unknown	West African
22	61-75	F	Living alone	unknown	Belgian
23	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	ML	South American
24	61-75	M	Living alone/with his child	L	Belgian
25	31-45	F	Living with her partner and child	MH	Belgian
26	46-60	F/M	Living together	M*	Western European
27	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	L	Belgian
28	31-45	M	Living with his partner and children	unknown	North African
29	31-45	M	Living alone	MH	Middle Eastern
30	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	H	Belgian
31	31-45	F	Living with her partner/living with her partner and children	H	Belgian
32	31-45	F	Living with her partner and child	ML	Belgian
33	46-60	F	Living with her partner and child	MH	Belgian
34	31-45	F	Living with her partner and child	ML	North African
35	46-60	F	Living with her partner and children	MH	Belgian
36	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	H	Belgian
37	31-45	F	Living with her partner	H	Belgian
38	18-30	F	Living with her partner and children	L	South-Eastern European
39	31-45	M	Living with his partner and children	MH	West African
40	46-60	F	Living with her child	MH	South American
41	61-75	M/F	Living together	L	Belgian/African
42	31-45	M	Living with his partner and children	MH	Belgian
43	31-45	M	Living with his partner and children	H	Belgian

	Age group	Gender	Position in Household	Income⁴⁶	Ethnic group
44	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	H	Western European
45	46-60	F	Living with her parents	MH	Belgian
46	18-30	F	Living alone	MH	Belgian
47	61-75	F	Living alone	ML	Western European
48	61-75	F/F	Living together	ML	Belgian
49	31-45	F	Living with her partner	H	Belgian
50	31-45	F	Living with her partner and children	L	North African
51	18-30	M	Living with his parents	M*	North African

*Income unknown, interviewees classified their own income.

APPENDIX 5. LIST OF ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEWED

	Age	Sex	Type of enterprise	Ethnicity
R1	36	M	Insurance	Moroccan-Belgian
R2	53	M	Personal services	Nigerian
R3	28	F	Clothing retail	Moroccan-Belgian
R4	53	M	Speciality retail	Belgian
R5	64	M	Clothing retail	Belgian
R6	43	F	Clothing retail	Moroccan-Belgian
R7	37	F	Clothing retail	Moroccan-Belgian
R8	43	F	Lawyer	Moroccan-Belgian
R9	59	M	Medical services	Moroccan-Belgian
R10	56	M	Medical doctor	Libyan-Belgian
R11	49	M	Non-specialised retail	Pakistani
R12	48	M	Beverage serving	Iraqi
R13	59	F	Retail	Belgian
R14	61	F	Dentist	Moroccan-Belgian
R15	47	F	Hair dresser	Nigerian-Belgian
R16	61	M	Wellness	Moroccan-Belgian
R17	64	M	Culture	Belgian
R18	44	M	Beverage serving	Moroccan-Belgian
R19	64	F	Socio-cultural	Belgian
R20	36	M	Cultural	Belgian
R21	45	M	Bookshop	Moroccan-Belgian
R22	54	M	Construction	Turkish
R23	45	M	Furniture retail	Turkish-Belgian
R24	24	F	Clothing retail	Turkish-Belgian
R25	32	M	Wellness	Moroccan-Dutch
R26	44	M	Food retail	Moroccan-Belgian
R27	59	F	Clothing retail	Belgian
R28	32	F	Financial services	Belgian
R29	36	M	Clothing retail	Antillean-Dutch
R30	52	F	Restaurant	Dutch
R31	38	M	Food processing	Turkish
R32	59	F	Beverage serving	Polish
R33	56	F	Night Shop	Polish
R34	35	M	Beverage serving	Tibetan
R35	47	M	Beverage serving	Nigerian
R36	42	F	Design retail	Belgian
R37	48	M	Consultancy services	Turkish-Belgian
R38	36	F	Restaurant	Tibetan
R39	50	F	Medical services	Chinese- Belgian
R40	53	M	Medical services	Chinese
R41	54	M	Food retail	Moroccan-Belgian
R42	30	M	Construction retail	Turkish-Belgian

NOTES

- 1 This chapter is for a large part based on Tasan-Kok, T., R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt (2014), *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
 - 2 Later in this chapter we will elaborate on these concepts. Here we only give some very general definitions.
 - 3 Large parts of this texts have been published earlier in Tasan Kok *et al.* (2014).
 - 4 For a graph of the evolution of the population of Antwerp since 1806 (based on data from the National Institute of Statistics, see [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antwerpen_\(stad\)](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antwerpen_(stad))).
 - 5 Source: www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (October 2015).
 - 6 See table 3 in https://assets.antwerpen.be/srv/assets/api/download/1f3781bb-666b-452d-9457-88748e2c33b1/MJP20142019_Omgevingsanalyse2_Deel1.pdf
 - 7 The statistics are the author's own calculations on the basis of statistics in the following report (table 1 on p.6 for age groups and table 4 on page 12 for household types). https://assets.antwerpen.be/srv/assets/api/download/1f3781bb-666b-452d-9457-88748e2c33b1/MJP20142019_Omgevingsanalyse2_Deel1.pdf
 - 8 See p. 8 in https://assets.antwerpen.be/srv/assets/api/download/1f3781bb-666b-452d-9457-88748e2c33b1/MJP20142019_Omgevingsanalyse2_Deel1.pdf
- The terms 'allochthonous'/'autochthonous' are widely used both by Flemish scholars and in Flemish public debate to refer to citizens with a migrant background, including citizens who did not migrate themselves, but whose parents (or even grandparents) migrated to Belgium. Scholars use the term to analyse how and to what extent the act of migration has an effect on people's life chances across generations (e.g. educational performance, risk of poverty, etc.).
- 9 Source: https://assets.antwerpen.be/srv/assets/api/download/1f3781bb-666b-452d-9457-88748e2c33b1/MJP20142019_Omgevingsanalyse2_Deel1.pdf
 - 10 See table 2.1 in p5 in: https://assets.antwerpen.be/srv/assets/api/download/1f3781bb-666b-452d-9457-88748e2c33b1/MJP20142019_Omgevingsanalyse2_Deel1.pdf
 - 11 Source: <http://www.urbandivercities.eu/antwerp/>
 - 12 Source: <http://www.urbandivercities.eu/antwerp/>
 - 13 Source: <http://www.urbandivercities.eu/antwerp/>
 - 14 Source: <http://www.urbandivercities.eu/antwerp/>
 - 15 Source: <http://www.urbandivercities.eu/antwerp/>
 - 16 Average net income (i.e. after taxation) for every person liable to pay taxation. Source: Buurtmonitor 2012, see www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be
 - 17 Source: VDAB 2012. The data is not fully comparable. For Flanders and Antwerp, we used the 'unemployment rate' indicator (VDAB 2012), while for the case study area, we used the 'unemployment pressure' indicator, and the ratio of unemployed job seekers in the 18-64 age group (Buurtmonitor 2015)
 - 18 We were unable to find comparative data on the educational profiles of Vlaanderen, Antwerpen and Antwerpen-Noord populations.

- 19 See 'deelrapport Economie 2015' on www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (table 12 and 15).
- 20 See 'deelrapport Economie 2015' on www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (figure 1 and 2).
- 21 This is measured on basis of original and current nationality of person and original nationality of his/her parents.
- 22 Bron: Lokale inburgering- en integratiemonitor 2015, Antwerpen.
- 23 See 'deelrapport Economie 2015' on www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (figure 1 and 2).
- 24 The statistics in this paragraph are derived from the Neighbourhood Monitor (www.buurtmonitor.antwerpen.be) (except if mentioned otherwise).
- 25 The ratio of number of unemployed job seekers and the total size of the population at 'employment age' (18-65 years).
- 26 See 'deelrapport Armoede 2015' on www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (table 1 and figure 7).
- 27 <http://www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be>
- 28 www.fov.be/ecf/download/Van_alle_markten_thuis.pdf
- 29 Subsidies for intercultural initiatives, Municipality of Antwerp: <http://www.antwerpen.be/eCache/ABE/80/25/200.Y29udGV4dDo4MDMoMDUz.html>
- 30 www.vlaamsbelang.org
- 31 http://www.antwerpen.be/docs/Stad/Bedrijven/Marketing_en_communicatie/MC_Com/20130918_samenvatting_meerjarenplanning.pdf
- 32 This Migrant Council was the precursor of the later Urban Advisory Board for Ethnocultural Minorities that we discussed in the previous section.
- 33 The project Opsinjoren offers financial and organizational support to residents who want to organize street festivities. The project Buurtschatten offers funding for neighbourhood activities. Both Taal*ooR and Stadsklap help newcomers to improve their Dutch language skills.
- 34 This is in contrast with the study of Elias and Scotson (2008/1965), where stigmatisation of a neighbourhood was used as a power resource to exclude people living in the 'bad' neighbourhood.
- 35 Opsinjoren is an initiative by the municipality of Antwerp and offers financial and/or logistic support to people who want to organise a neighbourhood activity
- 36 The literal translation of Recht-Op is both 'stand tall' and 'the right to'.
- 37 'Scouts' and 'Chiro' are two popular youth movements in Belgium that organise activities. Members of the local groups of the 'scouts' and 'chiro' meet each other on a regular (mostly weekly) basis.
- 38 Source: 'Deelrapport Economie 2015' on www.antwerpen.buurtmonitor.be (figure 1 and 2).
- 39 A large proportion of firms are labelled as 'unknown economic sectors' (21.5%).
- 40 On the website of the municipality of Antwerp, the creative sector refers to fashion, design, music, IT & new media, print media, advertising, architectural, audio-visual and cultural enterprises. Source: <http://www.ondernemeninantwerpen.be/investeren-antwerpen/sectoren/creatieve-economie>, December 2015.
- 41 Source: Stad Antwerpen, Districts- en loketwerking, VKBO, December 2015
- 42 A large proportion of firms in the case study area are labelled as 'unknown economic sectors' (23.6 %).
- 43 The ratio of number of unemployed job seekers and total size of population at 'employment age' (18-65 years old).
- 44 Source: Lokale inburgering- en integratiemonitor 2015, Antwerpen.
- 45 The income groups are based on net monthly income. Low income <€ 980; medium-low income € 981 – € 1400; medium-high income € 1401 – € 1950; high income >€ 1950. When interviewees did not wish to

disclose their income, we asked them to select an income group that best reflects their net monthly income position.

- 46 The income groups are based on net monthly income. Low (L) < € 980; medium-low (ML) € 981 - € 1400; medium-high (MH) € 1401 - € 1950; high (H) > € 1950.

Governing Urban Diversity:

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