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'It's just normal': A mixed methods exploration of the effects of superdiversity and the way it is experienced

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Contents

Abstract

Superdiversity is a relatively new term coined by Vertovec (2007) and remains under researched within social psychology. Encompassing the many aspects of increasing diversity, the UK could now be termed as superdiverse in nature (Ratcliffe, 2014). The present concurrent mixed methods design study uses questionnaires and interviews to explore superdiversity from two angles. The quantitative part of this research compares superdiverse and less diverse environments in predicting several variables related to acculturation and intergroup attitudes. Results replicated the findings of previous research across more and less diverse contexts but highlight some differences between groups in particular that within superdiverse settings the influences on own acculturation attitudes appear to be more varied. Meanwhile the qualitative part of this research explores how superdiversity is subjectively experienced. Lived experience was characterised by three themes: the banality of diversity, navigating culture and identity and why we support diversity. When integrated the results provide support, clarification and explanation of one another; providing a more nuanced understanding of superdiversity and a greater knowledge of the effects of superdiversity across a range of issues.

Key words: superdiversity, acculturation, individual experiences, UK, multiculturalism, mixed methods

1. Introduction

1.1 Superdiversity

The term 'superdiversity' is relatively recent in its creation; Vertovec (2007) coined the term and defines 'superdiversity' as an increased diversity between and within ethnic minority groups. It is, he claims, distinguishable by a dynamic interplay between 'an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants' (Vertovec, 2007, p.1024). Crul (2015) claims that superdiversity accounts for the many axes of difference including: gender, age, education and generational differences. This shift from fixed entities like 'the ethnic group' to a more dynamic interplay of factors is what constitutes the idea of superdiversity. Recent figures suggest the UK has crossed the line from diverse to superdiverse (Ratcliffe, 2014).

The emergence of the term superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) is framed by the decade between 1997 and 2007. In 1997 net migration to the UK was 48,000 but by 2007 this had risen over fivefold to 273,000 (Sumption & Vargas-Silva, 2018). There were key events in the 20th century that led to a state of increasing migration and superdiversity for instance: globalisation, the Gulf, Yugoslavian, and Bosnian civil wars and the fall of the Berlin Wall and ensuing expansion of the EU (Geldof, 2018). In the year ending March 2017 net migration was 246, 000 (Migration Watch UK, 2017; Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2017); its lowest point in years following the Brexit vote in June 2016 (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2016a). This may be because of the weakening pound making other countries more attractive to migrants (Casciani, 2017) or a lack of certainty over the Brexit outcome for EU citizens living in the UK (Dearden, 2017).

Since Vertovec (2007) was published much has changed in the UK in terms of diversity and immigration for example Brexit and the Europe wide migration crisis beginning in 2015 (BBC, 2016b); one of many changing migration channels leading to increased superdiversity across Europe (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). As well as influencing the levels and composition of immigration in the UK, these large social events have also had an effect on public perception and opinion of immigration. In the last five years particularly there has been an increase in terror attacks in the UK for example at the Manchester Arena (BBC, 2017) with many being linked to Islamic state terror groups. Research has previously shown

that news about terrorism can be a source of unintentional increases in prejudicial attitudes towards outgroup members when individuals are reminded of their own mortality (Das, Bushman, Bezemer, Kerkof, & Vermeulen, 2009) and that terror attacks can lead to an increase in hate crimes because of attitudinal change as a result of media coverage (Hanes & Machin, 2014). These wider contextual factors have a great influence on how superdiversity is conceptualised, made sense of and viewed on an individual level.

Superdiversity has been considered in a number of ways. Vertovec (2017) argues for its many uses and states that superdiversity has been conceptualised in the following ways: as a synonym for diversity, as a backdrop for research, as a call for methodological reassessment, as a way of discussing 'more' ethnicity, as a call to move beyond ethnicity when considering diversity and as a device for drawing attention to new social complexities. Vertovec argues that he feels superdiversity should be used in the manner of the latter.

Due to the number of factors encompassed in the idea of superdiversity, it has been considered to be closely related to existing theories on intersectionality (Arikoglu, Scheepers, & Koranteng Kumi, 2015). However superdiversity is concerned with different categories for example: nationality, country of origin, ethnicity, migration channel and legal status as well as traditional intersectional categories of age, class and gender (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Arguably, superdiversity extends beyond intersectionality which is often limited to patterns of oppression, whereas superdiversity focuses more generally on differentiation (Boccagni, 2015).

1.1.2 Superdiversity versus Multiculturalism

It is worth considering what separates superdiversity and multiculturalism in the context of the present research. When considering the difference between multiculturalism and superdiversity we can turn to Vertovec (2006). Vertovec emphasises the fact that conventionally Britain's immigrant and ethnic minority population has been characterised by large, well organised African-Caribbean and South Asian communities who were originally from the commonwealth or colonial territories (see also McIlwaine, 2011). However recent demographic patterns show a level of complexity to immigration surpassing anything the UK has previously encountered. It is the increased number of smaller, diffuse ethnic groups from multiple origins in different socio-economic classes which differentiates superdiversity from multiculturalism which focuses mainly on the ethnic diversity of groups. There is also an

increase in second and third generation immigrants who are now 'inheriting' cities from first generation migrants (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008).

Multiculturalism refers not only to ethnic and cultural diversity, but also the political ideas and policies around integration. This political element is not included under the umbrella of superdiversity. Superdiversity is really the diversification of diversity, the increasing strands of difference between and within ethnic groups such as age, gender, socio-economic status, legal status and generation; a term to encapsulate a range of changing variables surrounding migration patterns (Geldof, 2018). The increase in the use of the term superdiversity is also a response to the political and ideological backlash against multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010), which has been criticised for encouraging us versus them thinking and essentialising ethnic and cultural differences.

Previous research surrounding multiculturalism has been mostly quantitative in nature. Tip, et al. (2012) found that support for multiculturalism is positively affected by a perception that minority members desire contact with British people and the perception that minority members wish to adopt British culture, mediated by threat. Support for multiculturalism was shown to be negatively impacted by a perception that minority members wish to maintain their own culture, again mediated by threat. These results point to assimilation being the acculturation preference of British majority members. However it does not explain why participants feel this way, indicating a gap in the literature for qualitative research looking at multiculturalism and superdiversity. The present research aims to recreate the findings from this study across superdiverse and less diverse contexts.

Furthermore, Verkuyten (2009) found that national identification is positively related to perceived out-group threat and that threat, in turn, is negatively related to support for multiculturalism and minority rights. Verkuyten (2009) claims that this supports the group-identity-lens model which argues that group identity functions as a lens making individuals vigilant to anything that may pose a threat to their group. In this study, group identification led to greater threat perception thus once threat was perceived there was less support for immigrants and less support for a multicultural society. Further research has also suggested that autochthonous belief and support for ethnic over civic citizenship can also affect support for immigrant groups (Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2015; Verkuyten & Martinovic,

2015).

Various other theories have been employed to understand the support for immigration and multiculturalism such as the integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). ITT incorporates four types of threats which is posits play a role in mediating prejudice: realistic threat (threats to power/resources), symbolic threat (differences in values between groups), intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. These areas of threat have previously been shown to be significant predictors of attitudes towards immigrant groups (Abrams, Van de Vyver, Housten, & Vasiljevic, 2017; González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Stephan, Ybarra, Martínez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). The realistic conflict theory (Hogan & Haltinner, 2015; Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004) and relative deprivation theory (Dambrun, Taylor, McDonald, Crush, & Méot, 2007) have also been used to explain attitudes towards immigration. It is important now that research considers not only what factors are affecting support for multiculturalism but also how these factors are understood by individuals and made sense of in everyday life.

In conclusion superdiversity is a relatively new term and relates to the increasing diversity between and within cultural groups. In the UK increasing superdiversity is changing the way society and multiculturalism are viewed but there is a lack of research looking at its impact on these factors and the citizens of the country. The present research is aiming to explore acculturation in superdiverse and less diverse contexts and to gain a deeper understanding of how superdiversity is experienced and navigated by those living within it. In order to address these aims a mixed methods approach has been adopted.

1.2 Previous research/relevant concepts

1.2.1 Acculturation

So far the literature on superdiversity from a psychological perspective has been lacking. However one area where psychology has begun to consider the impact of superdiversity is within acculturation research. The changing nature of the make-up of the UK's communities impacts how acculturation is considered. Previous research looking at acculturation and acculturative outcomes in host nations works on the basis that there are defined majority and minority groups (Berry, 1997). If superdiverse cultures are considered to be those with a majority-minority make-up with less defined groups the way acculturation

is conceptualised must change (Crul, 2015). It is worth also stating here, that while this may be useful in superdiverse contexts, there are regional differences. The UK is home to many rural communities who see far less diversity in their populations. For these communities, traditional theories around acculturation are likely still relevant.

When we consider acculturation we are considering the process of cultural modification and intercultural contact. Acculturation is a process for settled minorities, immigrants and majority communities to go through. The original acculturation framework by Berry (1997) suggested there are four acculturation outcomes depending on the extent to which an ethnic group considers a relationship with the host society to be valuable versus the value of maintaining their own cultural heritage: assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation.
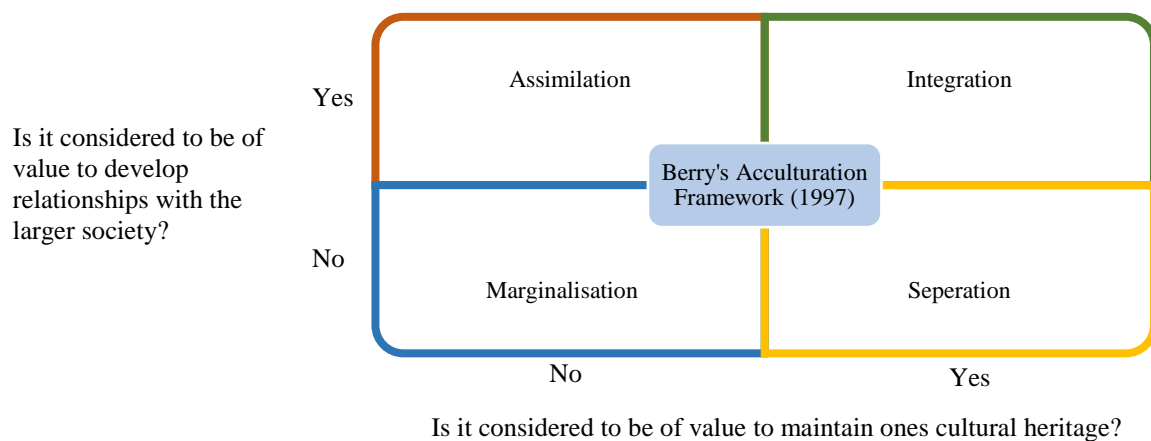
Figure 1. Berry (1997) Acculturation framework

Berry (1997) focuses on contact and participation in his framework whilst Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal (1997) discuss culture adoption claiming that culture either is or is not accepted and depending on the preference of the host culture this will lead to a consensual, conflictual, or problematic fit. Any outcome other than consensual could lead to poor intergroup relations and a less desirable acculturative outcome for both the minority and majority group.

Host Community: Low-Medium High vitality group	Immigrant Community: low, medium vitality groups				
	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Anomie	Individualism
Integration	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
Assimilation	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
Segregation	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
Exclusion	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
Individualism	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Consensual

Figure 2. Bourhis, et al. (1997) interactive acculturation model

Since their introduction these models/frameworks of acculturation have repeatedly been used in the research surrounding this topic with acculturation conceptualised both as an independent and as a dependent variable (López-Rodríguez, Zagefka, Navas, & Cuadrado, 2014). As a dependent variable, Kunst, Sadeghi, Tahir, Sam and Thomsen (2015) found that islamophobia creates major obstacle for Muslim integration into Norwegian society because of the increase in incongruity it causes between minority and majority member's acculturation attitudes. Additionally, Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) found that for majority members negative affective reactions with immigrant groups are associated with less support for minority culture maintenance and contact but with a higher demand for minority culture adoption.

As an independent variable acculturation orientations have been shown to influence psychological wellbeing (Berry & Hou, 2016), self-esteem (Nigbur, et al., 2008) and intergroup relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Zagefka and Brown (2002) found that desire for minority contact and minority culture maintenance from majority group members was predictive of ingroup bias and intergroup relations. The present research aims to recreate these findings across superdiverse and less diverse contexts. It is possible that increasing diversity may be good for intergroup relations because it would increase intergroup contact (Allport, 1954) which has been shown to be an effective way of reducing prejudice (Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

The link between prejudice and acculturation has been well documented in the existing literature. Zagefka, Tip, Gonzalez, Brown and Cinnirella (2012) found that participants' level of prejudice significantly moderated the relationship between perceived acculturation preferences and own acculturation preferences. Using an experimental manipulation participants were exposed to videos where Pakistani minority members expressed their acculturation preferences as if they were representative of the entire group. They found that the participants own acculturation preferences for culture adoption and culture maintenance were positively impacted by higher perceived culture adoption expressed in the integration and assimilation videos; this relationship was moderated by prejudice. The authors do note that these findings may be isolated to feelings towards Pakistani minority members although there is nothing to suggest the relationship between acculturation preference and prejudice should be any different for different ethnic groups. They also rely on a three item measure of acculturation preference which may benefit from being expanded in future research.

In support of Zagefka et al. (2012), Zick, Wagner, Van Dick and Petzel (2001) also identified a relationship between prejudice and acculturative outcomes. Zick et al. (2001) found that the more 'integrative' a majority member's acculturation attitude was the more positive their behaviour towards minorities would be. For minorities they found that the more positive their attitudes towards the majority were the better their acculturation success.

This indicates the need to reduce prejudice when trying to create harmony in a diverse society. It is also worth considering prejudice as a standalone issue when we consider superdiversity and its impacts. There is a reportedly rising level of hate crime in the UK particularly in response to a spate of high profile terror attacks (Travis, 2017). Met Police crime figures seem to support this as they show a 1.93% rise in racist and religious hate crime in London in the 12 months to October 2017 compared to the previous 12 month period (Met Police, 2017). This increase in prejudice is harmful in its own right for example in affecting levels of emotional stress and anxiety (Awan & Zempi, 2017) and also affects acculturation outcomes in ways which can be detrimental; for example assimilation has been linked with greater levels of depression (Nakash, Nagar, Shoshani, & Lurie, 2015).

Prejudice is not the only factor which has been associated with acculturation

outcomes. López-Rodríguez, et al. (2014) found that stereotypes and perceived threat are important mediators in the process between perceived culture adoption and preference for culture maintenance. In two studies involving Spanish majority member's views of Moroccan and Ecuadorian immigrants, they found that a perception that immigrants have adopted host culture customs improved stereotypes about them. Furthermore, levels of perceived threat were dependent on stereotypes for example majority members reported feeling less threat if they held more favourable stereotypes about immigrant groups. In turn, perceived threat had a negative impact on preference for culture maintenance and a positive effect on desire for culture adoption. This supports the idea that stereotypes are inherently linked to prejudice and acculturation.

The impact of superdiversity on intergroup relations, prejudice and acculturation has been considered but the evidence is limited. Wessendorf (2014) looked at how individuals negotiate social interactions in Hackney, one of the most diverse areas in the UK. Wessendorf (2014) discusses that in superdiverse areas diversity has become commonplace and there is a move towards a 'civility towards diversity' (Wessendorf, 2014, p. 393). This civility towards diversity can be used both to engage with and ignore differences. Wessendorf's ethnographic approach means that her findings are drawn from a wealth of rich data, however her involvement in the groups she was studying may mean she has impacted them in some way as to affect the results she gained. Wessendorf (2014) also indicates the difference in the way people behave in public and parochial[1] realms with regard to diversity. With diversity widely ignored in a public realm and addressed at a distance in the parochial realm. However more research is needed to understand the lived experiences of those people encountering superdiversity every day.

1.2.2 Superdiversity across related disciplines
There is very little in the way of published research around the topic of superdiversity with limited research from economics (Nathan, 2011) but more so from sociolinguistics and social care.

Sociolinguistics
When considering superdiversity and its place within the literature much of the

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[1] communal relations with neighbours, colleagues, shop owners etc

existing work comes from areas outside of psychology such as sociolinguistics (Arnaut, 2012). Blommaert has been particularly influential within this area, considering how socio-linguistics can use an ethnographic approach to understand the implications of superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012) and how language contributes to superdiversity and the shaping of conviviality[2] in superdiverse cities (Blommaert, 2014). Blommaert (2013) also considers how superdiversity is beginning to challenge our traditional notions of citizenship. He argues that with increasing superdiversity and its intense polycentrism, the notion of citizenship as a particular degree of integration into a host culture is changing due to the increasing number of groups within which to fit into e.g. religious groups, host culture groups or smaller minority groups. Certain acts like the wearing of the Hijab in the UK could simultaneously be seen as a sign of citizenship within a religious sphere but as dis-citizenship in a host-culture sphere, an issue raised in Hunt (2017). This adds a new level of complication to integration which is yet to be examined more fully.

Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2018) outline the need for a new conceptualisation of integration because of the growing complexity of migration. There has previously been a neo-liberal tendency for individualism when it comes to integration (Williams & Graham, 2014) with responsibility falling to the migrant to integrate into a majority culture. In superdiverse settings where there is a much less clear majority culture (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2013) it may be more beneficial for everyone, to focus on participation rather than integration (Geldof, 2016) as in Berry's framework where participation is implied in the integration orientation. The findings of Wessendorf (2013) support this view. When exploring the idea of belonging in the London borough of Hackney, a renowned area of superdiversity, she found that it was signified by the perception of people's willingness to be involved in a place rather than how long they have been a resident there. This suggests that the view that citizenship is signified by being born in a certain place is changing.

Social Care

Research has also considered the impact of superdiversity on traditional multicultural models of welfare provision. Historically immigrants to the UK tended to be contained to

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[2] Conviviality refers to the cohabitation and interaction that have made Multiculture a feature of social life in Britain's urbans areas (Gilroy, 2004)

large geographical location and consisted predominantly of post-colonial migrants[3]. However because of superdiversity there is now greater integration of migrants creating smaller, more scattered clusters of many more ethnic groups than previously (McIlwaine, 2011), which for Phillimore (2011) means that the traditional provision of NHS care needs to be rethought. This is because of an ever-growing language barrier between migrants to the UK and the services they need to access. There is also a lack of education for migrants regarding inoculation vaccines for children and also themselves. These findings were drawn from two separate studies in Birmingham. Considering the geographical location when thinking about the generalisability of these findings means they may not be representative of the UK as a whole depending on the nationality of migrants and where they chose to move to. However in support of Phillimore (2011), Williams and Mikola (2018) find that superdiversity is a useful lens with which to consider health and social care provision in Australia.

1.3 Critiquing superdiversity

The emergence of the term superdiversity has sparked a debate of how useful traditional theories of acculturation are in the present age and how useful they may be in the future. However Crul (2015) identifies that one criticism of the term superdiversity is in its conceptual vagueness. Something which Vertovec (2017) attempts to address. Crul (2015) claims that while superdiversity can describe a new reality it lacks a strong enough theoretical framework to explain what the acculturation outcomes of migrants and their families may be now there are less defined minority and majority groups as per the established theories of acculturation. Crul (2015) examines the possibility of using superdiversity as a replacement for theories which assume more homogenous majority groups. He argues that existing theories no longer provide a sufficient explanation for acculturation as in superdiverse cultures new minority members are exposed to an amalgam of ethnic groups as opposed to defined majority and minority groups, a view supported by Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2018).

Another issue with superdiversity is in the current inability to define superdiverse neighbourhoods from diverse or non-diverse neighbourhoods. Stringer (2014) argues that if we are going to put forward arguments and hypotheses surrounding the differences between superdiverse areas and non-superdiverse areas it is greatly important that we have some

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[3] migrants coming from the commonwealth

means by which to define areas as superdiverse. Stringer (2014) states that there is no single measure which is sufficient for defining superdiversity. Using census data, GP records or birth records may be one way of gaining understanding of how diverse an area is but Jensen (2017) argues that superdiversity should move beyond pre-determined geographical boundaries to allow research to foreground the broader relationship between socio-economic, generational and cultural dynamics. Research could also examine what individuals subjectively define as superdiverse in order to combat these issues.

1.4 Rationale for the present study
The present research has several aims:

> To understand what impact superdiversity is having on established predictors of acculturation variables including own acculturation preferences, perceived acculturation preferences, threat and support for multiculturalism from within the existing literature.

> To discover how superdiversity is experienced on an individual level in terms of culture, identity and understanding and support for diversity and multiculturalism for the people living in those settings.

Due to the fact that these aims require different methodological approaches in order to be answered, the present research requires a mixed methods approach. Quantitative approaches can help us to understand what is happening in this group when it comes to established ideas. Using questionnaires it will be possible to gather a large amount of descriptive information about a more naturally occurring variable, diversity, which would be difficult to manipulate in an experiment. Qualitative approaches however can deliver a more in depth understanding of what is important to the people in this group. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in particular puts focus on individual experiences and meaning making as opposed to discourse analysis which is more interested in how a phenomenon is spoken about and constructed. The aim of the use of mixed methods is:

> To establish the extent to which these quantitative findings and qualitative results can be integrated to shed light on one another to contribute to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of superdiversity

Mixed methods strategies are relatively newer in their construction than their quantitative and qualitative counter parts (Creswell, 2009) and within psychological research, mixed methods approaches have become increasingly acceptable (Franz, Worrell, & Vögele, 2013). However, the issue of integration and how to overcome barriers around the different epistemological positions of quantitative and qualitative methods and how to integrate data remains an issue in psychological research (Franz et al., 2013). Much of the difficulty in integrating the different methods used in a mixed methods approach comes from the design of a study. In the present research a concurrent research design has been adopted (Figure 3) meaning that both the quantitative and qualitative data will be collected simultaneously and combined into a comprehensive analysis. This differs from both a sequential design (one method is used to elaborate upon another with two stages of data collected) and a transformative design (research guided by a theoretical lens within a design using both quantitative and qualitative methods). Mixed methods can provide a more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and provide stronger evidence for a conclusion though convergence of findings (See Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004 for a full review of the strengths and weaknesses of using a mixed methods approach).

The objective of the current research is to disentangle the many factors which may potentially be influenced by superdiversity. Questionnaires will be used to provide quantified results relating to the impact that superdiversity is having on established predictors of acculturation outcomes whilst semi-structured in-depth interviews with an interpretative phenomenological focus will be used to explore how superdiversity shapes individuals viewpoints on a number of topics. The items used in the questionnaires come from predetermined scales in the existing literature and give a numerical score to each factor whereas the interviews invite a deeper, more focussed explanation and interpretation from the participants. The interviews were reliant upon a certain level of self-awareness and self-expression while the questionnaires provide a snapshot of participant's level of agreement with certain statements relating to the factors of interest. Due to the complex nature of the superdiversity, it is hoped that the interviews will aid participants in elaborating upon their views which may be constrained in the questionnaires to a concrete answer. On the other hand, the quantitative findings can help us to understand the links between the many factors at play in the lives of the participants.

1.5 Research questions and Hypotheses

Whilst there are three overarching research aims there are several research questions for each aim which will be answered. The first aim related to the quantitative element of this research and there are six research questions relating to this aim. These research questions were based on literature which has explored predictor variables of acculturation outcomes.

The first research question is will there be a difference between the way individuals from a superdiverse background and individuals from a less diverse background respond to the scales being used to measure acculturation preferences, perception of the outgroup, threat and support for multiculturalism? Hypothesis 1 (H1) predicts that there will be a difference between how the two groups (superdiverse and non-superdiverse) score on each scale being used. Secondly, recreating the methods of Zagefka and Brown (2002) the research will consider if intergroup relations are predicted by an individual's acculturation preferences. H2 predicts that intergroup relations will be predicted by preferred acculturation strategies. Thirdly, in a recreation of Tip et al. (2012) it will be asked if support for multiculturalism is predicted by threat and acculturation preferences. H3 predicts that support for multiculturalism will be predicted by lower levels of threat resulting from a greater perception that minority member's desire contact with the majority, i.e. threat will mediate the relationship between support for multiculturalism and perception of minority desire for contact.

The fourth question asks: will perceived acculturation preferences impact an individual's own acculturation preferences? H4 predicts that participants own acculturation preferences will be predicted by their perception of the outgroups acculturation preferences (Zagefka et al., 2012). Fifth, will an individual's own acculturation attitudes be influenced by their perception of British attitudes towards contact and acculturation preferences? H5 predicts that individuals will be influenced by their perception of British attitudes. This is based on findings that normative information can influence children's interest in cross-ethnic friendships (Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014) and that normative information can influence behaviours (Jaeger & Schultz, 2017) as well as the link between social identity and Self Categorisation Theory which has shown that uniform behaviour can result from the internalisation of a group concept (Brown, 2000). Finally, are there differences between individuals living in a superdiverse setting and those living in a less diverse setting in the relationships measured across the previous questions? H6 predicts that the two groups will

show differences in the relationships between variables.

The qualitative element of this project is guided by the second research aim. Interviews will explore the attitudes, thoughts and feelings about diversity, identity, culture as well as the personal experiences of those people who have lived in a superdiverse setting for more than 12 months, which are not captured by the survey. Due to the specific lack of research into the individual meaning making of living in a superdiverse setting IPA has been employed for the qualitative element of the present study due to its phenomenological commitment to highlight the claims of participants, and an interpretative commitment to make sense of these claims (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). IPA has the ability to give a voice to the individuals in question while the researcher takes an active role in making sense of what they say (Larkin et al., 2006). In this way IPA can be used to explore individual meaning making and cultivate rich descriptions of individual experiences (Fade, 2004). IPA is renowned as a useful method in providing rich, nuanced insight into the research participants (Tuffour, 2017).

By converging both sets of results it is hoped that the third aim will be addressed. As a result we hope this will culminate a greater understand of superdiversity and is an aim to better answer the call for more empirical research into 'how diversity is lived on the ground' (Wise, 2009).

QUANTITATIVE PART   QUALITATIVE PART

SAMPLING

OPPORTUNITY SAMPLING
VIA FACEBOOK AND
UNIVERSITY RPS SCHEME
WEBSITE
N = 138

OPPORTUNITY SAMPLING OF
INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE
LIVED IN A SUPERDIVERSE
SETTING FOR >12 MONTHS
N = 6

DATA COLLECTION

QUESTIONNAIRES
EMPIRICALLY MEASURING
ACCULTURATION
RELATIONSHIPS

SEMI-STRUCTURED
INTERVIEWS WITH
INDIVIDUALS WHO FIT THE
CRITERIA

DATA ANALYSIS

ANALYSED BY MULTIPLE
REGRESSIONS

ANALYSED USING IPA
PRINCIPLES USING NVIVO

RESULTS

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF
ACCULTURATION
PREDICTORS AND THE
IMPACT OF SUPERDIVERSITY
ON THESE RELATIONSHIPS

EXPLORATORY, INDIVIDUAL
EXPERIENCES OF LIVING IN
A SUPERDIVERSE SETTING
AND ITS IMPACTS

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS
RELATIVE TO THE
LITERATURE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS
RELATIVE TO THE
LITERATURE

INTEGRATION

INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS TO
FIND COMMON RESULTS,
DIFFERENCES AND TO USE BOTH
THE QUAN AND QUAL ELEMENT
TO SHED LIGHT ON EACH OTHER

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE
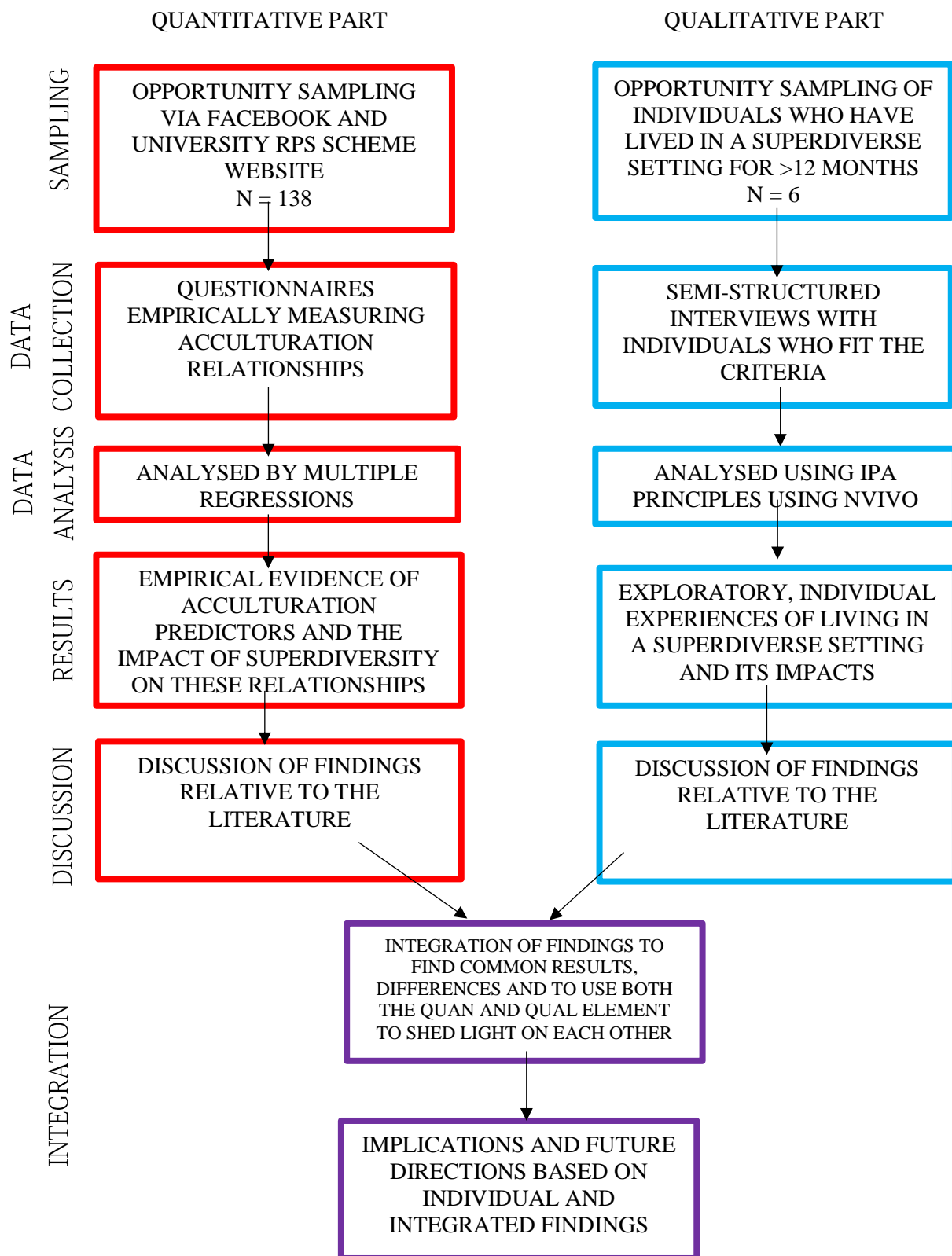DIRECTIONS BASED ON
INDIVIDUAL AND
INTEGRATED FINDINGS

Figure 3. General design of the present research

2   Method

2.1 Study Design

This study was designed as a mixed methods research project using a concurrent research design to guide the research in terms of framework and analysis (Figure 3). The study design incorporated two types of data collected for separate research purposes in order to explore different levels of analysis for the phenomena being studied and to form an overall understanding of this under researched area. Using quantitative questionnaires and qualitative IPA, various aspects of superdiversity are encompassed into a more holistic understanding. For the purpose of this research, given the lack of solid definition of superdiversity that can be operationalised, geographically superdiverse settings are considered to be London, Leicester and Birmingham. This is based on the boundaries set by previous research and census data (BBC, 2012; Pemberton, 2017; Wessendorf, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014). In addition to a geographical measure of superdiversity a subjective measure of superdiversity was taken to compare against the geographical classification in order to gain some understanding of which operationalisation of superdiversity is more beneficial.

2.2 Sample

2.2.1 Questionnaire Participants

Using opportunity sampling participants were recruited via Facebook advertisements sharing the link to the questionnaire on the Qualtrics system. The questionnaire was also advertised on the Canterbury Christ Church Research Participation Scheme (RPS) webpage and callforparticipants.com. Questionnaires were open to anyone living in the UK who identified as British.

A priori power analysis was conducted using the G*Power 3 software package (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992). Based on a small effect size (η_p^2 =0.15) according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines, and assuming an alpha of .05, analysis indicated that 178 participants would be needed to achieve 95% power. To achieve 80% power 123 participants would be needed.
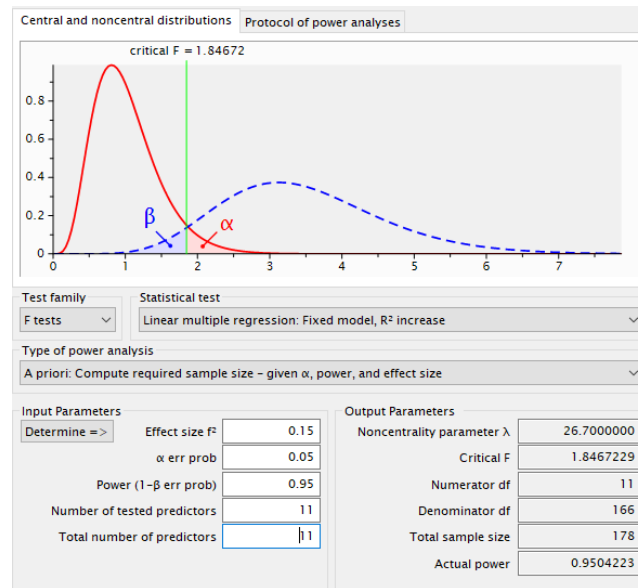
*Figure 4.*Power analysis output

236 individuals began the questionnaire however 87 of these had substantial amounts of missing data (i.e. they did not complete any scales in full) so were therefore removed. 149 responses were complete and used for analysis.

Of the 149 respondents, 126 identified themselves to be White British, 11 identified as White non-British, 1 identified as Asian/Asian British Indian, 1 identified as Asian/Asian British Bangladeshi, 4 identified as Asian/Asian British other, 1 identified as Black/Black British, 4 identified as mixed/multiple and 1 identified as other (White Scottish). For the purposes of analysis, the non-British responses were removed as they did not meet the inclusion criteria, leaving 138 complete responses for analysis, giving the study 86% power. Of the remaining 138 respondents, 36 had lived or were currently living somewhere considered to be superdiverse and 102 were living somewhere not considered superdiverse using the geographical definition.

2.2.2 Interview Participants

Participants were recruited via Facebook advertisements and an internal advertisement on the Canterbury Christ Church University RPS webpage. To take part individuals had to have lived in London for a minimum of 12 months. London was chosen as it is known to be a superdiverse city (Hall, 2015). Six students from the university took part in the interviews and their information can be found in the table below. Data have been

anonymised with pseudonyms.

Table 1

Participant Information

NAME	AGE	ETHNICITY	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LONDON	CURRENT RESIDENCE
OLUCHI	21	Black British	16 years	Canterbury, Kent
KATIE	18	White British	18 years	Canterbury, Kent
LAURETTE	18	Black British	18 years	Canterbury, Kent
MARK	21	White British	5 years	Canterbury, Kent
MANPREET	-	Asian German/British	5 years	Rainham, Kent
CRAIG	25	White British	18 months	Deal, Kent

2.3 Procedure

The concurrent research design was implemented at this stage. This involved collecting and then analysing both the quantitative and qualitative data at the same time. This was done because each phase of the research had different research questions and aims.

2.4 Quantitative Materials, Measures and Analysis

Data were collected using online questionnaires created on Qualtrics. Participants were asked what their current, last and longest place of residence was in order to categorise them into a geographically superdiverse or non-superdiverse group. They also gave their ethnicity. In order to measure subjective superdiversity participants were asked to list the ethnic groups they felt were most prominent where they currently lived and to assign the percentage of the local population they felt each group represented. Further questionnaire measures were drawn from existing literature.

2.4.1 Preferred and perceived acculturation strategies

Taken from Zagefka and Brown (2002), preferred and perceived acculturation strategies were measured using four subscales measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree).

Attitudes towards culture maintenance were measured assessing the importance placed on maintaining their own culture and attitudes towards minority groups maintaining their own culture. However due to issues over validity and question duplication these measures were not included in analysis.

Own attitude towards intergroup contact was measured using two items: 'I think that it is important that immigrants or other cultural groups have British friends' 'I think it is important that immigrants or other cultural groups spend time with British people outside of work or school' $\alpha = .818$. The third item 'I think that immigrants and other cultural groups should stick to their own kind' was removed from this scale to improve the alpha score and combined with another item 'I think that members of my cultural group should stick to their own kind' to form a new scale *sticking to one's own kind* $\alpha = .777$. These items were also removed in Zagefka and Brown (2002). The last two items measuring attitude towards contact were removed due validity issues.

The third subscale measured perception of British and minority attitudes towards culture maintenance separately. *Perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance* was measured using three items: 'I believe that British people do not mind other cultural groups maintaining their own culture' 'I believe that British people do not mind other cultural groups maintaining their own religion language and clothing' 'I believe that British people do not mind other culture group maintaining their own way of living' $\alpha = .910$. *Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance* was also measured using three items: 'I believe that immigrants or other cultural groups want to maintain their own culture in the UK' 'I believe that immigrants and other cultural groups want to maintain their own religion language and clothing in the UK' 'I believe that immigrants and other cultural groups their own way of living in the UK' $\alpha = .874$.

In the final subscale *perception of attitudes toward contact* participants indicated separately how important they believed British people and immigrants find it that cultural groups have contact. *Perceived British attitudes towards contact* was measured using three items: 'In my view, British people think it is important that members of non-British cultural groups have British friends' 'In my view, British people find it important that members of

non-British cultural groups spend time with British people outside of school/work/university'
α =.850. *Perceived minority attitudes towards contact* was measured using three items: 'I
believe immigrants and non-British Cultural groups think it is important to have British
friends' 'I believe that immigrants and other non-British cultural groups find it important to
also spend time with Britons after work/school' α =.878.

2.4.2 Intergroup Relations

Intergroup relations was assessed using 3 separate scales from Zagefka & Brown
(2002): ingroup bias, intergroup relations and perceived discrimination. *Ingroup bias* was
measured by asking participants to indicate how much they agreed with statements around
how 'comfortable' 'nice' or 'aggressive' they found their own group and outgroups to be on a
5-point Likert scale. Subsequently a difference score was calculated to create a measure of
ingroup bias. To measure *intergroup relations* participants indicated the extent to which they
agreed with the following statement on a 5-point Likert scale: 'I believe relations are good
between immigrants/other cultural groups and British people'. *Perceived discrimination* was
measured by asking whether or not participants believed British people and immigrants were
discriminated against in Britain; this scale was removed as it was not necessary for the final
analysis.

2.4.3 Acculturation preferences

Acculturation preferences were assessed using measures of culture maintenance and
cultural adoption preferences taken from Zagefka et al. (2012) using a 5 point Likert scale.
Own attitude towards minority culture maintenance was measured using three items: 'I
would like if minority members in the UK Maintain their own culture' 'I would like if
minority members in the UK maintain their own religion, language and clothing' 'I would
like if minority members in the UK maintain their own way of living' α =.912. *Attitude
towards culture adoption* was measured using three items: 'I would like if minority members
in the UK take on British culture' 'I would like if minority members in the UK take on the
British religion, language and clothing' 'I would like it minority members in the UK take on
the British way of living' α =.855.

2.4.4 Outgroup Affect

Outgroup affect was measured using an adapted scale from Van Acker and
Vanbeselaere (2011) measured on a 5-point Likert scale. This scale was not necessary to test

the predictors of interest in the final analysis so was removed.

2.4.5 Threat

Threat was measured using a 17-item scale from Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) including 'Immigrants have increased the tax burden on British people' and 'The values and beliefs of non-British cultural groups in the UK regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most British people' $\alpha =.905$.

2.4.6 Support for Multiculturalism

Support for multiculturalism was measured using an adapted version of the scale used by Tip et al. (2012). Participants responded to the following items on a 5-point Likert scale: 'Brits should recognize that British society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds' 'The unity of this country is weakened by people of different cultural background sticking to their old ways' $\alpha =.629$. One item was removed to improve this alpha score.

Based on these results, all scales that were suitable for Cronbach's analysis were shown to be of a high level of reliability apart from support for multiculturalism which displayed a low level of reliability.

2.5 Qualitative Materials, Management and Analysis

The interview schedule (Appendix A) was designed with IPA in mind and comprised the following topics: (i) culture and traditions; (ii) culture and cultural identity; (iii) experiences of where they live; (iv) understanding and opinions of multiculturalism and superdiversity; (v) citizenship; (vi) UK attitudes and political opinion. This interview schedule was developed by thinking about all the possible areas of an individual's life that superdiversity may have an effect on (Max Planck Institute, 2010). While the overarching questions were broad, asking about topics in general to elicit immediate ideas from participants, probe questions were used to delve deeper or to help those individuals who were unsure where to start. It was also important to gain an understanding of participant experiences and anecdotes so questions were framed to allow for subjective lived experience to foreground.

Interviews took place on the Canterbury Christ Church University campus in the Psychology labs. Ethical consideration was taken and participants gave their voluntary and informed consent for the interview, recording and use of their data. After this the interviewer engaged participants in light conversation to put them at ease and to build rapport. Interviews were recorded using a Dictaphone, transcribed verbatim in anonymous form and analysed following the principles of IPA (Smith, et al., 2009). The transcripts were read multiple times and coded to identity the emergent themes in each participants first-hand account. Initial coding remained close to the participants own words and explanations, they were then categorised according to the interpretative connections between them to form the superordinate themes presented in the present document. Analysis was completed using NVivo.

2.6 Integration

The results from both the quantitative and qualitative sections were then integrated to gain a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon of superdiversity. Complementary, contradictory and related findings were identified and explored. By integrating qualitative and quantitative methods, it is hoped that the interview narrative can add meaning to the quantitative results while the quantitative results can add precision to the narratives and aid in identifying connections in what is said (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

3 Results of the questionnaire

3.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

VARIABLE	M	SD
Ingroup Bias	.11	.41
Threat	3.95	.96
Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance	1.88	.56
Perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance	3.21	.97
Own attitude towards culture adoption	2.52	.77
Own attitude towards culture maintenance	2.16	.94
Perceived minority attitudes towards contact	2.86	.80
Perceived British attitude towards contact	2.65	.87
Own attitude towards minority culture maintenance	2.33	.85
Support for Multiculturalism	1.83	.72

High scores indicate high levels of disagreement with the scale items. This table shows that in general the participants had fairly favourable views towards minority groups with agreement on measures of contact and culture maintenance suggesting this is something they, the majority and minority's desire. There was also a high level of agreement for the statements about culture adoption suggesting this is something participants desire. Participants also appear to strongly agree with the statements measuring support for multiculturalism suggesting they too are in support of this. The mean values for threat are approaching disagreement suggesting low levels of threat from the participants who answered the questionnaire.

3.2 Mann Whitney – U

In order to test H1 which predicted that there would be a difference in the way the two groups (superdiverse versus non-superdiverse) responded to each scale, Mann Whitney-U tests were conducted to assess the difference between the two groups on their score for each

measure used. Mann Whitney-U tests were conducted over an Independent T-Test because the responses were measured on Likert scales therefore data is ordinal also the data for each measure was not normally distributed meaning a non-parametric test was necessary.

Two distinct groups are being examined in this analysis; those experiencing superdiversity and those not. This was operationalised in two ways; an absolute/objective measure based on where people lived and a relative/subjective measure according to the greater or lesser subjective diversity in individuals local area.

Table 3

Mann Whitney U Scores – groups based on objective measure of superdiversity

DV	U-stat	Z score	P value
Ingroup bias	1384.5	.233	.816
Threat	1307.5	.121	.904
Own attitude towards contact	1799.0	.790	.429
Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance	1378.0	-1.184	.236
Perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance	1659.0	.415	.678
Own attitude towards culture adoption	1418.0	.334	.738
Perceived Minority attitudes towards contact	1463.0	-.413	.679
Perceived British attitudes towards contact	1721.5	1.051	.293
Own attitudes towards minority culture maintenance	1412.0	.300	.764
Support for multiculturalism	1220.5	-.257	.797

Table 1 displays no significant differences between groups based on an objective measure of superdiversity, suggesting that a geographical operationalisation of superdiversity may not be suitable. Groups were then compared using the subjective measure of superdiversity measured in the questionnaire. Due to issues with percentages totalling 100%, with many being too high or too low, it was impossible to scale responses. Therefore it was

decided to use the number of groups identified as an indication of subjective experience of superdiversity. Based on this a median split was completed resulting in a high diversity condition with 64 respondents and a low diversity condition with 74 respondents. Table 2 displays the results of the Mann Whitney U based on subjective diversity.

Table 4

Mann Whitney U score – groups based on subjective measure of superdiversity

DV	U-stat	Z score	P value
Ingroup bias	1697.5	-.874	.382
Threat	1919.0	.649	.516
Own attitude towards contact	2251.5	.213	.831
Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance	2188.5	.245	.807
Perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance	2099.5	-.188	.851
Own attitude towards culture adoption	1652.5	-1.215	.225
Perceived Minority attitudes towards contact	2116.5	.376	.707
Perceived British attitudes towards contact	2263.0	1.097	.273
Own attitudes towards minority culture maintenance	1801.5	-.450	.653
Support for multiculturalism	1837.0	.547	.585

Again we see no significant differences between the two groups in how they responded to each scale. T –Tests also revealed no significant differences between groups, therefore we fail to reject the null hypothesis; there is no difference in how superdiverse groups and less diverse groups measure on the scales used. Next we move on to consider the relationships between these measures.

Table 5 displays the bivariate correlations between each of the measures. There are some notable strong, significant correlations for instance between support for multiculturalism and threat ($r = -.614$, $p = .01$) and support for multiculturalism and own

attitude towards minority culture maintenance (r =.611, *p*= .01). There was also a moderate positive correlation between threat and ingroup bias (r = .451, *p* = .01) as well as a moderate negative correlation between own attitude towards minority culture maintenance and threat (r = -.553, *p* = .01).

Table 5

Predictor variables – Bivariate correlations

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Ingroup Bias	-												
2. Threat	.451**	-											
3. Own attitude towards intergroup contact	-.158	-.150	-										
4. Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance	-.114	-.021	.180*	-									
5. Perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance	.119	-.073	-.054	-.133	-								
6. Own attitude towards culture adoption	.260**	.402**	.098	.002	-.050	-							
7. Own attitude towards culture maintenance	.156	.368**	.160	.355**	-.057	.179*	-						
8. Sticking to one's own kind	.201*	.376**	-.224**	-.044	-.066	.179*	.151	-					
9. Perceived minority attitude towards contact	.127	-.316**	.176*	-.030	.230**	-.016	-.011	-.008	-				
10. Perceived British attitude towards contact	.072	.092	.338**	.114	.103	.098	.291**	.036	.256**	-			
11. Own attitude towards minority culture maintenance	-.248**	-.553**	.101	.119	.071	-.141	-.208*	-.230*	.278**	-.047	-		
12. Support for Multiculturalism	-.302**	-.614**	.238**	.102	.133	-.247**	-.210*	-.392**	.243**	.034	.611**	-	
13. Outgroup Affect	.275**	.660**	-.115	.068	-.130	.368**	.394**	.532**	-.119	.208*	-.353**	-.533**	-

* $p = .05$, ** $p = .01$

3.3 Regressions

In order to test the remaining hypotheses multiple regression analysis was used. To test H2 (intergroup relations will be predicted by preferred acculturation strategies), the analysis from Zagefka and Brown (2002) was replicated, using a hierarchical regression to test linear effects and the interaction. In the first regression ingroup bias was regressed from own desire for contact and own desire for minority culture maintenance. A significant regression equation was found ($F(2, 119) = 5.111$, $p = .007$, $R^2 = .079$). Own attitude towards minority culture maintenance emerged as the significant predictor of ingroup bias ($\beta = -.234$, $t = -2.64$, $p = .009$). In the present research the interaction term was not significant (R^2 change $= .003$, F change $(1, 118) = .430$, $p = .513$, ns.). The original research did not measure participant's attitudes towards culture adoption and the effect this may or may not have on ingroup bias. The present research measured attitudes towards culture adoption and included this in a new regression model. Ingroup bias was regressed from own attitudes towards contact, culture adoption and minority culture maintenance, a significant regression equation was found ($F(3, 118) = 6.318$, $p = .001$, $R^2 = .138$). Both attitudes towards minority culture maintenance ($\beta = -.195$, $t = -2.245$, $p = .027$) and culture adoption ($\beta = .248$, $t = 2.85$, $p = .005$) emerged as significant predictors of ingroup bias.

In the second regression to test H2 intergroup relations was regressed from own desire for contact and own desire for minority culture maintenance. The regression equation was non-significant ($F(2, 119) = .029$, $p = .971$, ns.) The interaction of the two predictor variables on the outcome variable was also non-significant (R^2 change $= .001$, F change $(1, 118) = .115$, $p = .736$, ns.) This regression was completed a second time to include culture adoption. The regression model was non-significant ($F(3, 118) = .499$, $p = .684$, $R^2 = .013$).

In H3 it was predicted that threat would mediate the relationship between perceived minority contact and culture maintenance preferences and support for multiculturalism. To test this mediation the method outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) was followed. Descriptive statistics can be seen in table 1 and bi-variate correlations can be seen in table 3. First, threat was regressed from perceived minority attitudes towards contact and perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance. A significant regression model was found ($F(2, 117) = 6.534$, $p = .002$, $R^2 = .100$). Perceived minority attitudes towards contact emerged as a significant predictor of threat ($\beta = -.316$, $t = -3.607$, $p < .001$).

Secondly, the relationship between threat, perceived minority attitudes towards contact and support for multiculturalism was tested. Perceived minority attitude towards contact had a significant positive correlation with support for multiculturalism (r = .243, *p* = .01), and a significant negative relationship with the mediator threat (r = -.316, *p* = .01). When support for multiculturalism was regressed from perceived minority attitudes towards contact, a significant regression model emerged with perceived minority attitudes towards contact emerging as a significant predictor of support for multiculturalism (β = .243, *t* = 2.70, *p* = .008). However when support for multiculturalism was regressed from threat and perceived minority attitudes towards contact simultaneously (R^2 = .379, *p* = .000) the results showed that threat had a significant effect on support for multiculturalism (β = −.599, *t* = -7.69, *p* = .000), and that the effect of perceived minority attitudes towards contact became non-significant with the addition of threat in the model (β = .046, *t* = .590, *p* = .556, *ns.*). This suggests full mediation. To test the significance of the mediation analysis, PROCESS (Hayes, 2012) was used. Following the guidance from Field (2017), using model mode 4, Support for Multiculturalism was entered as the Y variable, Perceived minority attitudes towards contact as the X variable and Threat as the M variable. Results estimate the effect as *b* = .178, 95% CI [.079, .312]. As these confidence intervals do not include zero, we can conclude that there is likely to be a genuine indirect effect. Using the Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) this mediation was shown to be significant (*z* = 3.27, *p* = .001) confirming the results from PROCESS.
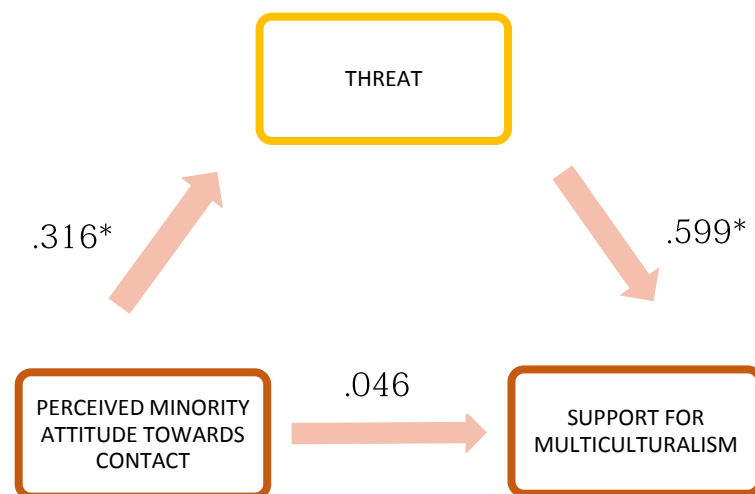

Figure 5. Mediation relationship between perceived minority attitude towards contact, threat and support for multiculturalism, replicating Tip et al. (2012). **p* = .001

Lastly the relationship between threat, perceived minority attitude towards culture

maintenance and support for multiculturalism was tested. Perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance had a non-significant relationship with support for multiculturalism (r = .102, ns) and a non-significant relationship with threat (r = -.021, ns) despite this a regression was completed. When support for multiculturalism was regressed from perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance the regression model was not significant (F (1, 116) = 1.231, p = .269, ns.) However, when support for multiculturalism was regressed from threat and perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance simultaneously, the regression model was significant (F (2, 115) = 36.070, p = .000, R² = .385) with threat emerging as the significant predictor of support for multiculturalism ((β = −.612, t = -8.377, p = .000). The effect of perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance remained non-significant (p = .207, ns). This is explained by the lack of correlation between these factors.

In order to test H4 (participants own acculturation preferences will be predicted by their perception of outgroups acculturation preferences) two regressions were completed. Firstly, own attitude towards minority culture maintenance was regressed from perceived minority attitudes towards contact and perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance. A significant regression equation was found (F (2, 120) = 6.159, p= .003, R² =.093). Perceived minority attitudes towards contact emerged as the significant predictor of own attitude towards culture maintenance (β = .281, t =3,234, p =.002). In the second regression own attitude towards intergroup contact was regressed from perceived minority attitudes towards contact and perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance. Again, a significant regression equation was found (F (2, 125) = 3.668, p = .028, R² = .055). Perceived minority attitudes towards contact emerged as the significant predictor of own attitudes towards intergroup contact (β = .181, t = 2.079, p =.040).

Finally, to test H5 (individuals will be influenced by their perception of British attitudes) two regressions were conducted. First, own attitude towards contact was regressed from perceived British attitude towards contact and perceived British attitude towards culture maintenance. A significant regression equation was found (F (2, 125) = 8.591, p= .000, R² = .121). Perceived British attitudes towards contact emerged as the significant predictor of own attitudes towards contact (β = .346, t =4.106, p =.000). Then, own attitude towards minority culture maintenance was regressed from perceived British attitudes towards contact and perceived British attitudes towards culture maintenance. This time the regression model was

non-significant (F (2, 120) = .486, p = .617, R^2 = .008).

To test H6 (there will be differences in the relationships between variables between the two groups) each regression was conducted separately for the two groups. It was decided to split the two groups using the subjective measure of superdiversity (based on how many ethnic groups participants identified where they lived) in order to have more equal groups and therefore more equal statistical power for analysis. When testing the same relationships tested by H4 a difference between the groups emerged. When regressing own attitude towards intergroup contact from perceived minority attitudes towards contact and perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance a significant regression equation emerged in the non-superdiverse group (F (2, 65) = 4.210, p = .019, R^2 = .115) with perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance emerging as the significant predictor (β = .277, t = 2.36, p = .021). However in the superdiverse group the regression equation was not significant (F (2, 57) = .789, p = .459, R^2 =.027) with no significant predictors. The same difference was found when regressing own attitude towards minority culture maintenance from perceived minority attitude towards contact and perceived minority attitude towards culture maintenance. A significant regression equation emerged for the non-superdiverse group (F (2, 61) = 4.551, p= .014, R^2 = .130) with perceived minority attitudes towards contact emerging as the significant predictor (β = .322, t = 2.69, p = .009). In the superdiverse group the model was not significant (F (2, 56) = 2.164, p = .124, R^2 = .072) with no significant predictors.

A difference also emerged between groups when testing H5. When regressing own attitude towards contact from perceived British attitudes towards contact and perceived British attitudes towards culture maintenance, the non-superdiverse group had a significant regression model (F (2, 65) = 5.825, p = .005, R^2 = .152) with perceived British attitudes towards contact emerging as the significant predictor (β = .391, t = 3.41, p = .001). In the superdiverse group the model was marginally non-significant (F (2, 57) = 3.096, p = .053, R^2 = .098) but perceived British attitudes towards contact still emerged as a significant predictor of own attitudes towards contact (β = .302, t = 2.37, p = .021).

4 Discussion of quantitative findings

The results from the Mann-Whitney U analysis used to test H1 seem to suggest that increased superdiversity is not impacting acculturation preferences, intergroup relations,

threat or support for multiculturalism. Despite using both an objective and subjective measure of superdiversity with more equal groups no differences were found between the groups. As a result we fail to reject the null hypothesis for H1. This lack of difference between the superdiverse and non-superdiverse group would seem to suggest a lack of support for contact theory (Allport, 1954). Contact theory states that increased contact, if it meets certain conditions, with groups different to one's own can reduce prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It is possible that certain contact conditions are not met in superdiverse setting such as support of authorities like the government who at present have an anti-immigration stance (Malik, 2018).

Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma and Hagendoorn (2010) found that outgroup size induces perceived threat. However they also found that the complementary nature of ethnic competition theory and intergroup contact theory proposes that people living in areas with high numbers of outgroups (i.e. somewhere superdiverse) get used to and are more experienced with the integration of outgroups. As a result individuals experience unavoidable contact with outgroups and eventually over time this process reduces individual levels of threat. The findings from the present research do not seem to reflect the decrease in threat from those living some more 'superdiverse' or with more outgroups. In addition Breugelmans and van de Vijver (2004) found less positive attitudes towards multiculturalism in areas with a higher non-native population. Again the present findings do not seem to support this. It is possible that the questionnaires have not been able to differentiate between diverse and superdiverse because of the lack of an operationalised definition of superdiversity. Without a more concrete definition it will remain difficult to compare groups.

Moving on to consider the results of the regressions; the first regression which regressed ingroup bias from own desire for contact and minority culture maintenance replicated the findings of the Zagefka and Brown (2002) supporting H2. A significant regression was found, with own desire for minority culture maintenance emerging as the significant predictor of ingroup bias. The present study included a measure of culture adoption as an extension to Zagefka and Brown (2002) which also emerged as a significant predictor of ingroup bias. Desire for minority culture maintenance and desire for culture adoption are related to ingroup bias in opposite directs ($r = -.248$, $p = .01$ and $r = .260$, $p = .01$ respectively). This may mean that more liberal acculturation attitudes reduce bias, lower bias

leads to more permissive acculturation attitudes or that a third unknown variable causes both. While the present research cannot answer this question over causality literature does suggest that an integration orientation, which implies high culture maintenance, is adaptive for intergroup relations (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). However there are caveats to this for example individual differences; Van Assche suggests that individuals who score more highly on right wing authoritarianism may see diversity differently as authoritarianism makes them more susceptible to perceiving greater diversity in their environment leading to increased negativity towards outgroups (Van Assche, Roets, Dhont, & Van Hiel, 2016).

The second regression which regressed intergroup relations from the same two factors was not significant. This may be because there was only one measure to assess intergroup relations. Moreover, the original question was produced in German and the English translation of this particular question is phrased oddly so perhaps needs rewording for an English sample in order for its meaning to be conveyed more successfully.

The regressions conducted to assess H3 partly supported the existing literature (Tip et al., 2012). It appears from the present study that there is a significant relationship between perceived minority attitudes towards contact and support for multiculturalism with threat mediating this relationship. This supports the findings of Tip et al. (2012) who also established this relationship and mediation. However in the present study there was no correlation between perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance and threat or support for multiculturalism. Even upon testing the regression model perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance did not emerge as a significant predictor of support for multiculturalism. However there was still the relationship between threat and support for multiculturalism. This may suggest that participants find an isolationist minority to be threatening but not a minority which maintains its heritage culture. This again links to the benefits of integration which have previously been mentioned (Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Hou, 2016). The relationship between threat and support for multiculturalism is well established in much of literature in this area of research for example Verkuyten (2009) indicated that the relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism was also mediated by threat. The present recreation further supports these claims.

There may be several other reasons why desire for culture maintenance was not related to threat and support for multiculturalism. As previously stated this study is relying on a small sample therefore it is possible it lacks the power to find this relationship. It is also possible that participant misinterpreted or misunderstood these questions hence why there is no correlation between the measures.

The regressions used to test H4 supported the findings of Zagefka et al. (2012) by recreating their results. It appears that perceived minority attitudes towards desire for contact and desire for culture maintenance affect one's own attitudes towards contact and culture maintenance. While Zagefka et al. (2012) found that perception of minority acculturation preferences impacted majority member's acculturation preferences, Roblain, Malki, Azzi and Licata (2017) found that perception of majority member's acculturation preferences can also influence the acculturation preferences of minority groups. This suggests a bidirectional relationship between perception of outgroup acculturation preferences and own acculturation preferences which both the literature and the results of the present analysis suggest. It seems that perception of minority attitudes towards contact in particular impact own acculturation preferences as this emerged as the significant predictor in both regressions. This implies that being involved and interacting in the new culture is more important to own acculturation attitudes than whether or not minority members chose to maintain heritage culture or not.

The results of the regressions to test H5 suggest that ingroup norms apply when we consider acculturation preferences showing a significant relationship between perceived British attitudes and own attitudes. The direction of this effect cannot be assumed as there may be a false consensus effect present (see Marks & Miller, 1987). This finding is important if we consider how prominent the issue of immigration is within the press particularly when it comes to sensationalist press and reports of large immigrant groups not adopting British culture and how this is portrayed as a bad thing and something the majority are unsupportive of. If individuals are led by what they believe the attitudes of others are (Hogg & Reid, 2006), this will hugely affect public and political opinion of diversity in the UK.

When testing H6 (which predicted that there would be differences in the relationships tests between the two groups) two differences were found. Groups appear to differ in whether

or not perception of minority attitudes towards contact or perception of minority attitudes towards culture maintenance affect their own acculturation attitudes. In the superdiverse group it appears that perception of minority attitudes did not affect own attitudes. It is possible that as this group experiences greater levels of contact with minorities they rely less on stereotyped views of them reducing any false consensus about these groups. Wojcieszak and Price (2009) found that encountering any form of disagreement can attenuate the association between individual opinion and false consensus, contact may have the same effect. It may also be that these individuals have a more differentiated perception of minority groups. Further there may be other factors in these settings that affect own acculturation attitudes like how much other groups involved themselves in the community (Wessendorf, 2013).

Groups also differed on how much they were influenced by British ingroup norms. In the superdiverse group, group norms only accounted for 9.8% of the variance in own attitude towards contact, compared to 15.4% in the non-superdiverse group. While the same pattern of prediction was evident in both groups, it appears that those individuals living in a superdiverse setting are less influenced by group's norms than those individuals living in a non-superdiverse setting. This may be because they are less surrounded by their ingroup because of increased diversity therefore are less influenced by what their norms may be or they may consider the local community to be the most important ingroup over the British. Evidently there are more important factors which account for more difference in the superdiverse group that may not be influencing a non-superdiverse group.

These finding indicate that there are perhaps differences in how individuals living in superdiverse settings approach, understand or are affected by issues around acculturation. Possibly, in superdiverse settings the influences on own attitudes may be more numerous and diverse. Findings have also successfully replicated previous literature supporting evidence for established predictors of acculturation outcomes as well as extending these results by showing some relationships to be stable across different diversity contexts.

4.1 Limitations

Several limitations need to be discussed for this section of the research. Firstly there

are issues with the methodology used here. Due to the correlational nature of the results there is an inability to judge the causality of the relationships measured. There is also an inability to see the reasoning behind the responses. The interviews partly address these issues as they will gain an in depth view of people's attitudes; this is one of the important reasons for adopting a mixed methods approach for this research.

Furthermore there are issues with the generalisability of these results as they are based on a British sample, while there is no evidence to suggest the results would be different across nationalities this still warrants investigation. There is an issue here with the difference in the group sizes in the objective measure of superdiversity; with only 36 living in a high or superdiverse setting and 102 living in a low diversity setting. Future research may wish to balance groups more equally to truly test this operationalisation of superdiversity. However even with more balanced groups using a subjective measure of superdiversity no differences were detected, again this may be an issue with the operationalisation of superdiversity for research (Jensen, 2017). In addition, this study was based off of a relatively small sample of majoritively White British participants, this was due to the time constraints placed upon this project which limited the length of time available for data collection. Future research should consider using a larger, more diverse sample for representativeness.

5 Results of the interviews

Following analysis, three superordinate themes were developed from the lived experiences of the participants: the banality of diversity, navigating culture and identity and why we support diversity. Each theme comprised several subordinate themes as presented below. Although each participant presented a different story, many shared similar thoughts, feelings and experiences.

5.1 The banality of diversity

The idea that diversity was banal and everyday included subordinate themes of: diversity as normal, stepping into a new world, and coexistence and finding the middle ground.

5.1.1 Diversity as normal

Diversity as a normal feature of everyday life is centred on interviewee's feelings that diversity was something they saw every day, and was never something they really considered

as a stand out feature of their lives, this is summed up by Oluchi:

> O: where I've lived I've always been with different people so it's just normal to me
>
> O: it was just something that was normal to me, I didn't see it was you know, immigrant like you're different, it was just normal 'cause I was always surrounded by people coming from different countries like Eastern European people as well in my primary school there was a lot of them from like Lithuania, like, erm, Russia there were Polish it was just a normal thing for me growing up so I never thought of it as something that was bad.

Here we repeatedly see that for Oluchi the expression that being surrounded by people from various different ethnic backgrounds was 'normal' to her. She explains how she 'didn't see it' suggesting she was less sensitive to cultural differences between people, because she was so used to people being different to each other where she was living. Oluchi's statement that she saw it as normal as opposed to 'bad' suggests that she perhaps views these as the two ways in which diversity is seen, it perhaps suggest that if someone doesn't see diversity as normal, they probably view is as something which is negative as they have not been exposed to it regularly. This begins to suggest a difference between those people who have existed somewhere superdiverse, and those who have not. This sentiment of normality was echoed by Katie:

> K: It's just normal. You don't think, "Oh, they're an immigrant." It's just someone else.

Both of these sets of quotes express how, for these individuals, diversity and living alongside individuals from a different cultural group or background to their own was not seen as something particularly interesting or unique as an experience as they grew up 'surrounded' by diversity. It shows how on an everyday level diversity goes unacknowledged. In her interview Laurette also discusses this:

> L: Yea it is really different and we kind of thought, you know, we never thought about it like that we never thought there will be places that aren't like the same as where we're from but because we were so used to it and we grew up in for like 18 years we were all like this, what's the word I'm looking for, we were desensitised to how other places might be, and you're like, wow, I didn't realise there were this many people

Laurette's use of the term 'desensitised' here is interesting. It suggests that by being exposed to difference and diversity, this is something less frightening or unusual for her compared to those people who have not experienced her way of growing up which she discusses here as a huge portion of her life; '18 years'. Laurette sees herself as less sensitive to diversity. She says here that 'we never really thought about it like that' suggesting little emphasis was placed on the day to day engagement with diversity as something unique. Laurette also begins to touch here on the second subordinate theme in 'the banality of diversity' in that she's considering an experience where she would be exposed to 'how other places might be'. The idea of experiencing something different that Laurette discusses here links to the subtheme 'stepping in to a new world' which discusses more specifically the experiences of being somewhere different to London.

5.1.2 Stepping into a new world

The subordinate theme of stepping into a new world centres on participant experiences of joining or leaving superdiverse settings and that these new experiences, and in some cases transitions, signified a pivotal moment in their realisation of the level of diversity around them on a daily basis in their hometowns. Katie explains:

> I: Can you recall any episodes in your life where you became aware that you were living somewhere that was multicultural or superdiverse? …Is there a specific event that –
>
> K: I'm not sure. I think, maybe, possibly not because of being in Lewisham. Maybe more because we used to go on holiday quite a bit to Cornwall, and I think going there and noticing everyone was white, it makes you notice not everyone is white where you live. So, I think that's, maybe, a time where I was like 'Okay, there are areas of the country where there aren't people from different cultures or background', that sort of thing

Here we see that for Katie, family holidays to a far less multicultural corner of the UK as a child acted as a point of realisation about how diverse her hometown of Lewisham was. This quote highlights how until this moment, diversity was such a normal part of Katie's life that she had little knowledge that the rest of the UK may not be experiencing the same level of multiculturalism that she was. Katie acknowledges the various areas of difference that are included in a definition of superdiversity in terms of ethnicity, culture and background. Laurette also considers a similar experience she shared with her friends when

they left their hometown of Brent for university:

> L :Its majoritively Indian, erm yea they like, a good 70% is probably Indian, and then probably like Eastern, not Eastern, middle, middle east probably like Pakistan and people like that, and then I think was Black people, there weren't that many white people I don't think, which was something really weird for a lot of us, because a lot of my friends moved out of London for Uni and went to places like Bristol, Cardiff where there's loads of white people, so I think a lot of us were like 'woah' like it's **very** different from where we grew up, so it like okay now I need to get used to a different way of everybody living and they might not have it the same way as we do, things aren't the same as where we're from

Here Laurette also shares in the realisation a new experience in a difference type of environment can bring in showing her that not everywhere is superdiverse. Laurette places emphasis on the word 'very' here, which stresses just how different life was for her and her friends in their respective university cities compared to their life in Brent. Both Katie and Laurette experience a shift into an arena of 'white people' or a prominent, dominant culture which they had not previously experienced living in London. Laurette's use of 'weird' in this quote again reiterates the idea that diversity, for her, is a normal state of play. It is also noteworthy that Laurette says she felt she has to 'get used to a different way of everybody living' suggesting that she experienced a difference in interpersonal and intergroup relationships living somewhere which was less diverse and that people in these places operate in a different way. This again puts weight behind the argument that there is a uniqueness to living in a superdiverse place. Mark also experienced this transition when moving to Canterbury for University:

> M: Even coming, **at** 18, **knowing** that Canterbury was far less diverse than London I still found it very odd, it was still something that was confusing to me that there wasn't people there

Mark expresses' that even though he was aware that Canterbury was going to be a far less diverse place to live than his home in Dagenham, the actual transition to being in Canterbury still took some getting used to and that he felt 'confused' by it for a while. Taking a step outside of his usual world meant that Mark had to adjust to a new way of living. Like Laurette's use of 'weird', Marks use of 'confusing' suggests that unlike most people, living

somewhere diverse was comfortable and normal, echoing the ideas from the first subordinate theme.

Oluchi further discusses this point when talking about her family's move to Essex and the new commute she took back into London for college:

> O: I think it's moving out of Newham that I realised ' oh things, not every area is actually like that' because it really, **really,** wasn't like that when I moved to erm, Essex but I sort of had a year in secondary school so I was travelling back and forth and just being on the train there is a **big** difference because you would start on a train with packed full of train full of different people as you get slowly into Essex I'd be the only Black girl on the train (laughs) do you get what I'm saying? So it was just, I think moving out of Newham made me realise that things are not the same everywhere

The repetition of 'really' shows just how different life in Essex was for Oluchi compared to the diverse borough of Newham she was born and raised in, again emphasising the normality of diversity felt by her. This is also suggested by her emphasis of 'big'. The image Oluchi portrays of her herself as the only black girl of the train could suggest she felt a level of isolation in Essex, feeling singled out as 'different' instead of one of many 'different' people in London. Her laughter could be a mechanism to offset some of those uncomfortable feelings she had about being the only black girl on the train. She also described a similar situation when using a bus in Essex where she felt she was being stared at because she was the only Black girl, again suggesting a level of separation between herself and this new place.

5.1.3 Coexistence and finding the common ground

This subtheme is focussed on participants feeling that, in the superdiverse settings they lived within, different cultural groups stayed fairly separate to each other but got on regardless of this and their differences. Oluchi described this idea:

> I: would you have said it was quite like integrated in Newham or was it, were people very separate, were sort of the different cultural group's separate or was it quite integrated?
>
> O: erm, I think erm it was really separate because you go to some areas and it would be like mainly black, you'd go to another area mainly white then the larger area would be mainly Asian but at the same time everyone was able to still be within the same c-, like all still integrate into different communities as well like you can see like when

you go to certain areas you have the Asian people accommodating for black people, providing black hair products, black foods so it was just, I think everyone was just be, even though it was really separate you can see if you look back at it, it is really separate but everyone was still able to integrate with each other and just to find a common ground

Here we see how acts of provision from one cultural group to another, in this case the provision of black hair products from the Asian population is seen by Oluchi as an act of integration and as an attempt to bring two communities into contact with each other. Although she describes Newham as being separated in terms of where people were living, the ability to find a common ground in terms of being accommodating to the needs of others meant that groups were able to coexist peacefully. Laurette echoed this sentiment:

L: you had Wembley High Road and then you had Ealing Road which was majoritively Indian people, like, wherever you went that was it they were all Indian…but if you went to Harlesden as soon as you heard you were like that's a black area, or like as soon as you heard a different area you kind of knew what kinda people would be there

L: it was kinda integrated but I think also kinda separated because I think certain cultures just because of where they lived, kinda of just claimed that area, not claimed, but like had that area as their own so kinda went to it and you like, you knew, you knew what you'd be getting…yea I think even though it was kinda segregated I think no matter where you went you felt like you belonged regardless

Here we can see is commonality between Brent where Laurette originates and Newham where Oluchi is from. Both describe their home towns as having a 'black area' or a 'white area' or 'Asian area' demonstrating a form of ethnic separation based on where individuals chose to live. Laurette echoes the sentiment that despite this separation she felt that she belonged regardless. The idea of 'belonging' here is important as it suggests a form of meaningful connection with those around her, despite the described separation and ethnic differences. It would seem that, from an acculturation perspective, the participants are describing separation in London over integration but this isn't seen negatively. While it would appear separation is prominent groups still get on living alongside each other.

Craig also felt that people in London had found a common ground:

> C: I think everyone's in the same boat, and I think London makes you realise, it doesn't matter who you are, you know, no one's got any money or food here unless they're really well off, let's just roll with it
>
> C: In London, everyone's in the boat and then that mixed culturally and not classily, like in the class system that you can go to Sainsbury's in your dressing gown if you wanted to

Here we see an indication to another important aspect of superdiversity which is the mixing of different socio-economically stratified groups. Craig feels that economic situation is one of the unifying factors bringing different ethnic groups together. For those not in the well-off classes the lack of surplus income can unify those individuals across lower socio economic groups. Craig appears to emphasise the similarities between people such as lack of resources as a unifying factor which is stronger than any differences between them. This may be because these shared difficulties have more of an impact on everyday life than any difference in culture.

In summary, the theme of 'The banality of diversity' reflects the participants feeling that diversity was rather every day, something they didn't give much thought to unless asked, and something they never realised they were experiencing until they were taken into a different, less diverse environment. It also seems that separation of ethnic groups across geographical areas seems to be no impediment to good intergroup relations.

5.2 Navigating culture and identity

Participants discussed the phenomena of navigating their way through culture and cultural identity while living somewhere superdiverse. This theme is characterised by the subthemes of citizenship through belonging, creating a cultural identity and strengthening of cultural identities and cultural awareness.

5.2.1 Citizenship through belonging

Citizenship through belonging as a subtheme is concerned with understanding and questioning the term citizenship and what exactly makes someone a citizen. Craig in particular struggled with this term:

> C: That's just a horrible word isn't it? Citizen, what, you know like the windrush thing that's going on at the moment I mean, what?

> C: Citizenship by definition is how long they have to stay before you can't kick them out again I suppose, but it's a dirty word, citizen, am I a citizen just 'cause I'm born, because I live here and because I'm born and I'm white I'm British?

It is clear from these extracts that the terms 'citizen' and 'citizenship' are emotive and evoke anger from Craig. He relates his anger for these terms to the plight of the windrush generation, a topic that was a main new story at the time these interviews took place (BBC, 2018). Craig describes the term 'citizen' as a 'dirty word', something offensive or indecent. His definition of the word is also rather cynical, suggesting that unless you're a citizen or living in a country for an extensive period of time you will just be kicked out. Craig also questions what it is that makes him a citizen and whether being born in the UK and being white is enough to qualify him as a British citizen. This quote also suggests that Craig considers national identification to be less important than his identification with a local community or to be a more negative form of identification. This idea of whether birth is a precursor for citizenship is something discussed by Katie:

> K: I think obviously, being born here, you're immediately a citizen legally and everything, but then I do think that people, for example if you're coming to England to work and you're then putting money back into the country, I think that does make you a citizen, because you're doing something to, like, improve the country

While Katie agrees that being born in a country can make you a citizen she also feels that having some form of economic impact on a country and helping to improve the place in which you're living can also be an indicator of citizenship. This suggests a more open and fluid understanding of the term 'citizen'. Oluchi also conveys this idea:

> O: erm, I think living here for a certain amount of time, and I think adding to, adding something to the community makes you a citizen here, yea, so if you're working in any of way, helping people in any kind of way then you're, I think you're a citizen here

Both Katie and Oluchi share the sentiment that participating in, and adding something to the community you live in indicates a level of citizenship. In addition, Mark also expresses his dislike of thinking about citizenship:

> M: I don't really like to see people as like, you are British, and you are part of **my** club, and that's something that's important to me, I don't like saying that

Mark places emphasis here on the word 'my' suggesting that he feels the notion of citizenship sets up boundaries between groups and separates groups along these lines. This perhaps suggests that he perceives an 'us versus them' mentality towards British born individuals and immigrants. It also suggests a certain rebuttal against traditional ideas of in-group's and outgroups, with Mark showing no clear preference to the group which he belongs to. Like Craig it is clear that Mark doesn't like to think along these lines, later going on to say that he doesn't feel that citizenship is important on a social level. This would support the idea that for this group identifying on a national level is less important than identifying with people on a local level.

So far, the participants have all shown a level of questioning around what it is that makes a citizen and Laurette also engaged in this debate:

> L: A British Citizen... I'm not really sure actually, I think you probably, first of all, it think you have to have, you have to have been born here I think... but that's like the textbook version, erm, yea I think you have to be born here and I think maybe you have to, I wanna say adapt to living here but, like, my neighbour back home, she's been here for, I don't know how many years, but she doesn't speak that much English, and it's like well how can you have lived here for so long, and not have already like, picked it up already, and I think she's lived here for like a good, like probably 30 years and it's like well how could you not have picked up already by just being here like you don't have to sit down and learn it, but just by hearing it around you all the time, eventually you will have picked more up than she has. So it's just, I think it's accepting where you live, erm, as your like full time, like that what, this is who I am now, you kind of accept it as I live here now this is, this is my place, this is my home

Again Laurette alludes to the idea of birth leading to automatic citizenship however as she continues to question her own assumptions and thoughts about citizenship, she seems to shift towards feeling that acceptance of the place you live as home and adoption of some form of

the culture such as language means you are a citizen. For these individuals it seems that citizenship is defined by participation in the place you are living in over passport information.

5.2.2 Creating a cultural identity

Under this subtheme, individuals discussed cultural identity and what that meant to them and how they defined their own cultural identity. Laurette described what she believes cultural identity to mean in the following way:

> L: I think it's what you personally believe your culture to be not how other people define it to be, so not defined as where you live or what traditions you follow but what you, how you perceive yourself to be? Like I would say that I'm Caribbean but because I didn't necessarily grow up there, other people wouldn't see me as Caribbean, they'd see me as, oh but you've had a British upbringing so you're more British than you are, but it's not like how I think I am though

Here we can see that, for Laurette, her family heritage plays a strong part in her cultural identity despite never living in the Caribbean. This would suggest a level of fluidity around her own cultural identity, which links to the fluidity individuals felt around the term citizenship. There also appears to be some conflict for Laurette over how she perceives her cultural identity and the label that others place on her. For Laurette cultural identity is a personal definition, undefined by where you live or the traditions you follow.

Oluchi also shares a sense of having a cultural background different to that of her birth country that Laurette felt:

> O: I feel like a lot of the time people know where they come from, people know 'cool I might be in the UK but I know at heart I'm Nigerian' d'you get what, what I'm saying? I feel like it's important to some people but to me personally it's not important cause I always know that this is not, this is not my only background, this is not my only walk of life, I still have to go find out the, I need to go to Nigeria and find out where's my Grandads from, what he's done, there still things in there that I have as well that's attached to me'

Oluchi expresses the fact that while she is connected to having a cultural identity from the UK, this is not necessarily important to her as she knows it isn't the only background to have an influence on her life. Her heritage roots in Nigeria also play a part in how she identifies

and knowing that there is more to her cultural identity that she has yet to explore. This suggests that creating a cultural identity is an ongoing process. It also suggests that personal identification is what is most important and feeling a meaningful connection with that identity, something that has been reflected in the theme of citizenship through belonging also. Katie echoes this idea of cultural identity being separate from where you were born or live:

> K: I think you can be born somewhere but not identify with that country. If you were born, I don't know, say, in India, but then have lived in England all your life, I'd feel that someone would probably say they were more English than Indian and have the cultural identity of someone living in England. Yea, I think you choose your cultural identity, rather than it's given to you

Like Laurette Katie believes that cultural identity is not necessarily attached to the country of your birth; it is seen as a fluid construct. She also sees it as a personal identification rather than someone that someone assigns you with. Both Katie and Laurette talk about having one cultural identity, however Manpreet who comes from a mixed heritage background discusses what it was like to have several cultural identities and how she made sense of that experience:

> M: (Laughs) you know sometimes I can turn into a German, sometimes I turn into Asian so erm, its, it's like quite, very mixed culture at home

> M: It's like playing a totally different role, you know taking off your clothes and putting something else on and being a different person, it was two extremes

Here we see that Manpreet appears to sometimes find herself switching between different, fairly essentialised identities. This would contrast with the above ideas that you can chose your identity as it would suggest that Manpreet has several defined identities which she swaps between depending on where she is. When talking about how she felt growing up in a mixed cultural background, and then moving to England and having a third cultural influence on her life, Manpreet says that she feels she was changing her clothes. This image suggests that at any one time Manpreet felt she could only express one part of her cultural identity, choosing either the Indian or German part, rather than embracing both simultaneously. She also suggests that she felt these two cultural identities were at opposition with each other, which would perhaps explain why Katie, Laurette and many others think of having only one cultural identity; in order to avoid this internal conflict.

Manpreet's idea of essentialised identities however are juxtaposed with her view on culture where she felt there was more choice:

> M: I think it's, it's a form of identification, and not as such where some people could take it to the extreme where they would say, nothing outside our culture, for me it's a form of erm, where I can just lean back to, where I can find myself, and culture doesn't necessarily mean that I would identify myself as Asian, I personally think I made my own culture, so I picked out the bits which I liked, or which I found interesting or which I found generally positive in all the different cultures that I have been in contact with throughout my life, and just made my own

For Manpreet, it is possible to create her own culture which she could 'lean back to' in order to gain and understanding of a part of her identity. She suggests that as there are many cultures which have influenced her life she doesn't drawn her identity from just one, she has drawn it from a collection of these cultures. Her pick-and-mix approach to culture and identity appears to coexist with her switching between identities as mentioned previously. It seems that Manpreet exists as some form of cultural chameleon that changes and adapts a wide repertoire of cultural identities from this core identity she has created. Perhaps this shows that as Manpreet has got older, her identity has become more enmeshed and a more complex hybrid. Craig also discussed the power of culture, while Manpreet found culture to be a safe space in which to find herself, Craig describes the power of London in changing a person:

> C: I think it's **compressed** like, we're Tesco value orange squash and London's your Ribena you know, it's just all, you know, I think it's its own little country, it is like erm, almost emigrating, London, with the different people that you see, so I think culturally it had the power to change you.

Craig is suggesting that with the many mixed background evident in today's superdiverse London, it has the power to change how you see people and how you see yourself. Describing London as 'its own little country' suggests that London is seen as distinct from the rest of the UK, perhaps because of the level of diversity there in comparison to other towns and cities.

5.2.3 Strengthening of cultural identities and cultural awareness

In this subtheme, we see that interviewees felt that living in a superdiverse setting had provided them with a stronger cultural identity and enhanced their cultural awareness of their own culture and cultures around them.

> L: I think to like learn the culture more that way, and it wasn't like taking away from who I was, as a person
>
> I: that's interesting, what do you mean by that? Like wasn't taking, taking away from you?
>
> L: so even though I was around like their culture a lot, it wasn't like I was adopting their culture as my own
>
> I: okay
>
> L: I was kinda like, that's their thing and then, this is, this is my thing that I have
>
> I: did it make you more interested in your own culture? When you were exposed to another one?
>
> L:erm… I'm not, I don't think so, I think cause I kind of was like, well that's what their thing is, and when I kinda went home, this is, this is my thing, or when I was like around, around family houses, yea this is what my thing is
>
> I: okay so maybe it bought more kind of, awareness to the difference between cultures
>
> L: yea, like oh you do that whilst I do this

Here Laurette discusses the fact that her exposure to new cultures in terms of having friends from different cultures allowed her to access a new understanding of their way of living. She also describes how through seeing how other cultures did certain things in terms of days of celebration, special meals etc, she learnt that other cultures were not the same as hers. Experiencing other cultures allowed her to see what was special about her own culture and have more awareness of cultural contrasts. Laurette explains that exploring other cultures 'wasn't taking away' from who she was as a person. This is interpreted as meaning that, for Laurette, exploring new cultures did not mean she was giving up her own culture and taking on a new one, it was simply a chance to gain a greater awareness of her own background and enhance her understanding.

Oluchi felt that seeing other cultural traditions and ways of living had bought her closer to her own culture:

O: I think that it's just bought me closer to my culture in particular as well

I: okay that interesting so you feel –

O: -like for example seeing, seeing an Asian community how they are so, they are really tight as a community and they are really like are base around their cultures and stuff like that music, food, they're really into it so it's just like oh, I'm going to learn about mine to, do you get what I'm saying? So it make you want to be closer to your culture as well

This contrasts somewhat with Laurette as Oluchi expresses the feeling that, having seen other cultures and how they act around each other in terms of celebrating their culture and traditions, i.e. music and food, she then wanted to explore and strengthen her own culture, whereas for Laurette it was simply about culture awareness and understanding differences. Through exploration Oluchi was bought closer to her own culture, suggesting that superdiversity can bring about greater cultural awareness and strengthen each group's cultural identity in a shared space. Oluchi also described how cultural awareness came about in small, everyday tasks:

O: It's just so interesting! [Having friends from other cultural groups] You'll be like **WOW** I didn't know people did that like round their house, like eating, cause with me okay, In my house we eat rice with spoons (laughs) so to some people that like what are you doing you're supposed to use a fork and then some people they use their hands so it's just like it was all different so we could say one person was wrong because we were all doing it differently

Even in small, seemingly uninteresting tasks, cultural differences where learnt about and in the case of Oluchi they were embraced as funny quirks. It is also interpreted that these small differences are a reflection of how bigger differences are treated, simply as differences that we can exchange thoughts about and laugh about and help us to bring awareness to our own cultural quirks which we may not otherwise notice unless exposed to a different way of thinking about things. It also implies that having meaningful friendships with people from other cultures can occur despite these cultural differences and can be a basis for creating a greater understanding of one another.

These findings do throw some contrast to the expression that diversity is seen as normal or banal. On reflection to the subtheme *'diversity as normal'* it may be that while participant do see immigration and diverse individuals as a normal feature of their lives, when they form closer connections and become friends with people from another culture, the interest and acknowledgement of differences grows in a positive space where culture can be explored as part of forming these deeper connections.

To conclude, the theme 'Navigating culture and identity' focuses on the participants questioning around how they felt culture and cultural identity can be formed and how much choice there is about these constructs in each of our lives. It reflects feelings around cultural awareness and how this can strengthen our own distinct identities.

5.3 Why we support diversity

The third theme participants discussed centred on the reasons they had to support superdiversity and multiculturalism and is characterised by the subthemes of diversity as a positive sensory experience, the necessity of superdiversity and multiculturalism and politics the enemy of multiculturalism and superdiversity.

5.3.1 Diversity as a positive sensory experience

For Laurette the level of diversity in Brent was seen as the best thing about living there

> I: okay, what's the best thing about living in Brent? What have you enjoyed the most?
>
> L: erm, I think the fact that it is very culturally different to… erm, a lot of places

Very simply this shows that diversity is acknowledged as a positive factor of Laurette's upbringing. She also realises here that Brent is very different to a lot of other places. Upon exploring this further it became clear that there are certain aspects of diversity which Laurette enjoys the most:

> L: in Brent there are a lot of , different, err, cuisines, I think here [Canterbury] even though there are some there's significantly less than I would think to see, so here I guess I see a lot of like, like burger houses which there are a lot that are good, erm, or like, I guess I see a lot of pizza places but I think, to me, that about it, whereas in Brent it's like everywhere you turn there's this there's that there's this there's there, like in a row you might see like three Indian shops which is like crazy and so, I kinda, when I came here it was like wow, really weird not seeing all the, all the different places that I'm used to seeing or like so close together so when I go home I appreciate

them more and I'm like can we go get this can we go do that, so I think it made me appreciate them more being here than I would of at home

Here we see that for Laurette accessing elements of another culture, in this case having access to various global cuisines, is a great positive of Brent. She also admits that this is something she misses when she is in Canterbury and the lack of access has made her more appreciative of her home. This suggests that she sees the ability to explore elements of other cultures as an enjoyable aspect of her life at home. The eagerness shown in 'I'm like can we go get this can we go do that' shows how exciting the ability to indulge in other culture is for Laurette. The amount of choice she feels she has at home is emphasised by her repetition of 'there's this there's that'. Katie also expresses her enjoyment of living somewhere where a range of cultures are accessible through food:

> K: I think it's quite diverse. You'll walk down the high street and there'll be loads of different shops, supermarkets, like Polish supermarkets, loads of different restaurants. I love that.

Katie mirrors the sentiment of Laurette in that being able to access other cultures cuisines and shops is seen as a positive of living somewhere superdiverse. The ability to physically taste diversity was emphasised as a positive by both. Her repetition of 'loads' emphasises the level of choice provided by superdiversity. For Manpreet, simply being able to live amongst people from so many different backgrounds was seen as a positive:

> M: Lewisham itself was very vibrant, you know, I've never seen from the positive side of it no place which is such, so multicultural which is London itself anyway, erm, you see people from all sorts of walks of life erm from any colour, any background, which is quite interesting as well you know (laughs) you don't, you don't see in that variety anywhere else so um, it was very interesting and even to get know different other cultures because it might surprise you, but I've never seen an afro-Caribbean, in my life, before I came to London

For Manpreet, being able to learn about other cultures and having access to them for the first time was seen as a positive. By 'any background' and 'all sorts of walks of life' it is interpreted that Manpreet is also alluding to the mixing if socio-economic groups in superdiverse settings. Like Laurette, Manpreet emphasises that London appears to be unique in this mixing of socio-economic and ethnic groups compared to the other places in which

she has lived. This would suggest a tangible, or felt difference, between superdiverse settings and non-superdiverse settings. Manpreet also expressed the beauty of diversity:

> M: generally, I think it does benefit the economy, erm the country itself as well, as well as people, because erm it, yanno, if I, if I compare to, to flower, you receive a bunch of flowers they would look much more nicer and vibrant if they are from different forms and colours and you know, you have tropical flowers here, some roses in between, yellow, blue, erm so, this is how a country should work, erm maybe, the background dominantly is from a certain part, which is fine, but erm so, so many different cultures and people with their mind set can bring, can influence, erm, good things in there, you know, you have the negative side as well, which you can have anywhere, but erm, it can just enhance a place, I would say so

Manpreet's use of flowers as an analogy helps us to see how she visualises multiculturalism as something beautiful and that a country is made more beautiful by the addition of new and interesting 'flowers' in this case cultural groups; it suggests that a country is more appealing or interesting if it is made of different things rather than one singular group. Manpreet feels that, despite some negatives which she doesn't discuss, diversity is an enhancing factor of a country because new people can bring new ideas and a different mind-set. She also alludes to how diversity benefits us economically which brings us to the next theme.

5.3.2 The necessity of superdiversity and multiculturalism

The interviewees unanimously showed a supportive attitude towards diverse and multicultural settings but also saw them as a modern necessity:

> M: multiculturalism I see as something that's dramatically important to society in general, erm, I've written entire essays about it and it's like we are now living in a world because it is so global and so interdependent all of the economic, every single economic market is reliant on the other economic markets everything is, is global, it's not something that can be denied, it's not something that can be reversed without massive change, and so to live in a world that we kind of, are comfortable with now, as if, if we say for example that everyone is comfortable with the way the world is now, the order of things, right now it is impossible to survive in that world without also having a positive view on multiculturalism, that, that's just to me a fact

Mark relates his support for multiculturalism to the way the world of business and trade now

operates in a more globalised way, for him multiculturalism is an essential part of this process therefore should be viewed positively. Mark appears to feel it is pointless to try to deny or reverse diversity because it is obvious to him that it is a fact of everyday life. In combination with the feeling that superdiversity is normal he is unable to understand the world-views of people from less diverse settings who are less used to diversity and who he may perceive as trying to reverse or deny the benefits of multiculturalism. This view was expressed by Craig also:

> C: They don't want people in but they want money for the NHS and then they break their leg Pakistani doctors stitching them up, it's like come, you know

Here Craig is also reflecting the idea that in the UK we rely on immigration and multiculturalism particularly in certain industries like the NHS. He explains here the juxtaposition of how people have an unfavourable view of immigration and want it to be reduced while simultaneously relying on and demanding a service which is supported massively by immigration and foreign workers. He portrays these individuals as blind to the realities and necessities of diversity; he seems to feel these ideas are divorced from his everyday reality. Oluchi shared this feeling of diversity as necessary:

> O: yea I think it terms of work as well it helps, I think it helps build a community, it's just, I feel like there's a lot of jobs out there people don't wanna do, and lets be real some immigrants do come in and take them jobs that we don't wanna do so I think it just helps, it helps, I feel like me personally, I see it as more a positive thing than a negative thing, I think there's downfalls to it but I don't think it out weights the good that it's done in this country…
>
> but I do believe we need it, we need people from different walks of life to be able to have a country that running, up and running, but it just shows we're not all the same, we're all different, we all think differently and… I don't know it's just, it's just, it's just a cycle that we can't all be the same basically, we all need people from different walks of life, different backgrounds even just to understand each other as well it's just, just I think it's a really good thing

For Oluchi support for superdiversity is born out of the good work she feels that immigration has done for the UK in terms of bringing workers into the job market and outweighs the potential negatives of immigration. It is interpreted from her interview that these negatives relate to potential for terrorism from immigrants. Oluchi also shares a similar view to

Manpreet in that she feels that immigration can bring new viewpoints to a place and make people think differently about the world. It is understood that she also feels the increased immigration and the opportunity for living in diversity allows for different cultures to gain an understanding of each other. Laurette also expressed support for multiculturalism and superdiversity because of its impact on cultural awareness and sensitivity:

> I: do you think it's something, that's beneficial to a country to be multicultural?
>
> L: erm, yea because, it means that you are open to, when you go to other countries you are more sensitive and aware of what their culture or their erm, their rules might be towards certain things, so like people who, who live in like America it's not that culturally diverse and they haven't left America, when they go to other countries they kind of like, well, this is what I've grown up as and this is all I know and it's like well you haven't, you haven't had the experience to, you haven't had the chance to experiences other people

Laurette feels that her opportunity to grown up surrounded by people from many different background has allowed her to have a greater cultural sensitivity to people that she may not have had if she had grown up somewhere less diverse. This suggests that Laurette feels that those people who have been less exposed to a diverse environment may be less culturally aware than those individuals who have existed within a superdiverse setting. She feels it is necessary to have contact with other culture groups to gain real cultural awareness.

5.3.3 Politics the enemy of multiculturalism and superdiversity

One of the factors that united the participants in this research was the feeling that diversity and immigration were a contentious issue when it came to politics. They felt that there was a continued griping about diversity that they felt at odds to. Most participants felt that views on diversity and immigration were central to many current debates and most notably in the EU referendum and subsequent deal making process:

> O: yea, I feel like it's quite negative, like people see immigration as quite a negative thing cause I study law so I have to look elections and things like that but I feel, personally like think if people agreed that it was a positive thing things like Brexit wouldn't have happened, things like, just, I feel like people like say people like taking their job, it's just, its sounds like they're not for immigration if that makes sense?

Here we can see that for Oluchi, she considers the Brexit result to be a direct result of a lack of support for immigration and diversity. The public discourse around 'immigrants taking jobs' is something Oluchi feels have fed into the negative thought process around immigration and that in turn this led to some of the reasons for the vote to remove the UK from the EU in order to reduce immigration.

> O: think during Brexit it was just like, there were when you see on TV there was an interesting thing they were talking about Black people, Asian people but if you actually understood (laughs) what the EU community does, like there free movement and we can go there, and they can come here, but it seems like people couldn't understand that, they were talking about Black and Asians, more time there's not a lot of Black and Asian in the EU its eastern European so you're confusing the two, it's just looking at, it was a way to get all the immigrants out , all the people that aren't white out the country but they don't understand that it doesn't work like that

Oluchi continued to discuss this issue of the electorate conflating the EU vote with a vote to end all immigration into the UK. Here we see her frustration at the lack of understanding that immigration of Black and Asian groups is from largely outside of the EU and that a Brexit vote would not stop this. She later went on to discuss that because the majority of the UK is still rural or semi-rural in nature, and that in large cities like 'Manchester, Birmingham, London' because people are exposed to immigration more regularly they are less fearful of it but smaller areas with less exposure to immigration make up more of the UK, and for this reason we see results like the vote to leave the EU. For Oluchi, she sees the Brexit vote as a vote to remove non-white groups from the UK and appears frustrated and cynical, shown by her laughter, that people don't realise this is not the case. Manpreet also discusses the issue of Brexit and how individuals may have been swayed by the things the campaign led them to believe:

> M: I think it's been portrayed in a very wrong way, because the things that were promised during, in Brexit haven't been fulfilled at all, not even one, from both sides, so, erm, which makes it really difficult because if you ask people to vote for a particular thing, besides voting for presidency you know, elections, erm, you, you would only get the response on what you portray to them, or what you try to promise them, so if you're promising that, immigrations bad because of this what is happening, even if it's true or not true, erm, people would intend to believe in that,

because people in generally do not have the knowledge, or do no take the time to, gain the knowledge about erm, certain things, so, I think people's views haven't changed but they have received the response erm, or a negative to, to their erm, election erm, or to there you know, to something which they thought is correct but it turned erm, quite wrong or falsified

We can see here that Manpreet feels that because individuals were led to believe that immigration was bad, the result was swung a certain way however they may now see that what they were led to believe, in that immigration is bad, may have been false. Mark discuss' why he believes immigration remains central to many of the political discussions in the UK:

M: it's easier to cater to anger than it is to cater to hope, and that's very, it's just intrinsic in human, kind of psyche really, we're a, we try and avoid things more harshly that you know, Britain is paying and we try to seek out things that don't, and so because of that politicians then use that fear because they think if people are afraid of something they'll go out and vote, so that's why we've only taken like 20,000 Syrian refuges, why there's calls from every other, every single major political party to say we're gonna reduce immigration, no one says by how much cause that's just the dance of politics but all of them are saying that, no we need more immigration just to try and cater to the people that are afraid and so that's why there'll never be an meaningful push cause there'll always be, if there's always as many people afraid as there are people hopefully the, the afraid will always win, cause people when they're hopeful don't vote

As a politics student, Mark evidently has a particular way of thinking about political issues. He sees that immigration remains a central debate because it sparks fear in certain individuals which makes them more inclined to vote, and in order to keep these individuals voting little is done to combat the issue in order to keep it a central topic of debate. We can see from all these extracts that immigration is a hot topic and an emotive one, one that people clearly feel has implications for the future of the UK. All these individuals express a fairly favourable view of immigration and this may be because they have lived in superdiverse context where they have been more exposed to it. Acknowledging, like Oluchi did, that the majority of the UK does not experience the same exposure, may be a reason for the split in opinions highlighted by political debates such as Brexit.

To summarise, the theme 'Why we support diversity' conveys the idea that diversity was seen in a positive light by the participants and was a way of existing that they fully supported and felt they had benefitted from in comparison to others. They all had different reasons for supporting diversity for example the beauty it can bring, the flavours, the economic benefit and the new ideas but were all united in the fact they felt the current political climate was detrimental to public support for diversity.

6 Discussion of qualitative results

The lived experiences of the individuals who were interviewed for the present research were characterised by three superordinate themes: the banality of diversity, navigating culture and identity and why we support diversity.

The first theme to emerge was *the banality of diversity*. Like Wessendorf (2013), diversity was experienced as a normal part of social life. Wessendorf (2013) described this as 'commonplace diversity' with cultural groups mixing across public spaces, such as when out shopping in the local area. This was shown in the present research by Oluchi's repetition of 'normal' when explaining what it was like to grow up somewhere superdiverse. Furthermore, like Wessendorf (2013, 2014) differences between groups were acknowledged but rarely discussed, for most of the interviewees these interviews marked on of the first time they had more deeply considered the diversity of their home environments. The theme *the banality of diversity* also reflects the idea of conviviality proposed by Gilroy (2004). Conviviality is the process of cohabitation and interaction that have made Multiculture a feature of social life in Britain's urban areas, he also expresses his belief that race has becomes almost irrelevant for young British people; one such quote to evidence this in the present research comes from Katie when explained that she doesn't see an immigrant, she just sees another person. This subtheme is also reminiscent of Billig (1995) and the idea of banal nationalism; the idea that we are accustomed to outward displays of nationhood and no longer recognise them as such. In this instance, we are speaking of something much larger, the idea that diverse identities in certain settings have become normalised so are no longer recognised.

When considering the subtheme of *coexistence and finding the common ground* from *the banality of diversity*, parallels can again be drawn here with the findings of Wessendorf (2014). In her research she discusses meeting with a group of women who met at a parents

weekly coffee morning as a local primary school. Wessendorf found that while these women enjoyed meeting people from different walks of life, they spent the majority of their time discussing the issues they shared, like raising children, rather than discussing their differences. This also reflects the idea of crossed categorisations (Crisp, 2010) whereby groups identify to a category, motherhood, which cuts across their separate ethnic categories which can potentially reduce ingroup bias (Mullen, Migdal, & Hewstone, 2001). She describes that the bulk of conversations she witnessed focussed on commonalities and shared understandings of navigating life in a superdiverse, every changing urban context. This particular aspect of Wessendorf (2014) and the idea of cross-categorisation (Crisp, 2010) was reflected in the present research through the voice of Craig, who felt that he would rather focus on, and actively highlighted, what drew him to be closer to the people around him in London such as lack of money and resources than spend time focussing on the things that separated him from the groups around him.

In contrast, Wessendorf (2014) found through her research that while cultural differences were discussed in this group of women, this was done so in a way which was matter of fact and was not addressed with any overwhelming curiosity. In the present research within the theme of *navigating culture and identity* several of the participants, particularly Laurette and Oluchi, discussed how they found enjoyment and took interest in questioning the cultural differences they experienced within their mixed friendship groups. For example, Laurette talked about learning about her friends Krishna shines and prayer routines. They also actively enjoyed learning about other cultures and discussing this and taking humour from these exchanges, such as when Oluchi discussed the different ways she and her friends ate rice. This presents a juxtaposition between treating diversity as normal and treating diversity as something to explore. We can perhaps here extend the findings of Wessendorf (2014). She found that in the public realm diversity was not acknowledged whilst in the parochial realism it was acknowledged and sometimes talked about, perhaps the level of acknowledgement of difference in superdiverse settings increases with how close you become with people from a different background to your own. Laurette and Oluchi in the quotes expressed here and Craig in his interview expressed how they learnt about different cultures from their friends. It is possible that once individuals from a superdiverse setting make close friendships with people from different ethnic groups, this is where cultural exploration and exchange occurs; otherwise diversity remains a feature of everyday life that

goes unnoticed.

In addition, within the theme of *the banality of diversity* under the subtheme *coexistence the finding the common ground* Oluchi discussed how Asian shop owners in Newham could be found stocking their shops with 'black hair products' or 'black foods'. For Oluchi, this act of provision went some way into expressing the attempt of groups to integrate with one another. It also reflects the findings of Wise (2005) who found that in a multicultural Australian suburb, gestures of care and recognition created a feeling of connection among residents. Wise suggests from her findings that manners, gratitude and hospitality which Oluchi experienced in the present study have the capacity to facilitate the development of meaningful interethnic belonging in more diverse settings such as London.

Within the subtheme *coexistence and finding the common ground* participants also talked about that fact that while groups got along as a whole they tended to remain separate; 'claiming' different areas of the locality as their own. Wessendorf (2014) also discusses her finding that civility towards diversity can actually ensure the maintenance of boundaries between groups and the avoidance of further contact. She identified that for some individuals, they remained polite to those different to themselves in order to avoid further contact while maintaining good relations. The views of those interviewed in the present research would tend to support this finding. It may also be that separation is more prominent in superdiverse settings as there is no defined majority group with a culture to adopt. Instead, with many cultures and ideas present it is perhaps easier for groups to maintain their own unique identity while finding other ways to get along and integrate with people, such as on shared problems like lack of financial resources as Craig discussed. The findings of Wise (2005) are also reflected here, manners and gestures of care may also be ways of integrating rather than adopting culture.

Moving on to consider the second theme which emerged, *navigating culture and identity*, we see a reflection of Berry (1980) where it was suggested that culture provides a frame of reference for self-definition. Manpreet in particular reflects this as she says she see's culture as a place she can 'lean back to' in order to 'find' herself. This would strongly suggest that culture is indeed a reference point of self-definition. In *creating a cultural identity*, participants expressed how they defined their own cultural identity and that this was linked to

the cultures they had been influenced by growing up. For example Laurette identified as Caribbean despite never living there because of her parents heritage. The idea of culture as a frame of reference suggests it is a fluid idea which was very much reflected in the viewpoints of the individuals spoken to; and was also shown when they discussed cultural identity.

In reflection of the subtheme *creating a cultural identity* from *navigating culture and identity,* Sussman (2000) discusses that when interacting with culturally similar others cultural identity remains unformed or unrecognized. This may perhaps offer some explanation as to why this particular group question their own cultural identity in terms of how they identify and how they feel they draw their cultural identity from a number of influences. It may be that because they have been exposed to a wider, more culturally diverse environment within which they must learn to navigate they have a more fluid sense of cultural identity in order to fit with the culturally fluid environment of superdiversity. Sussman (2000) also states that cultural identity contains the element that an individual's sense of self-defined cultural identity may differ from the perception of others. This was demonstrated in both the case of Laurette and Oluchi. Both of these individuals identified with a culture of their heritage, the Caribbean for Laurette and Nigeria for Oluchi. Both were aware that this was not perhaps the label that others would assign to them as they had both had a British upbringing but acknowledged that regardless they culturally identified as something different to this.

In Wessendorf (2013) it was found that the individuals she encountered felt that they wouldn't want to live somewhere less diverse than Hackney where the ethnographic research took place. This same feeling was reflected in the present study, with participants feeling that it would be 'weird' to live somewhere less diverse than their home environment. In this same research, Wessendorf echoed the sentiment of Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) who indicate that often, belonging is defined by the ways in which residents participate locally and get involved rather than how long they have lived in a place. An example of this being shown in the present research can be found in the subtheme *citizenship through belonging* from *navigating culture and identity*, where Katie, Oluchi and after some questioning Laurette all expressed the view that citizenship was more to do with an individual giving something to the place they were living whether that was in the form of taxes or being involved in the community than whether or not they had been born in a place. This also

supports Geldof (2016) who indicated that citizenship is more about participation and supports the claim of Blommaert (2013) that the tradition notion of citizenship and how it is defined is changing.

In '*strengthening culture and cultural identity*' Laurette discusses how exploring the culture of her friends didn't take away from who she was or her own culture. This is a potentially powerful way of thinking when we consider some of the arguments against multiculturalism and diversity concerning whether it would dilute individual cultures and nationhood (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2009), as it seems for Laurette this is not the case. It also suggests that culture adoption may not be necessary when it comes to contact and participation. Laurette expresses that she felt secure enough in her own culture and cultural identity to explore the cultures of others without feeling threat to herself.

Finally, it is worth considering how the views expressed in the theme *navigating culture and identity* reflect established theories like social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Citizenship formed a large topic of debate in the interviews, with some participants particularly Craig and Mark rejecting descriptions of themselves as 'British'. They tended to focus on identifying with the area they lived in, for instance Katie identified with loving Lewisham and being proud to be British, but equally felt that being British didn't really make a difference to who she was and didn't find it to be an important label with which to identify herself. This rejection of a large group as a social category to which they belonged would suggest something unique to the development of a social identity in superdiverse contexts. It is a possibility that when living somewhere with so much diversity, it is difficult to identify with a larger national group as it's not something these individuals are experiencing or exposed to. It also reflects in some ways optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) with participants identifying with the diverse setting itself rather than large national groups or small ethnic communities in order to maintain some level of distinctiveness while still feeling included.

In the present study, in the theme *why we support multiculturalism,* support stemmed from the idea that participants felt multiculturalism was a positive sensory experience as well as important for the economy and for enhancing a country's ability to be culturally aware and to have varied viewpoints. These feelings from the participants extend previous research that suggests support for multiculturalism is centred around threat, contact and cultural adoption

(Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2009). In particular the viewpoint that immigrants bringing in new world views is positive contrasts previous research where this is often considered to be a factor which can increase levels of threat (Verkuyten, 2009). However, while the participants in this research did not see diversity of views as threatening they did acknowledge that there are individuals who still reflect this view.

The findings of this study do however support the 'group identity lens' model that Verkuyten (2009) presents. The 'group identity lens' model suggests that a salient social identity can provide a lens through which the perceiver sees the world. Group identity functions in a way which makes an individual sensitive to anything that may cause harm to their group. Higher identification leads to higher threat perceptions. In the present study, we saw from the interviews that a British national identity was not something that the participants felt particularly strongly aligned to. The group identity lens model would suggest that because of this lack of salience, threat perception to outgroup members would be particularly low for the participants here, which is perhaps why they see immigration and diversity as less threatening. In fact the individuals in this research seem to express that threat comes for them from those with less experience of diversity. This is seen in *'The necessity of superdiversity and multiculturalism'* and *'Politics the enemy of superdiversity and multiculturalism'* perhaps suggesting that people less exposed to diversity are the salient outgroup for these participants.

The findings from the theme *why we support multiculturalism* particularly in the embracing of difference and the benefits of difference bringing about new ideas reflects the findings of Wessendorf (2014) in terms of the unpanicked multiculturalism (Noble, 2009) she witnessed in Hackney, London. It seems that people who live somewhere superdiverse approach diversity with less anxiety and a more open mind. It is also telling that when we get to the subtheme *politics as the enemy of multiculturalism and superdiversity* that the individuals we spoke to reject the political position of anti-immigration and appear to be threatened by it. They felt that if people had experienced diversity more and were more educated about the history of immigration, they would be less led by political opinion; a point expressed by Pettigrew, Wagner and Christ (2010) who explain that threat is perceptual so easily manipulated by political leaders and the media whereas contact is experiential and can reduce threat as well as prejudice. Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) provide evidence that increased

intergroup contact has a significant negative effect on prejudice which is reflected in the viewpoints here. Literature also shows that perceived ethnic diversity has a greater impact on anti-immigrant sentiment than actual diversity (Hooghe & de Vroome, 2013) again supporting the participants viewpoint that contact is imperative to improve attitudes towards immigration.

Oluchi highlighted in particular the disparity between rural and superdiverse areas in how they view multiculturalism. This is a particular issue in the UK when it comes to increasing superdiversity; as some areas become more diverse others are retaining a large white-British population. This means that within the UK, people are having vastly different experiences when it comes to experiencing diversity. These results are timely as current policy and political approaches to multiculturalism tend to mobilise a nostalgic version of society that never truly existed (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane, & Mohan, 2013). They provide a much needed insight into how superdiversity is currently being experienced (Wise, 2009) and along with future findings could support new, more realistic multicultural policy which reflects the current situation in our towns and cities.

In conclusion, the findings of these interviews have exposed in detail how individuals experience superdiversity, how they navigate their way through superdiversity in terms of culture and identity and also reasons why they support and enjoy superdiversity and what they feel threatens it. In section seven the results from the questionnaires and interviews will be integrated to gain an even deeper understanding of superdiversity.

6.1 Limitations

Several limitations must be considered, beginning with methodological issues. Firstly, the double hermeneutic of IPA (see Smith et al., 2009) means the researchers interpretations of participants accounts presented in this research may well be different to those of another researcher or indeed the participants themselves. As it is important to monitor this dynamic and its impact on the data, prior to undertaking these interviews, the researcher took care to 'bracket' any preconceptions she had about the participants and their experiences such as them being in favour of multiculturalism because they had greater contact with different cultures.

Secondly, as in all qualitative research and especially IPA the role of the researcher must be considered. As someone who had not lived in a superdiverse environment, the researcher was aware she may not have a full comprehension of the issues and experiences of the group being studied (Berger, 2015; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). However the researcher shared the status as student with all the participants, the same gender as four of the six and was a similar age to five of the six. This may have allowed for new findings to emerge (see Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006) as the participants may have felt more comfortable discussing their experiences with someone they felt they had something in common with.

Lastly, the findings reported are limited to explain the experiences of people who have lived in London and may not be reflective of the experiences of people living in a superdiverse setting in general, for example superdiversity in the north may be very different from the south.

7 Integration of results

Up to this point we have only considered the results from the present research individually. It's vital now to consider how both the quantitative and qualitative elements of this result relate to each other and provide explanation or clarity for each other. To reiterate, the third aim was to establish the extent to which the integration of these quantitative findings and qualitative results contribute to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of superdiversity by shedding light on one another. To answer this question we will consider how the findings from the questionnaires and interviews complement or contradict each other and provide enhanced meaning to the term 'superdiversity'.

Firstly, let us consider the differences between individuals living in a superdiverse setting and those living in a less diverse setting. The Mann-Whitney U tests showed no differences between the two groups measured. Even when using a more subjective measure of superdiversity, the two groups did not differ in how they responded to the scales. It is possible that due to small group sizes the tests were under powered therefore making it difficult to find a difference, or potentially there is no difference there. However the lack of difference using the geographical categorisation of superdiversity supports an argument that this method of defining superdiversity is not useful (Jensen, 2017). On the other hand, even

when using a subjective measure of superdiversity no difference was found between groups. One argument in defence of this may be that the subjective measure may not be able to differentiate between diverse and superdiverse thus is still struggling to find a difference.

On the other hand, there was a difference between the superdiverse group and the less diverse group when it came to whether or not own attitude towards intergroup contact or own attitude towards minority culture maintenance was predicted by perceived minority attitudes towards contact and perceived minority attitudes towards culture maintenance. In this instance we saw that in the superdiverse group these factors were not predicted by perceptions of minority attitudes whereas in the less diverse groups they were. Again, the outcomes of the interview can shed light on why this may be for the same reasons as above. Several of the participants expressed the idea that they simply didn't recognise immigrants as immigrants they were just another person. It may be that in superdiverse groups minorities are not seen as minorities but as part of a salient ingroup, therefore there is less focus around what they wish to do and in turn less effect on individuals and their attitudes.

It is also possible that because there is more contact between groups in superdiverse settings, which was also expressed in the interviews, perceptions around minority desire for contact are less pronounced because contact is automatic in these places. The questionnaire results provide an answer to what effect superdiversity is having on establish acculturation relationships but by combining the findings of the interviews with the questionnaires, we can provide some explanation as to why the relationships are different in superdiverse places. These findings from the questionnaires and interviews combined help us to understand superdiversity as an environment where, potentially, minority behaviours are less scrutinised and have less bearing on the attitudes of British individuals. This connects to the above as this may again be because in superdiverse settings it appears that 'British' and 'minority' somewhat lose their meaning.

In addition to the above, Savage et al. (2005) indicate that minority involvement in the local community is more important to others than how much the minority groups adopt a new culture; this was something that the interview participants expressed. Cultural groups providing for one another and getting involved was seen as unifying. Perhaps when we study superdiverse settings this is a factor which needs to be measured if we are seeking to

understand how own attitudes are affected by minority attitudes. The importance of involvement was also seen in the quantitative results as perception of minority desire for contact was a more influential factor than perceived desire for culture maintenance on own attitudes. This provides weight to this argument as there are two sets of complimentary evidence for this.

There were also some complementary findings between the two parts of the present study. In the interviews individuals expressed positive attitudes in support of multiculturalism, describing it as enriching and vital and provided several reasons for this, for example: economic benefit and the ability for diversity to bring about new ideas. This suggests they felt a low level of threat when considering superdiversity and multiculturalism. When we then consider the questionnaire results, support for multiculturalism was predicted by threat which was predicted by perceptions of outgroup attitudes towards contact. Lower threat meant more support for multiculturalism, which would support what we see in the interviews.

Establishing this threat mediation in the quantitative results informed the researcher's ability to pick up on the low feeling of threat in the interviews, although it may not be the same for everyone it appears that for the participant's in the interviews they experience superdiversity as non-threatening. These results also reinforce the importance of contact. In superdiverse settings contact is an everyday occurrence, therefore threat is reduced (Pettigrew et al., 2010; Savelkoul et al., 2010). These complimentary findings mean that we can have greater confidence in the relationship between these factors and the effect of superdiversity upon them. They provide an understanding of superdiverse places as those low in threat and welcoming to increasing diversity. This in particular highlights the benefit of this mixed methods approach for providing convincing evidence to explain and stronger evidence for a conclusion (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) around superdiversity.

In the quantitative results, intergroup relations were not found to be predicted by own acculturation attitudes, despite this being the case in the study these measures were taken from (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Although several reasons have been put forward for this in the discussion of the questionnaires, the qualitative interviews may also shed light on this. In the interviews, Oluchi expressed the fact that Asian shop owners providing Black foods and

Black hair products was a positive experience for her enhancing a sense of belonging and care. In addition, Craig felt that his ability to get on with others in London was based on their shared difficulties e.g. lack of money. Combining these findings suggests that perhaps there are other factors at play which are of importance in predicting intergroup relations not only in superdiversity places but also non-diverse places. It is possible that in superdiverse settings if we looked at the impact of these factors mentioned by the interviewees they may well be predictive of intergroup relations.

The present study extended previous research (Zagefka & Brown, 2002) by using a measure of culture adoption to predict ingroup bias and it was found to be successful. Increased preference for culture adoption was related to an increase in ingroup bias. This finding from the quantitative results enabled this relationship to be recognised in the interviews. In the interviews, participation and culture adoption for example in the form of language was seen as an important factor relating to citizenship. These results suggest that culture adoption is an important factor for intergroup relations. When we consider language adoption in superdiverse settings however Blommaert (2013) suggests this may not be enough. With the increased polycentricism that superdiverse brings, with multiple ethnicities with multiple languages there are lots of cultures within which to integrate. Learning the language of one group may be enough to 'earn' citizenship with them while simultaneously earning dis-citizenship with others. This shows the difficulty of integration and culture adoption in a superdiverse setting.

Quantitative analysis also revealed that there was a difference in how groups responded to being influenced by group norms. Regression analysis showed that the attitude towards ingroup contact of those individuals living in a superdiverse settings was not influenced by their perception of British attitudes towards intergroup contact or outgroup culture maintenance. In the non superdiverse groups, there was a significant relationship with perception of British attitudes influencing own attitudes towards contact. It may be that these differences occur because of sampling error therefore may be false positives however the interviews can go some way into shedding light on why this may be. Both Mark and Craig rejected the notion of identifying as British as they felt it created groups and therefore separation. The other interviewees also expressed that they identified more so with where they lived or with a heritage culture than the British identity as a whole or that the British

identity wasn't actually that important to them. This rejection of the British identity by those people living in a superdiverse setting may mean that they identify less with this group so are less influenced by their opinions or group norms.

It may also be an explanation as to why participants in the interviewees expressed lower threat and greater acceptance of multiculturalism as lower national identification has previously been linked to this relationship (Verkuyten, 2009). Furthermore having a common 'superordinate' ingroup with outgroups has also been shown to mitigate threat (Van de Vyver, Leite, Abrams, & Palmer, 2018). It is possible that the participants identified on a local level, or as a 'Londoner' alongside groups other than their own so felt less threat from them. However, the bigger picture still remains that there appears to be few differences between superdiverse and less contexts, this may be because of the difficulty in operationalising superdiversity.

In summary, the findings from the questionnaires and interviews have been integrated with some success. The combination of findings has provided a greater understanding of what effect superdiversity is having on established acculturation relationships as well as some explanation as to why this may be. It has also identified possible new areas to explore when considering superdiversity and its impact. Using mixed methods has provided us with an understanding of superdiverse places as those where individuals are less influenced by both minorities and the ingroup and that this may be because of increased contact, community involvement and by emphasising similarities and providing for one another. The results provide a greater understanding of the term superdiversity and more importantly how it is impacting experiences.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of the present research help to answer the call for more empirical attention to 'who, where, how and why people get on and how diversity is lived on the ground' (Wise, 2009). The concurrent mixed methods research has provided results which can stand on their own as evidence but when combined, provide us with an understanding of superdiversity and its impact on acculturative and experiential factors which was previously lacking in the literature. The quantitative results indicated that whilst superdiverse and less diverse groups did not necessarily respond to the scales differently, occasionally the

relationship between them did differ though this was uncommon. Superdiverse groups appear to be less influenced by both minority groups and their own ingroup when it comes to their own acculturation preferences. Moreover, the results supported some of the existing acculturation relationships shown in the literature. The replication of these studies (Tip et al., 2012; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al., 2012) provides strength to their claims. In an addition to the existing literature, in the present study some of these relationships have been shown to be stable across more and less diverse contexts.

The qualitative results showed that superdiversity was experienced as a normal feature of life with group's finding similarities and common ground with one another. Citizenship was acknowledged as being founded in involvement in the community and belonging. Individuals in superdiverse settings also expressed that they were navigating culture and cultural identity, able to explore new ways of thinking and living through their experiences with those from a background different to their own. They also greatly supported diversity because of its ability to bring new ideas and provide economic benefit while being united in their feeling that politics was very much the enemy of diversity.

When integrated, the results have provided explanation and clarity of one another. The experiences of those living in a superdiverse settings have shed light on why they are less influenced by the acculturative attitudes of minorities and the in groups as well as providing greater support in terms of complimentary findings.

8.1 Future Directions

Whilst the present research has garnered a deeper understanding of the effect superdiversity is having on individuals acculturation preferences, support for multiculturalism and intergroup relations as well as the way superdiversity is being experienced, understood and navigated by those who live there, there is still more to understand.

Future research in the field of superdiversity should begin by focussing on creating a defined boundary for what classifies a place as superdiverse as this definition currently does not exist in the literature. For work in the area of superdiversity to become more consistent and useful, there must be a shared understanding of which places are defined as superdiverse so that research can be focussed. The lack of an operationalised definition of superdiversity was one of the difficulties in conducting the present research particularly for the quantitative

element.

There is also the possibility of uncovering more differences between groups that were not considered in this study, for example the impact of individual differences. There was some evidence from the interviews to suggest that national identification may be lower or less important in superdiverse setting and the impact of this warrants greater exploration. The present study also didn't account for differences in authoritarianism which has previously been shown to affect perceptions of diversity (Van Assche, et al., 2016).

Future research may also wish to consider whether or not those individual who have lived or grown up in a superdiverse setting have a greater cultural awareness than those individuals who have not lived in those kinds of settings; as was suggested by the individuals that were interviewed in the present research.

8.2 Social Implications

In terms of the social implications of the present research, it is clear that the central role of threat shown in the quantitative analysis and the interviews sense that diversity was enriching rather than threatening could have some influence on policy. Evidently, reducing the threat that individuals feel around diversity is a key factor in improving support for diversity. Encouraging contact between groups and focusing political arguments away from a war on immigration may go some way in reducing threat and improving attitude towards the trend for superdiversity in the UK.

Another key finding with social implications was the tendency for people in a superdiverse setting to identify at a local level. These individuals appear to experience less influence upon their own acculturation preferences from perceived minority and perceived British preferences. Furthermore interviews showed less emphasis being placed on a British identification and greater identification at a local level. This could be a crucial factor for integration policy, pushing the improvement intergroup relations to focus on local collectivism.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Schedule

(Ask about – where they live/how long, how do they feel about where they live, how they feel about multiculturalism, what citizenship means to them, red are prompt questions)

Tell me a little about yourself
- What sort of things are important to you? What are you passionate about?

Tell me about your family, where you grew up?
- What can you remember about your home life when you were growing up?
- Do you recall any family traditions or customs that your family followed?

What does culture mean to you?
What does cultural identity mean to you?
Where do you live now?
- Do you live with other people?
- How is it different to living with your family when you were growing up?
- Have you made any traditions, how do you do culture and tradition?

How long have you lived in ……../have you lived anywhere other than…….?
What's the best thing about living in….? or what do you enjoy most?
What's the worst thing about living in……? or what's difficult about living here?
What's the cultural environment like where you live now and where you used to live?
- How do you feel about the level of immigration in…..?
- How integrated or separated is it?
- How do you interact with other cultures? In what settings or how often?
- Do you have friends from other cultural groups?
- What is it like to have friends from other cultural groups?

What are your thoughts on multiculturalism? What does multiculturalism mean to you?
- Do you think it's good or bad?
- Is it something that you feel affects you?
- Is it beneficial to a country or not?
- How do you experience it?
- Do you have any other thoughts about it?

What do you understand the term super-diversity to mean?
- Would you describe where you like as super-diverse?
- Is it different to multiculturalism?
- How is it different?

Can you recall any episodes in your life when you became aware of living in a multicultural/super-diverse place?
- What happened? Who was involved?
- How did you feel? What did it make you think?

What do you imagine it would be like to live somewhere more or less diverse than where you live now?

What do you think makes someone a citizen of a country?
- Do they need to be born there or work there or live there a certain amount of time?

Do you think citizenship is important?
- Do you think citizenship and nationality are the same thing?
- Do you think citizenship and cultural identity are the same thing?

What do you think the UK's attitude towards immigration and multiculturalism is?
- Do you agree or disagree with that?
- What do you think should be done? Why?

Would you mind talking to me about your political beliefs a little?
- Do you think they're influenced by where you live and the people around you etc.?

We have been talking about culture, traditions, multiculturalism, super-diversity, citizenship and nationality and politics and so on. Is there anything you'd like to add about these topics that we haven't already covered in this conversation?