

## RESEARCHING MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES: BENEFITS, LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF CO-ETHNICAL RESEARCH DESIGN IN URBAN PLANNING

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*One fact of a multicultural society is that people with migration background are often more deprived than those of the majority of society. Although the group of migrants is usually very heterogeneous, the factor migration makes a significant difference for participating in important parts of life like health, education, and housing (Gosine; Teelucksingh, 2008). In standard surveys migrants are frequently underrepresented; consequently, data having a bias regarding the diversity of contemporary societies is used for urban planning.*

*To understand and represent differences of multicultural society specific research methods like co-ethnic survey designs are needed: questionnaires need to be translated into corresponding languages, interviewers of the addressed ethnic group are required and quota samples need to represent different groups equally. Using such a research design a survey on the topic of procedural environmental justice comparing Germans and Turkish migrants was carried out in the Ruhr, Germany. The data shows both existing and lacking capabilities of households having a migration background. No differences were found in communal mastery and social networks between Turkish migrants and Germans, but the Turkish migrants reported less participation in decision making than Germans, although their intention was similar.*

*The method of co-ethnic surveys will be explained using the example of the survey on procedural environmental justice. Also a new survey-design dealing with possible difference in energetic renovation will be presented. Both will be discussed in the light of planning as public policy in an intercultural society.*

### 1. Introduction

*„A final problem with a narrow understanding of racism is that it limits claims, thereby reproducing a racist social order.“ (Pulido, 2000, p. 13)*

This quote by Pulido is part of the environmental justice discourse. Environmental justice is dealing with social differences in access to environmental amenities and exposure to environmental burdens as well as social differences in meaningful involvement in environmental decision making. Such differences are not just analysed as inequalities, they are judged as being unfair and therefore categorised as inequities (Bolte *et al.*, 2012; Walker, 2012; Schlosberg, 2007). Inequities in access to environmental amenities or exposure to environmental burdens are termed as environmental distributional injustice, while inequities in the meaningful involvement in environmental decision making processes as well as the initialisation of such processes are termed as environmental procedural injustice.

The field of environmental justice is manifold. In this paper I focus on the social differences amongst ethnic groups concerning environmental procedural justice. Schlosberg (2007: 75) puts procedural justice at the core of environmental justice and therefore as a determinant of distributional justice: *„For the environmental justice movement, the demand for more public participation and procedural equity in the development, implementation, and oversight of environmental policy is the key to address issues of distributional equity, recognition, and capabilities.“*

Environmental injustice towards ethnics groups are often called environmental racism in the North-American discourse (Cole and Foster, 2001; Gosine and Teelucksingh, 2008). Coming back to the introducing quote by Laura Pulido I have to ask myself as researcher in the field of planning: How can I contribute to a broader understanding of racism and make a claim for planning in a diverse society?

Agyeman and Erickson (2012, p. 359) raise a more rhetorical question to planners emphasising that equality is on more than distribution: *„But is this redistributive justice in and of itself sufficient to fulfil our ethical obligations as professional planners and planning educators to increase equality, social justice, choice, and opportunity for all persons?“* The answer to this question is no, for sure; especially when following the concept of an intercultural society in the sense of Amin (2002, p. 967): *„The term ‘intercultural’ is used to stress cultural dialogue, to contrast with versions of multiculturalism that either stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures, or versions of cosmopolitanism that speculate on the gradual erosion of cultural difference through interethnic mixture and hybridisation.“* Communication between cultures on their spatial needs has to be part of planning procedures, if planning is understood as a process of mediating different interests concerning use of space. Therefore in the following I will deal with procedural justice as a prerequisite for the meaningful articulation of interests as a first step to integrate different cultures in planning.

In standard surveys migrants are for different reasons frequently underrepresented. Consequently data having a bias regarding the diversity of contemporary societies is used for urban planning. To broaden our understanding of a diverse society we have to be critical and not re-producing dominant discourses (Dryzek, 2008). So data collection is a crucial point. In the context of difference and diversity Davys approach of polyrationality is path breaking: *„Polyrationality therefore has little to do with approaches to planning which focus on special needs and special interests. Gender planning (planning with a view to avoid sexism) or environmental justice planning (planning with a view to confront racism or classism) are also concerned with different voices, different rationalities.“* (Davy, 2008, p. 309) But how can urban planning capture different rationalities like Davy requires and go beyond a narrow understanding like Pulido claims? I see the recognition, empowerment and capability of all people for meaningful involvement in decision making processes as one prerequisite for a cultural dialogue encompassing different voices and different rationalities.

To learn about the capability of people for meaningful involvement in decision making processes I developed the MOVE-model as an explanatory model on procedural environmental justice. In its empirical test one research question was, whether differences between Germans or people with Turkish migration background can be identified. Therefore the method of co-ethnic interview design was applied in the survey. In the following the MOVE model is explained briefly and the focus is laid on the method of co-ethnic interview design. Then results on differences and similarities amongst the Germans and Turkish migrants are presented. Finally the method is discussed in the light of planning in a diverse society and future research.

## **2. Researching differences in environmental procedural justice**

### *2.1 The MOVE-Model*

MOVE stands for „model on households’ vulnerability towards the local environment” and aims to predict peoples’ intention and behaviour to improve their local environment, depending on their vulnerability. Therefore it is meant to learn about causes of environmental injustice from a households’ perspective. Household understood as a social entity living together at the same place in the same environment. The basic assumption is that households who are more vulnerable are able to carry out fewer coping-behaviour than people with more capabilities. (Köckler, 2011)

The MOVE-model has been developed to identify factors that predict peoples’ intentions or behaviour to deal with environmental stress (understood as pollution or lack of environmental amenities). The MOVE model thus seeks to identify indicators that go beyond indicators like social status and migration background common in distributional justice analysis. Since these indicators represent

vulnerability only as the latent variable, their validity is limited. Therefore, they do not provide specific information for interventions and strategies for more environmental procedural justice.

To predict coping with environmental stress in the MOVE-model (Figure 1) Hobfoll's Conservation of Resource Theory (COR) is used as a heuristic to identify predictors (Hobfoll, 1989). He explains stress through availability, investment and loss of resources. Hobfoll groups resources in object resources, personal characteristics, conditions and energy. As the MOVE-model is to predict behaviour, and not the stress level of a person, the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991) is put in the centre of the model. The Theory of Planned Behaviour is a model including three variables attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control to predict peoples' intention and behaviour. The following figure 1 shows the theoretical MOVE Model, combining both theories. A description of an earlier version can be found in (Köckler, 2011).

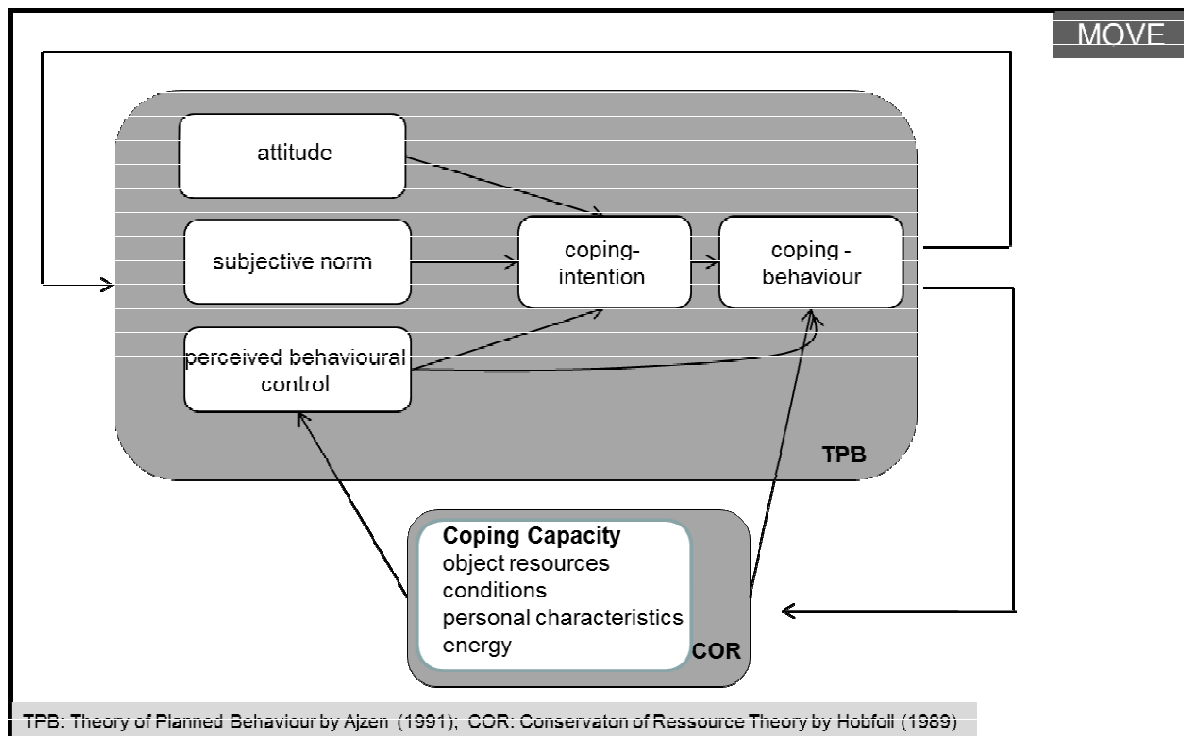


Figure 1: The MOVE-model (Model on households' vulnerability towards the local environment)

The MOVE model was used to test different hypothesis empirically. It was assumed that perceived behavioural control has the greatest power to predict coping-intention and behaviour. Furthermore it was assumed that the coping capacity, represented by resources according to Hobfoll, predicts difference in perceived behavioural control. Researching environmental procedural justice it was of additional interest to analyse if there is any difference in the responses amongst Turkish and German respondents.

## 2.2 Testing the MOVE model with a co-ethnic research design

To analyse if there is social inequality amongst Germans and people with a Turkish migration background, it was aimed to reach as many Germans as Turkish people in heavily and less polluted neighbourhood. This quota sample approach was selected to control for combined effects of environmental quality and migration background.

To reach diverse groups of society the method of co-ethnic interviews is applied. This concept goes beyond facing possible language barriers. Baykara-Krumme, (2013, p. 261) refers to the concept of joined heritage ("Abstammungsgemeinschaft" Weber 1972: 237) and existing socio-cultural

commonalities and cultural identities, including a consciousness of solidarity (Heckmann (1992) within ethnic groups. Therefore people who belong to the same ethnic group like those who are addressed by the survey, are functioning as interviewers. This leads to social matching and liking of interviewer and interviewee (Baykara-Krumme, 2013, p. 261).

The theoretical MOVE model was tested empirically based on data collected in a telephone survey being carried out in winter 2010/2011 in the Ruhr (N= 312 ). The Ruhr is a densely populated agglomeration in western Germany with high social and environmental gradients. Due to the hypothesis a quoted survey aimed at reaching households without and with migration background (represented by migrants from Turkey) in polluted and less polluted neighbourhoods (due to noise and air quality) equally.

The telephone interviews have been conducted with co-ethnic Turkish and German interviewers. The Turkish interviewers were fluently in both, German and Turkish language and a team of two men and two women. We chose a team of mixed gender because (Baykara-Krumme, 2013, p. 268) found matching of gender between interviewer and interviewee in surveys carried out with Turkish interviewees. The interviewees have been selected from an online telephone directory for streets with high levels of noise and air emissions, which we identified based on existing environmental data. The interviewees have been contacted in advance by post.

### *2.3 Methods of statistical analysis*

The hypothesis on relevance of perceived behavioural control as well as that on resources has been tested by multiple linear regression. The test of difference according to the grouping variable migration background (yes/no) was run by t-Test or Mann-Whitney U-Test, depending on normal distribution of the variables. All statistics were run by IBM SPSS 22.

### *2.4 Results on differences between respondents with and without migration background*

Table 1 gives an overview of the sample. The quota was fulfilled: almost 50% of the respondents have been reached in heavily and less polluted areas. In total more Germans have been reached (64%). But the migrants that have been reached are distributed equally in heavily and less polluted neighbourhoods. 82,1 % of the migrants have a Turkish migration background.

Table 1: Sample of the survey

	<b>Heavily polluted</b>	<b>Less polluted</b>	<b>total</b>
<b>Total number</b>	48.1 %	50.6%	100 % (N=312)
<b>% male</b>	49.7 %	49.7 %	53.2 % (N= 299)
<b>Year of birth (MEAN)</b>	1955 (1921-1992)	1955 (1920 – 1990)	1955 (N= 298)
<b>Foreigners</b>	24.2 %	19.9%	22 % (N= 305)
<b>Migration background</b>	37.9 %	34.8 %	36.3 % (N= 300)

The results of multiple regression analysis show that the influence of perceived behavioural control has the greatest influence in predicting variance in coping intention. The overall model predicts 26% of the variance of coping intention. Figure 2 shows a lower perceived behavioural control for respondents with migration background. The difference is highly significant Mann-Whitney U-Test ( $p < .000$ ). A linear regression to predict coping behaviour shows that coping intention and perceived

behavioural control explain 23% of variance in coping behaviours. Both predictors have a moderate significant influence.

Differences in coping-intention comparing respondents with and without migration background cannot be found in box-plots (Figure 3). Though some outliers show the mentioning of numerous coping-intention by people with migration background only. The difference between migrants and non-migrants considering coping intention is statistically not significant (Mann-Whitney U-Test  $p = .961$ ). Concerning migration background and coping-behaviour a statistical significant difference between people with and without migration background was found (Mann-Whitney U-Test  $p < .000$ ), at which the median of respondents without migration background is higher. This means that they reported to carry out more coping-behaviour than people with migration background. Figure 4 shows extreme outliers for migrants.

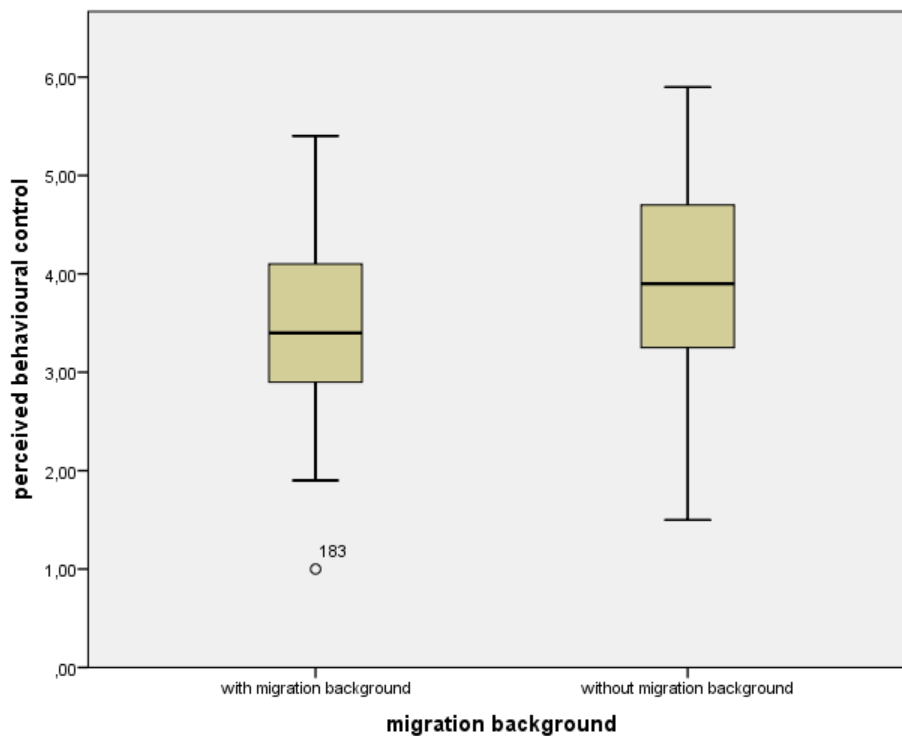


Figure 2: Differences in perceived behavioural control comparing respondents with and without migration background

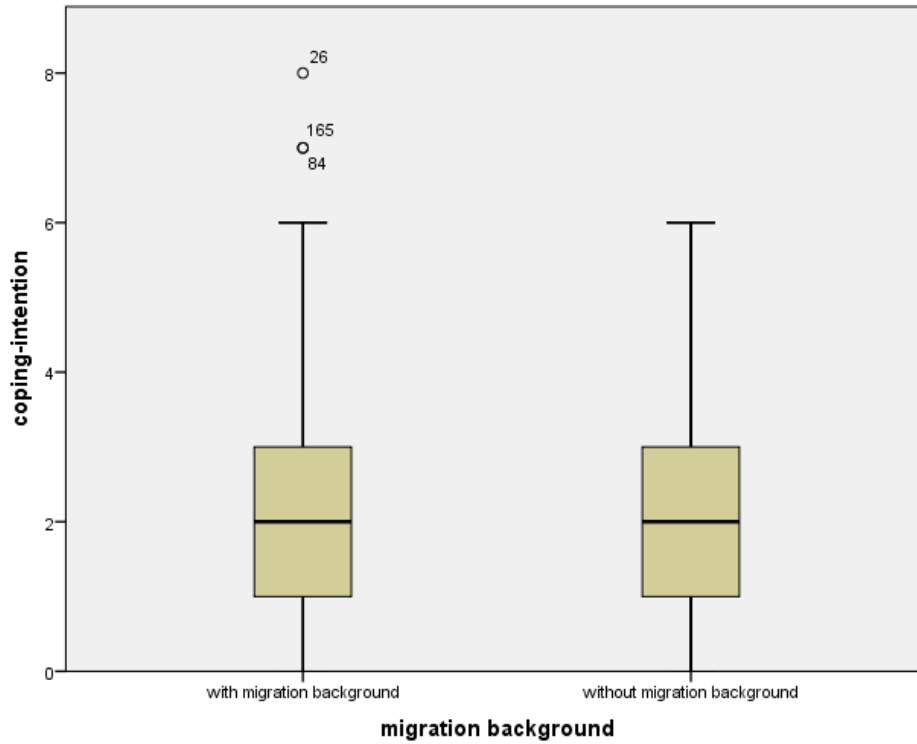


Figure 3: Differences in coping-intention comparing respondents with and without migration background

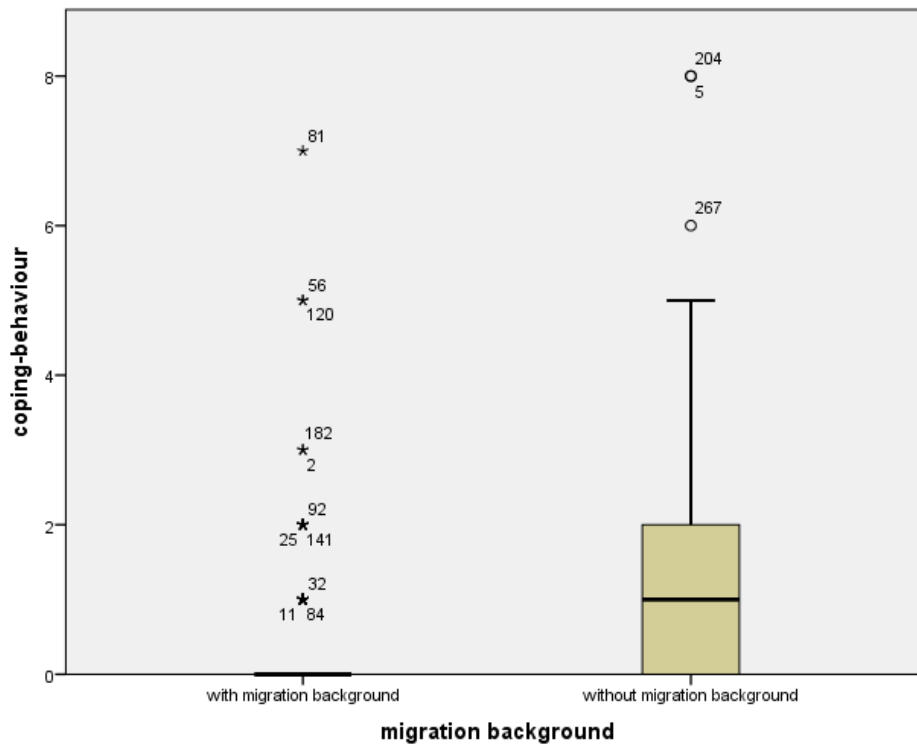


Figure 4: Differences in coping-behaviour comparing respondents with and without migration background

The results of multiple linear regression analyses to predict perceived behavioural control show, that each of Hobfoll's categories produced significant variables to predict variances in perceived behavioural control. These are communal mastery, social networks, income and home-owner vs. tenant. Regarding the grouping variables migration background the picture is manifold. Table 2 reports data on those variables that have been significant to predict the variance of perceived behavioural control. Table 2 shows that people with a Turkish migration background differ significantly from people without migration background regarding per capita household income only.

Table 2: Differences between interviewees with and without migration background concerning resources

	With migration background	Without migration background	p*	effect-size*
<b>Object Resources</b>				
being a tenant	70.3%	69.3%		
<b>Conditions</b>				
Social networks	1.417	1.48		
<b>Personal Characteristics</b>				
communal mastery	3.859	3.903		
<b>Energy</b>				
Household income per capita	820	1232	.000	-.329

Mean average for metric variables, % for dichotomous variables

\* only significant values are reported

### 2.5 Findings on co-ethnic interview design

88 out of the 92 respondents (=95.7%) with a Turkish migration background carried out the interview in Turkish language. The graph on self-perception of German language skills presented in Figure 5 shows that almost 50% of the respondents with a Turkish migration background reported rather good or very good German language skills. Considering the self-perception of German language skills of those with a Turkish migration background not having a German citizenship most respondents reported language skills of middle-rate. For this ANOVA shows a significant difference ( $F(1, 88) = 4.597; p < .035$ ) within the group of people with Turkish migration background: Language skills of those with German citizenship are better ( $M = 4.08, SD = .954$ ) than those with Turkish citizenship ( $M = 3.51, SD = 1.19$ ), while 1 represents *very bad* and 5 *very good* understanding of German language. Gender matching between interviewer and interviewee could not be found in the empirical test of the MOVE model.

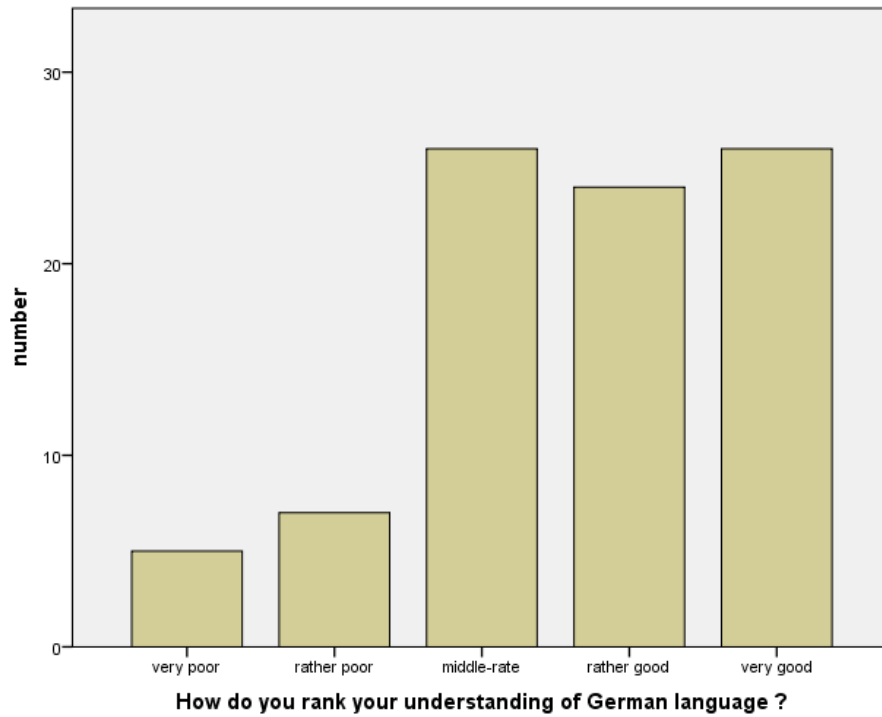


Figure 5: Self perceived language skills Turkish migrants (N=92)

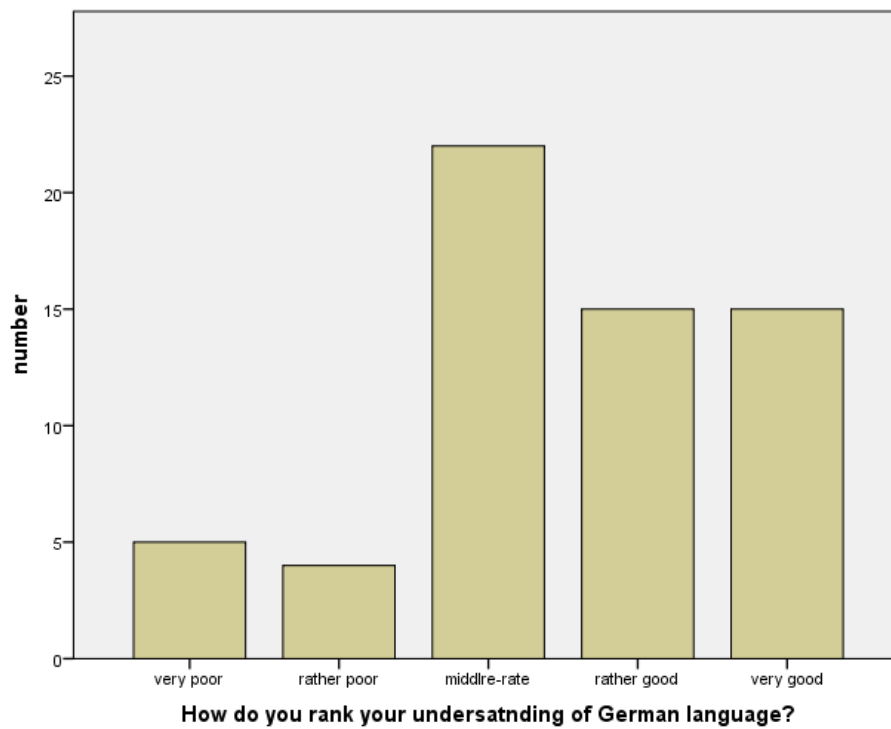


Figure 6: Self perceived language skills Turkish migrants without German citizenship (N=64)



### 3. **Concluding findings on co-ethnic research design and future research perspectives.**

The research presented here is limited in reaching migrant groups. Although we have been successful reaching migrants in polluted and less polluted neighbourhoods equally, we might have reached more and other people if we would have been able to carry out face-to-face interviews. Furthermore we have been able to reach 312 people in total and 92 people with Turkish migration background. This number is rather small to get an insight in such a heterogeneous group like that of Turkish migrants. So co-ethnic research always is a challenge and requires both financial resources and cultural as well as methodological competencies of researchers.

This methodological approach and results on procedural justice are dealing with prerequisites of planning in an intercultural society: the determinants of procedural justice. To make planning procedures inclusive to different cultures and rationalities the corresponding people have to be able to contribute to these procedures. The good news is, that for the respondents from the Ruhr (Germany) with Turkish migration background, we could not find any difference compared to Germans concerning social networks and communal mastery which are two of the relevant predictors for institutionalised coping, which have been identified in this survey. Also no statistically significant difference was found concerning the intention to cope by different options of institutionalised coping. At the same time the data showed less self-reported coping by people with Turkish migration background and less perceived behavioural control.

So relevant capabilities and intention exist, but they do not lead to intended behaviour, especially not for the group of Turkish migrants. Therefore those responsible for decision making, like planners, have to be empowered themselves to be able to include different rationalities by different groups. Therefore paper like that by (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) dealing with the education of planners are of high relevance.

Based on the lessons I have learned from the analyses of the MOVE model, I make the claim that urban and environmental planning has to take vulnerability of people into account. Concerning procedural justice a lack of capabilities for meaningful involvement stands for vulnerability. Therefore I claim to introduce the Vulnerability of the Population Principle into urban and environmental planning. (see Köckler 2014)

Learning about different rationalities is not limited to procedural environmental justice. Therefore we use the method of co-ethnic surveys in other fields. At present we contribute to a project on strategies on the municipal level to promote energetic renovation of privately owned dwellings. Here again we get into dialogue with groups of society that are underrepresented today. We hope to contribute in providing information on rationalities for urban planning in an intercultural society.

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