

Feeling home, feeling free and feeling safe

Are levels of place attachment of Dutch students affected by the recent inflow of migrants in the Netherlands?

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Abstract

Introduction: In recent years, the Netherlands has been exposed to increasing numbers of migrants. This inflow of migrants has caused turbulent debates in both society and politics. This research aims to discuss linkages between views on migration and attachment to places. For this purpose, twelve Dutch students with a Dutch background have been interviewed to answer the following research question: What is the role of current migration flows in the experiences with attachment to places amongst Dutch students without a migratory background?

Literature review: Attachment to places is formed through different processes. In this research, the factors of feeling free, feeling home, and feeling safe are used to describe attachment to places of participants. This relates to views on migration, as other scholars found that these factors can be influenced by the inflow of migrants as well.

Methodology: In this qualitative research, twelve students with a Dutch background from Groningen and Utrecht were interviewed with the support of an interview guide. To recruit participants, methods of 'sampling on basis of voluntary participation' and 'snowball-sampling' have been used. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, and for analysis Atlas.TI was used.

Conclusion: This research found that at a country-level, the inflow of migrants has a certain impact on the feelings of freedom of participants within their place. On city- and neighbourhood-level the larger flow of people with a non-migratory background does seem to play a role in the feelings of safety in these places. Furthermore, it can be concluded that feelings of home do not seem to play a role in shaping views on migration in regards with attachment to places.

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Keywords: place attachment, views on migration, the Netherlands, feeling free, feeling home, feeling safe

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the theme

Increasing numbers of migrants have been entering the Netherlands in recent years (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2016). The growing flow of migrants may have an influence on the host society, and on the other hand growing flows of migrants may have an influence on how people experience the place they are living (Kohlbacher, Reeger & Schnell, 2015). Therefore, this research tries to unravel possible linkages between the views on migration and the attachment to places of Dutch students with a Dutch background. Views on migration can be strongly related to the concept of place attachment, as a changing world, both nearby and further away, can have an influence on the level of place attachment one has (Relph, 1997). The latter is especially true for young people who are living in a continuously changing world (Nayak, 2016).

The growing flow of migrants in current times be seen as an outcome of a changing world, by which attachment to places may be affected. A changing world in this sense also relates to changes in socio-political realities (Keith & Pile, 1993). Keith & Pile (1993) relate socio-political realities to the changing composition of the host society, as it can also refer to the changing political and societal composition in countries that people migrate from. These changing political and societal compositions may be a reason for people to migrate from their country. Furthermore, the construction of a national identity of inhabitants of the host society, and the influence of migrants on that identity can affect levels of place attachment as well (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Based on recent developments, this research aims to study whether an increasing number of migrants entering a country plays a role in the levels of attachment of its inhabitants, and if certain levels of attachment to places play a role in views on migration.

1.2 Migration to the Netherlands

The recent flow of migrants to the Netherlands is not new to the country, as migrants have been entering the Netherlands for a long period of time. Research of Obdeijn & Schrover (2008) shows that already in the 19th century ten thousand of migrants were living in the Netherlands. They entered the country over a larger timespan than in the past years, but it shows that the Netherlands is familiar with incoming flows of migrants. In 1995, a share of 15.87% of Dutch inhabitants was considered being a person with a migratory background (CBS, 2000), while in 2016, a share of 22,1% of Dutch inhabitants is considered inhabitant with a migratory background (CBS, 2016a).

This increase in total numbers of migrants moving to the Netherlands in recent years is mainly due to large changes in the Middle-Eastern region. The region, and especially Syria, suffers from an ongoing war, which made a lot of people flee the country (Davis, Taylor & Murphy, 2014). Governmental changes in both Syria and other countries in the region are another motive for people to move (Ismael, Ismael & Perry, 2015). Davis, Taylor & Murphy (2014) mention that young men who are seen as combatant by their government might leave a country as well. Unhealthy living circumstances, such as a lack of fresh drinking water and access to medical care (Du *et al.*, 2016) and being Christian in a predominantly Islamic region (Di Giovanni & Gaffey, 2015) can be other reasons to leave the region, and move to e.g. the Netherlands. The uncertain living circumstances in the Middle-East, however, are not the only reasons people migrated to the Netherlands. Historically, especially finding labour has been an important driver of migration to the Netherlands (Akgündüz, 1993; Dagevos *et al.*, 2006). From the sixties to the eighties of the previous century also Surinamese, Indonesian, and

Moroccan migrants moved to the Netherlands (Glikman & Semyonov, 2012), both due to the gaining of independence of the countries that previously had been a colony of the Netherlands (Ersanilli, 2014) and due to labour migration (Akgündüz, 1993).

Seeing migration as a multifaceted interplay (Koenig, 2005) gives a better understanding of processes that take place from the moment migrants enter Dutch society. This multifaceted interplay relates to the importance of taking into account citizenship of migrants, national identity of both migrants and host country, and religion in research about migrants (Koenig, 2005). The interplay of factors contradicts to the mind of the sixties and seventies of the previous century, as in these times it was widely acknowledged that migrants with different cultural and religious backgrounds would dispose of these differences, and assimilate into their new host society (Koenig, 2005).

In later years, however, the Netherlands, next to Australia and Canada, was a country that was well-known for its multiculturalism (Entzinger, 2014). Internationally, the Netherlands are seen as a country that is being tolerant and liberal, also towards migrants (Van der Molen Kuipers, 2016). Recent research of Breton (2015) however showed that anti-immigration attitudes in Dutch society are increasing, as more people feel that other than Dutch cultures are threatening Dutch society. Furthermore Bertossi, Duyvendak & Scholten (2015) state that the Dutch approach of labelling different ethnic groups as part of this multicultural society has deepened the gap between the groups, instead of closing it. Increasing numbers of people that see migrants with another cultural background as a threat to Dutch culture, and the recently increasing inflow of migrants in the Netherlands, has been a large debate in Dutch society (Lucassen & Lucassen, 2015).

1.3 Reactions from Dutch society

Political parties have very diverse opinions about the issues related to migration and integration, as Van Heerden *et al.* (2013) stress in their research about the politicizing of immigration. They conclude that issues related to immigration and migrants have been given more attention to by almost all political parties from the early 1990s onwards, and that the subject has uplifted the differences between left-wing and right-wing parties. Helbling (2013) describes immigration as one of the most controversial topics in political debates in Western Europe. The focus on multiculturalism in the Netherlands over the years has shifted increasingly towards a policy of assimilation, although Dutch government has experimented with all forms of immigration-policies between these two policies as well (Entzinger, 2013). Next to that, the responsibility for integrating in Dutch society has increasingly become a responsibility for the migrants themselves, as it was more the task of the government before (Verbeek, Entzinger & Scholten, 2015). Making migrants responsible for their own integration in Dutch society is thought to be increasing participation in Dutch society (Dagevos & Odé, 2016).

The turbulent debates on migration in Dutch society are highly affected by parties who frame the story. Media can be an influential factor in affecting the public debate about migrants (Bos *et al.*, 2016), as their choices of showing and disregarding several aspects of the theme can influence the public. The policy agenda on immigration and migrants is furthermore highly influenced by media-coverage (Dekker & Scholten, 2017). At the end of 2015 and the beginning of 2016, the migration debate in the public atmosphere has for instance become visual in two small towns in the Netherlands, Geldermalsen and Oranje. In Geldermalsen, the major and councillors decided that the village of around 10,000 inhabitants could give room to about 1,500 migrants, most of them from Middle-

Eastern lineage. Large protests were held in the village, and an assembly room was evacuated, because fireworks and stones were thrown into the building (NOS, 2015). Also in Oranje, a small town of nearly 150 inhabitants, large protests were held when the government announced that the town had to shelter 1,400 migrants, instead of the 700 that were announced initially (RTV Drenthe, 2015).

Next to critical and distinct rejecting reactions, reactions from Dutch society were also more welcoming and open to migrants. There are various explanations for the differences in attitudes towards migrants, such as the portrayal in the media, as discussed before. Also, familiarization with other groups in society may be related to responses to new groups of people entering a country, Schneider (2008) suggested. Huijnk & Andriessen (2016) found that resistance against migrants in the Netherlands is decreasing, even though total numbers of migrants entering the country are increasing. This seems to contradict to research of Breton (2015), who found that anti-migrant attitudes are increasing amongst Dutch inhabitants. This study aims to contribute to research about attitudes towards migrants, by focussing on a group of young Dutch people without a migratory background and their attachment to places.

1.4 The contribution of highly educated young people

Personal characteristics of populations researched can have an influence on outcomes of the research, as Gorodzeisky & Semyonov (2009) found that socio-economic characteristics of the host population play a role in the views on migrants. It is specifically important to know more about the attitudes of young people towards the role of migration flows on their national identity and places, because this group seems to be underexposed in recent research. The current cohort of young people, often being referred to as the 'Millennials group', is considered politically progressive, as they are more concerned with economic and societal inequality (Fox, 2012). This is reflected in media studies from the United States as well, as they showed that the endorsement for politically social-liberal candidates was highest amongst Millennials (The Washington Post, 2016). Media coverage should be regarded with care here as it might be biased or incomplete, especially in relation with migration issues, as emphasized by Korson & Kusek (2017). These studies however show that the most progressive candidate was most popular amongst the group that is being considered most progressive (Fox, 2012). Research of Ross & Rouse (2015) shows that Millennials' tolerance towards migrants in relation to their economic status and prospects is higher than that of other generations. A lot of research however has been done in the contexts of the United States and Canada (e.g. Chwalisz, 2017), and it is therefore interesting to look further into the attitudes of young, Dutch people.

McLaren (2003) stresses the importance of taking levels of education of the host population into account, as higher educated people tend to be more positive towards migrants. Levels of average education in the Netherlands are increasing (Tolsma & Wolbers, 2010), and it is therefore interesting to look at higher educated young people, in relation to migrants. Research of Huijnk & Andriessen (2016) states that higher educated people perceive less interracial tensions, because they feel less resistance against migrants and are better capable of dealing with ethnic diversity. Alcalde (2016) found that racial and immigration attitudes amongst Millennials are perceived as being more open and tolerant, as Huijnk & Andriessen (2016) found that higher educational levels result in more positive views towards migrants. Furthermore, higher educated people are interesting to study, as Zenker & Rütter (2014) and Fischer & Malmberg (2001) showed that higher levels of education give lower levels of attachment to places.

1.5 Objective and research questions

Previously discussed research shows that the groups of higher educated young people, with more progressive ideas and less attachment to place, are an important focus in new research on attachment to places and views on migration. With Dutch population increasingly becoming higher educated (Tolsma & Wolbers, 2010), it is societally relevant to look into feelings and attitudes of these Dutch inhabitants towards migrants. As the number of migrants entering the country is increasing (CBS, 2016), and place attachment and views on migration can be closely linked (Keith & Pile, 1993; Relph, 1997), this research aims to contribute to studying linkages between place attachment and views on migration that are being expressed by Dutch students without a migratory background.

The views on migration are impacted by several factors, but the focus in this research is on the linkages with attachment to places. The linkages between the views on migration and the levels of place attachment are not necessarily towards one direction. Migration views might have an influence on place attachment, and place attachment might influence migration views. To study the links between views on migration and place attachment, the following research questions were set up:

Research question

What is the role of current migration flows in the experiences with attachment to places amongst Dutch students without a migratory background?

Sub-questions

1. Which views on migration occur currently amongst Dutch students without a migratory background?
2. How do students experience attachment to place, and which factors play a role in this level of attachment?
3. How play views on migration a role in the experiences with place attachment of students?

2. Literature review

To gain more understanding of the topic studied, this section aims to explore existing literature and theories regarding the theme of this research. Firstly, theories regarding migration and integration will be dealt with in section 1.1. In section 1.2 theories about attachment to places, such as The Tripartite Model (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) will be discussed.

2.1 Literature and theories on migration and integration

As has been introduced earlier in this thesis, the Netherlands is a country that has been influenced by in-migration of ten-thousands of people over the past centuries (Obdeijn & Schrover, 2008). Not only do people move to the country, but a share of the people that moved to the country will get children as well (Preston, Heuveline & Guillot, 2001). This means the total number of people with a migratory background increases over the years. Dutch government and the statistical offices of the country define migrants or their children as first-generation, second-generation, or third-generation migrants (Kraaykamp, Notten & Bekhuis, 2014), referring to the fact that they moved here themselves or that they are children of people that migrated to the country (CBS, 2017).

The fact that many people with another cultural background have moved to the Netherlands in previous years, has led to the country often being called a multicultural society. However, this term has recently lost support, as governments in e.g. France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom have declared the multicultural society 'dead' (Blum, 2014). This means that governments are more working with the concept of 'interculturalism' as they deal with plurality in their society. Meer & Modood (2010) however found that interculturalism should be complementary to multiculturalism, instead of replacing it, as interculturalism does not hold all the aspects multiculturalism refers to. Disregarding the terms used, it can be concluded that around 3,7 million of almost 17 million inhabitants of the Netherlands is being officially considered 'person with a migration background' (CBS, 2016).

Though migration has been a topic of interest amongst scholars for a longer period, especially the last decade the topic has gained more prominence in both scientific as well as public debates (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014). An important part of the discussion in Dutch society is the level of integration of migrants. As Koenig (2005) already described, migrants were long expected to be assimilating in their host society, a process that is being described as the process in which both groups that meet over the course of the migration procedure are changing (Berry, 1997). Berry (1990) however found that groups may not meet each other in this process, as the new group tends to take over social and cultural practices of the existing group instead of both groups forming a newly designed set of practices. Sam & Berry (2010) found that assimilation leads to less psychological well-being of migrants, while integration in a country improves this well-being. Different groups of migrants might assimilate differently into their new society (Rumbaut, 2015), but in recent years Dutch policy tends to work more towards policies of assimilation instead of integration (Entzinger, 2013). Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret (2006) found that Dutch inhabitants have a growing preference for assimilation as a form of integration of migrants, instead of migrants preserving their own cultural background. The preference of Dutch people for assimilation as an integration strategy is however depending on the willingness of migrants to have social contacts with Dutch inhabitants with a non-migratory background (Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998).

Next to forms of integration and assimilation, scholars have distinguished more forms of contacts between inhabitants of a host society and migrants moving to this society. Bourhis *et al.* (1997) e.g. describe segregation, exclusion, and individualism as other forms of the relationship between host countries and their migrant population. Host nationals who think segregation is the best way of acculturation for migrants, feel it is best if migrants are separated from the cultural society of the host country (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006), as exclusionists do not allow migrants to maintain their own cultural background (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). Individualists furthermore see migrants as individuals instead of a group of people who share a common cultural background.

The Interactive Acculturation Model is based on feelings of the host society towards migrants' own identity, and whether they should be allowed to adopt the cultural identity of the host society (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). Research shows it is of great importance to understand the attitudes of the host society towards migrants and their integration, next to looking at acculturation attitudes of migrants themselves (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006). All five forms of attitudes towards the acculturation of migrants furthermore shape the views towards migrants of the host population. Therefore, the next section aims to elaborate on how views on migration are constructed.

2.1.1 *The shaping of views on migration*

As described earlier, preferences for strategies of acculturation and integration can influence views towards migrants. However, studies show that certain views towards migrants and their position in a society are often influenced by characteristics of groups and individuals in that society. There are characteristics such as socio-economic characteristics of the host population, the size of the group of migrants, social contacts and social engagement and the coverage of the media. All those characteristics of both groups, individuals, and society in general may influence views on migration and migrants. These factors will be discussed in this section.

From a socio-demographic perspective, studies have observed that socio-economic characteristics of the host population can shape feelings and views towards migrants. Research of Gorodzeisky & Semyonov (2009) shows that socio-economic characteristics of individuals already living in a country can play a role in how they regard new people coming to the country, as e.g. people with lower levels of education tend to be less tolerant towards migrants (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2013). Jenssen & Engesbak (1994) found that people with higher levels of education are more open to migrants. This can be related to the generally more progressive attitudes of students in the Millennium-group (Fox, 2012), as being researched in this thesis. Another factor shaping the views on migration by the host population, is the size of the group of people with a different cultural background that is already living in the host country. Ceobanu & Escandell (2010) found that with increasing numbers of migrants, in the opinion of the host population, the importance of integration is increasing.

Another factor affecting views on migration has been described by Shamai, Arnon & Schnell (2012). They described that place involves both human and physical environment, but that it also includes people's behaviour and feelings towards it. So, it's not only the way it's constructed physically, but also socially. Changes in the environment of people, or changes in their, more specific, social networks and community might change their feelings about this environment. Similar as to Shamai, Arnon & Schnell (2012) describe, behaviour might be influenced by the changes in environment.

Schlüter & Davidov (2013) conducted research on adverse feelings towards migrants, and used the group-size as one of the determinants for their research. The inflow of a large group of 1,400 or 1,500 migrants to places that are consisting of 140 or 10,000 inhabitants can, according to Schlüter & Davidov, influence people's behaviour towards migrants. Established residents of a place could perceive people that are new to a place as a threat to an existing way of life (Anton & Lawrence).

Goldstein & Peters (2014) describe that also economic factors can determine individuals' attitudes towards migrants. This firstly links to the economic integration of migrants, as increasing levels of economic integration of migrants may affect attitudes towards migrants positively (CBS, 2017a). It secondly links to socio-economic factors that characterize the host population, as Gorodzeisky & Semyonov (2009) found that different levels of socio-economic development of the host population have a different outcome in attitudes towards migrants. Inhabitants with higher average incomes tend to be more positive towards migrants, than people with lower incomes (Burns & Gimpel, 2000).

Ingroup threat can be felt due to a whole different set of issues; i.e. expressed by media (Van der Linden & Jacobs, 2016). Media-coverage on issues related to the existing culture of the host country, issues relating to safety of inhabitants and issues related to the economy of the country, such as levels of unemployment amongst the non-migratory population, may influence views on migrants. The role of media in affecting the views on migration may furthermore be increased as Schemer (2013) found that media are likely to present negative thoughts about minorities and migrants.

This section described several factors that can have an influence on the views of the host society towards migrants. Socio-economic factors, the human and physical environment, the group-size of the migrants, social engagement and social contacts, economic factors and the media can be of an importance in studying views on migration. All these factors can be a part of how individuals and groups build their opinion towards new groups entering their society. Some individuals or groups may perceive the inflow of migrants as threatening, others may, due to a different background, have other views (Astor, 2016). Also, the attachment to places of inhabitants of the host society may change by the inflow of migrants (e.g. Keith & Pile, 1993; Kohlbacher, Reeger & Schnell, 2015), as they might be bringing changes in existing ways of living. It is therefore that section 1.2 will further discuss literature and theories regarding attachment to places.

2.2 Literature and theories on attachment to places

This section aims to elaborate on existing theories and research about the concept of place attachment. Also, factors influencing place attachment, that are relevant for this specific research, are being discussed here.

2.2.1 The concept of place attachment

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, place attachment may play a role in the views on migration, as it is possible that the views on migration play a role in the place attachment of a person. Relph (1997) uses the concept of place attachment to describe the ability of people to grasp a changing world, by which they can be more aware of their living situation. Perceptions of changing places may have an influence on levels of attachment to these places (Lewicka, 2008), which is especially true for young people who may be more adapted to this changing world (Gu & Ryan, 2008).

Currently, the world is changing greatly due to flows of migrants that occur from mainly Middle-Eastern and African countries. Relphs' (1997) use of place attachment as a factor of importance in a changing world, can be linked closely to this flow of migrants in recent years. Furthermore, Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra (2006) found that attachment to places might be influenced by Western societies becoming more multicultural in recent years, because of increasing migration.

A various range of scholars have used the concept of place attachment to describe the role of unique and emotional experiences and bonds that people can have with places (Low & Altman, 1992). Scannell & Gifford (2010) proposed a three-dimensional framework to summarize previous research on the concept of place attachment. Their model is called the 'Tripartite Model', and therefore consists of three dimensions: person, process, and place. This division raises three questions: *who* is attached?, how are *affect, cognition and behaviour* playing a role? and to *what* is the attachment going? The model is shown as figure 1 below. Previous research on place attachment, however, is strongly attaching to the person dimension of the Tripartite Model (Lewicka, 2011). This study therefore focusses on the process and place dimension as well, in studying a place to which attachment might increase or decrease due to processes of migration.

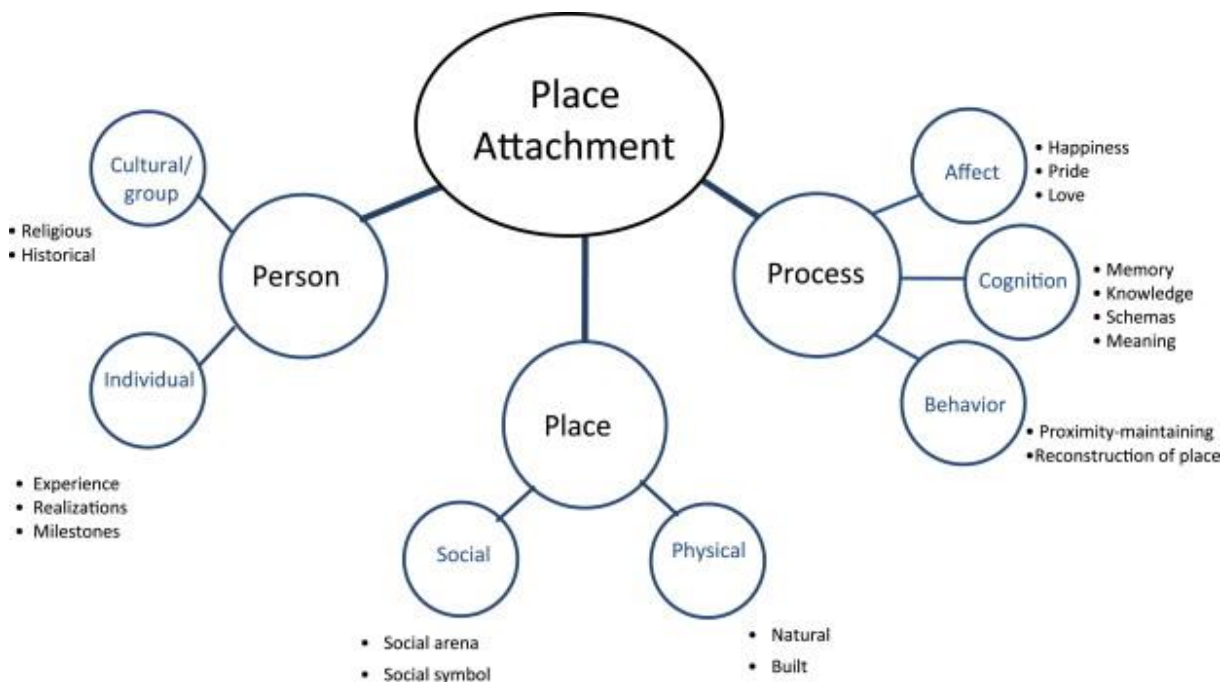


Figure 1: The Tripartite Model (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Cross (2015) furthermore proposed an interactional framework for rethinking processes of place attachment, by stating that there are seven processes that are commonly working in place attachment: sensory, narrative, historical, spiritual, ideological, commodifying and material dependence. Some of these processes have been used in the current research, as importance of events and stories from the past (narrative and historical) and interpersonal contacts (ideological and commodifying) seemed important for participants. Events and stories from the past have been linked to experiences with places and people (Loureiro, 2014), which then leads to changes in attachment to a place. Experiences with migrants, both negative and positive, can in this way affect levels of place attachment of people. Levels of place attachment of people can differ depending on levels of social contacts people have and depending on feelings of belonging to a social group (Anton & Lawrence,

2014). Changes in social constructs and groups, as described by Shamai, Arnon & Schnell (2012), e.g. because of the inflow of migrants in a specific place, can therefore have an influence on the levels of place attachment. The processes proposed in the interactional framework for rethinking processes of place attachment (Cross, 2015) can be linked to factors such as dependence, satisfaction, identification, and social bonding with place (Ramkissoon, Smith & Weiler, 2014). Identification and social bonding in this research link to feelings of connectiveness with places through being a member of a group and having social contacts.

2.2.2 Experience and socio-political realities as a form of place attachment and identity

Experiences which people feel that are important to them lead to some form of bonding with the place where these experiences took place (Manzo, 2005). Experiences however that cause negative emotions can create memories and attachment to a place as well (Loureiro, 2014), though positive emotions tend to be remembered more easily (Kim, Ritchie & McCormick, 2012). Negative emotions related to an experience at a certain place furthermore might create a form of aversion as well (Prayag *et al.*, 2015). Place, in this sense, can play an important role in the shaping of identity as negative and positive experiences shape one's identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

As experiences are linked to certain places, places therefore help in constructing identity as well. Keith & Pile (1993) stressed the importance of looking at a larger socio-political reality to understand the way people understand the world around them. Negative experiences, such as being overruled by someone in a higher power-relation that decides at the expense of an individual (Devine-Wright, 2012) can help people shape the world around them, and gives them the possibility to explore their identity (Manzo, 2005). This exploring of identity can be specifically linked to certain places (Di Masso, Dixon & Hernández, 2016). Di Masso, Dixon & Hernández (2016) state that the relation between place attachment and place identity is close, which in this research is used to discover the possible linkages between views on migration and how people feel that migrants have an influence on their feelings of attachment to places and the shaping of their identity. This is because place identity is being a part of personal identity, which is shaped by the interaction with places (Hernández *et al.*, 2007). Strong identification with a certain place, as for instance a country, is shown to be important in pro- versus anti-discrimination norms in e.g. Swiss' society (Falomir-Pistachor, Gabarrot & Mugny, 2009).

2.2.3 Feelings of home, safety, and freedom

Attachment to places can be discussed through a set of different factors which play a role in the formation of this attachment. Previous sections have shown that attachment to places can be related to aspects of the place itself, to social contacts that are related to a certain place, and to experiences and memories that are related to a place. To study potential changes in levels of attachment to places due to the inflow of migrants in these places (Schlüter & Davidov, 2013; Shamai, Arnon & Schnell, 2012), three concepts that have an influence on attachment to places have been used in this study. *Feeling at home*, *feeling safe* and *feeling free* have been used in research previously (Čapo, 2015), though related to migrants instead of the host population. The increasing inflow of migrants (e.g. Keith & Pile, 1993; Kohlbacher, Reeger & Schnell, 2015) may however affect feelings of home, safety and freedom of a host-population that does not move, though their place changes (Lewicka, 2008; Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006). The dimensions feeling at home, feeling safe and feeling free will be elaborated more on in this section.

The first dimension that can play a role in the attachment to places, is 'feeling home'. Chow & Healey (2008) describe 'home' as being a space to which people get attached to, because they share this space with people they love and because the place contains fond memories. Moore (2000) describes home as a place with numerous psychological meanings, and therefore an important place for people. Feeling at home doesn't necessarily have to apply to a specific building in which one lives, as it can relate to countries or parts of it as well (Hagemann, 2015). Living in a society which increasingly becomes multicultural, inhabitants of a country may need to construct a new meaning of 'home' (Harris, 2009). In constructing this new meaning of home, community building may be an important factor (Barbieri, Zani & Sonn, 2014), which can be linked to the willingness of migrants to connect with inhabitants of the host country (Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998).

Another dimension by which attachment to places can be created, is the dimension of 'feeling safe'. Previous research suggested that higher levels of place attachment leads to higher levels of perceived safety (Dallago *et al.*, 2009), and fear of crime, and a higher reported level of incivilities creates decreasing levels of attachment to places (Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2003). Both studies are supported by research of Scannell & Gifford (2010), who found that individuals that feel higher levels of attachment to certain places, feel safer as well. People with negative feelings towards migrants are more likely to feel unsafe in their own place, even without the presence of migrants (Nielsen & Smyth, 2008). It is therefore interesting to look at levels of perceived safety by participants in this research, and what influence migrants in their surroundings have on these levels of safety.

The last dimension that can play a role in the shaping of attachment to places in regards with the views on migration is 'feeling free'. Higher levels of attachment to a place can lead to increasing levels of perceived freedom, even if the place is dangerous to live (Billig, 2006). Huijnk & Andriessen (2016) state that a share of the Dutch population without a migratory background sees migrants as a threat to important norms and values that exist in Dutch society, opposing non-Western (Islamic) cultures to Western cultures (Lucassen, 2005). The ability to move and think freely may be perceived as decreasing due to migrants (Čapo, 2015), while media may also play a role in creating feelings of decreasing freedom with regards to migrants (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2002). Views on migration can be shaped by felt ethnic threat of the host society (Paxton & Mughan, 2006). However, these feelings are mostly shaped by the inability of migrants to assimilate in the host society (Paxton & Mughan, 2006), an acculturation strategy that is increasingly becoming popular amongst Dutch inhabitants (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

2.3 Conceptual model

This section aims to discuss the conceptual model that has been proposed by the author, to visualize the theories discussed previously.

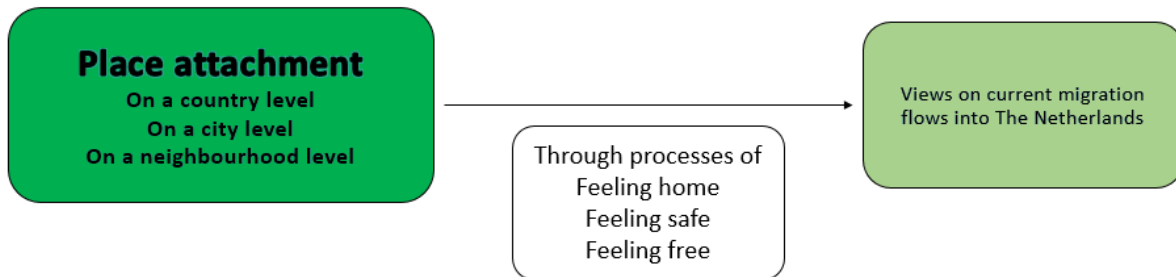


Figure 2: conceptual model

Attachment to places can have its influence on how people view the inflow of migrants into their country. It is important to consider different levels of scale, as both attachment and influences on this attachment can differ amongst various levels of scale (Lewicka, 2010; Qian, Zhu & Liu, 2011). Furthermore, attachment to places as linked to building of identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) can differ amongst levels of scale, such as the country or city (Hernández *et al.*, 2007). It is therefore that this study considers levels of attachment on the country-level, city-level, and neighbourhood-level.

Attachment to places is shaped by feelings of home, social contacts, identity, and socio-economic factors. Views on migration on the other hand can be shaped by levels of integration of migrants, social networks, economic factors, and culture. To research the linkages between place attachment and views on migration, three processes have been proposed in this research. These processes are both inductive and deductive, and form a new set of factors that are important in research on views on migration and place attachment.

3. Methodology

In this section, the methodology of this research is being discussed. In section 3.1 the definition of concepts used and the operationalization of these concepts is being defined. The second paragraph aims to elaborate on the methods used, as section 3.3 discusses the recruitment of the participants. The following paragraph describes the participants that joined the research, as section 3.5 deals with ethical considerations. Section 3.6 describes the process of collection of the data, as the last paragraph discusses the process of analysis of the data.

3.1 Definitions and operationalization

As a definition of the concept of place attachment the definition of Hernández *et al.* (2007) is used. They describe the concept "... as an affective bond or link between people and specific places." The operationalization of the concept of place attachment finds place on different levels of scale, such as country-level, city-level, and neighbourhood-level. Participants are asked about their feelings and experiences with home, social contacts, identity, and personal belongings.

As described before, Dutch students without a migratory background have been chosen as target-group of this research. This means that only people studying at a University or University of Applied Sciences could participate. Their studies had to be full-time, and the age-limit was set between 18 and 34 years (e.g. De Mooij & Beniflah, 2016).

3.2 Methods of research

In this research, a qualitative approach to research has been used. Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2011) describe this type of research as "an approach that allows you to examine people's experiences in detail" (pp. 8-9). Flick (2015) adds that a qualitative approach allows to research processes and views of people in more detail. This type of research is applicable for the current research, as this research aims to elaborate on feelings and experiences that people have with both attachment to places, as well as with migrants. The possibility of using a qualitative research method gave the researcher in-depth information about feelings, views, and thinking's of the participants in the research (Clifford, French & Valentine, 2010).

In the words of Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2011), focus group discussions do not collect personal stories and feelings of participants. Therefore, the use of in-depth interviews has been chosen as a technique to collect data for this research. It gave the researcher the possibility to really get into feelings and meanings of people regarding their views on immigration and the possible outcomes of it (Clifford, French & Valentine, 2010; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). The in-depth interviews furthermore gave the researcher the possibility to bring up new topics during the interview, based on information and insights provided by the participants (Dunn, 2005).

3.3 Recruitment of participants

To recruit participants, some different methods have been used. To get started, a message was posted on the Facebook-page and LinkedIn-page of the researcher, with in it a call for participants. This message can be found as appendix D. This method is called a 'sample on basis of voluntary response' (Callaert, n.d.). People who are interested in the topic of the research might however be more willing to participate than people who are not interested in the topic of research. In the end, five people responded to the call for participation. Four of them fitted the requirements for participants in

this study, and therefore one of them was not included. He did not receive higher education anymore, and was partially working already. A couple of participants were brought to the attention of the researcher by friends, and after a short conversation about the research and its subject they were willing to participate.

Another way of recruiting participants that was used in this research, is snowball-sampling. Some of the participants were asked if they knew any people who might want to participate (Robinson, 2013), and one of the participants provided the researcher with two people who in the end participated as well. To complete the recruitment of participants, a total of three participants was asked by the researcher himself whether they wanted to participate. They all agreed on participating in this research.

3.4 Descriptions of participants

As discussed previously, and as mentioned in the research questions, the target group of this research was students that are Dutch without a migratory background. Their views on migration and experiences with attachment to places are used to answer the questions posed, and therefore the area of study focused on students living in a city with facilities that offer higher education. This consideration led to a target area of Groningen, Utrecht, and Glasgow. It should be mentioned here that the participant that was living in Glasgow during the time of the research, lives in Groningen normally. He only lived in Glasgow for a couple of months. Almost all of the participants were living in Groningen, one participant was living in Utrecht.

To provide an overview of the participants, their characteristics are scheduled in table 1.

Participant	Gender	Age	Current study	City	Neighbourhood	Moved from
Sterre	F	23	Master of Science	Groningen	Vinkhuizen	Huizen
Eva	F	19	Bachelor of Applied Science	Groningen	Concordiabuurt	Ameland
Iris	F	23	Master of Science	Groningen	Zeeheldenbuurt	Emmen
Marte	F	21	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Vinkhuizen	IJsselmuiden
Olaf	M	20	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Vinkhuizen	Kampen
Quinten	M	24	Master of Science	Utrecht	Overvecht	Leens
Esther	F	23	Master of Science	Groningen	Binnenstad-Oost	Emmen
Olivia	F	22	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Schildersbuurt	Hattem
Carola	F	22	Master of Science	Groningen	Damsterbuurt	Meppel
Rik	M	22	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Oosterpoortbuurt	Delfzijl
Stan	M	21	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Vinkhuizen	Barneveld
Jorn	M	21	Bachelor of Science	Groningen	Vinkhuizen	Kampen

Table 1: characteristics of participants.

As table 1 shows, there is a well spread diversity of gender and degree amongst the participants. A larger share of the participants is living in Vinkhuizen, a neighbourhood in Groningen. Though they were living in the same neighbourhood, participants from this place had very different views on e.g. the number of migrants in the neighbourhood. Participants lived in a variety of places before moving to their current place, though the provinces of Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel make up for the largest share of previous places of living.

In this research, the attachment to places is one of the most important topics of study. It is therefore important to focus on places that are important for participants. To cover the whole range of possibilities for attachment, the focus on places is considering different levels of attachment. In the first place, there is a focus on the house of the participant. This mostly is a student dorm room, and in some cases a shared apartment. Other levels considered are the street one is living in, the neighbourhood, and the city. On the highest level there is the country, the Netherlands, that is discussed in some parts of the interviews.

3.5 Ethical considerations

In 1964, the World Medical Association published their ethical principles for medical research that involves human subjects (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). In 1979, the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Behavioural Research stated some core references for dealing with ethical issues regarding qualitative sorts of research. They list *respect of persons*, *benefice*, and *justices* as core topics, from which one can derive certain important principles: *informed consent*, *self-determination*, *minimalization of harm*, *anonymity*, and *confidentiality* (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011).

All these principals are being considered in this research. Firstly, all participants received an e-mail in which the global topic of the research was being explained. This mail was sent to them after they subscribed for participating in the research. Secondly, it was made clear to all participants that they could stop the interview at any time they wanted, which never happened in this study. The questions asked were set up to minimalize harm, and sensitive questions were being explained extra or were only asked after a longer period of posing other questions to gain trust of both interviewer and interviewee. Anonymity was guaranteed in both the e-mail participants received beforehand and it was guaranteed again verbally before and after the interview as well. This has been recorded on tape as well. Marte (21, Vinkhuizen) was asked to give permission to use her place of birth in the transcripts, as firstly it was made clear to her that it wouldn't be used. She gave her permission to do so. All transcripts were anonymized, and furthermore the data is saved in a way that no one can detect the identity of the participants.

Qualitative research is about feelings that people experience and meanings that people give to certain topics and events occurring in their lives (Clifford, French & Valentine, 2010; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011; Flick, 2015). This gives a certain sensitivity to the subjects discussed and researched. The topic researched in this thesis is a topic that's been highly debated in Dutch society, both political and amongst inhabitants of the country. Views on migration might be private to someone, as the experiences with attachment to places can be a sensitive topic to talk about too. Therefore, we must consider a certain level of social desirability in the answers of the participants. The researcher tried to prevent participants to answer in a socially desirable way, by ensuring their anonymity (Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987).

As a present to thank the participants, a luxurious bar of chocolate was handed to the participants after the interview had finished. To prevent people from participating due to the fact that they knew they would receive a present (Lynn, 2001), participants were not informed about a gift beforehand. Nor the call for participants, nor the mail with informed consent told them anything about a possible reward for participation.

3.6 Process of data collection

Before getting started with the interviews, an interview guide was set up. The development of the guide is an important part of qualitative research (Krauss *et al.*, 2009), and it helped the researcher to structure information to be gathered. An initial set-up of the interview guide was used in the pilot interview with Sterre (23, Vinkhuizen), whose data in the end was used in this research. After this pilot, some of the questions were revised and deleted. The final interview guide was build up based on existing literature as described in the literature section of this thesis, and had the following structure:

- Background information about the participant
- Information about the current living situation of the participant
- Feelings and experiences with the current living situation of the participant
- Feelings and experiences with migrants coming to the Netherlands
- Information about the sources of information of the participant
- Linkages between views on migration and the attachment to places
- Concluding questions

The final interview guide can be found as appendix A as well.

All participants were visited in their own house, as suggested by the researcher. None of the participants wanted to be interviewed in another place. Most interviews were held in the dorm room of the participants, and sometimes the interview took place in a common room in the house. In one case, the interview was held through Skype because that participant was temporarily living in Glasgow. Using Skype as a technology in qualitative research is applauded by e.g. Redlich-Amirav & Higginbottom (2014), as it expands possibilities to study people, their feelings, and experiences. To reflect on this interview, it has to be said that it sometimes was more difficult to understand each other, which made the process of interviewing less fluently. All interviews have been done without presence of other persons, wherever they were held (Reuband, 1992). This is important because the presence of other people might affect people in the way they want to talk about certain topics, which might be sensitive to them.

3.7 Analysis of the data

To make it possible to analyse the data after the interview had finished, the interviews were recorded. Participants had been made aware about the recording both in the e-mail they received, as well as before the interview started. They all agreed on the recording of the interview, and gave their agreement explicitly on tape as well. A total of 9 hours and 43 minutes of data has been recorded, which makes the average time per interview around 50 minutes.

To analyse the gathered data, first the interviews were transcribed verbatim (Sutton & Austin, 2015). That means also laughter, thinking-out-loud-moments and long silences are being transcribed. The largest share of all interviews held was understandable for transcription. However, the interview that was held through Skype had the most gaps in the data. In all interviews, gaps in the data have been transcribed as [...].

To analyse and structure the data of the transcripts, the program Atlas.TI has been used. To analyse the gathered data, both deductive and inductive codes have been set up. Deductive codes, which were derived from the literature (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011), were mainly used to describe processes of attachment to the neighbourhood, feelings of safety and freedom and the views on

migration. These processes have been described in more detail in the literature section of this thesis. Inductive codes that occurred from the data (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011) were mainly used to code data that regarded feelings of freedom and national identity. It appeared that these themes were important to participants, as several participants referred to these feelings.

After coding the transcripts of the interviews, some of the codes had to be merged and deleted. Some of the codes that had been set up initially were not distinctive enough to be used separately, as some of the codes appeared to be useless in the process of analysis. After merging and deleting some of the initial codes, a total of 349 single codes has been used for analysis of the data. An overview of these codes can be found as appendix B. To create an overview of codes, a total of 30 code families has been set up, as shown in appendix C. They were used to analyse and describe different sections of the results-section, on e.g. different levels of scale.

4. Results and analysis

4.1 Introduction to results and analysis

This section aims to present the results of the interviews with the twelve participants on their perceptions on attachment to places and the inflow of migrants in the Netherlands. Although the students hold different perceptions on attachment to places and migration, their views are linked to the literature, to explain the relation between the data gathered in this research and data and results from previous research.

In section 1.2 the views on migration of Dutch students without a migratory background will be described. In section 1.3, the attachment to places as described by the participants will be dealt with. This section also explains existing linkages between the attachment to places and views on migration.

4.2 Views on migration

As mentioned earlier, migration has been influencing Dutch society not only in recent years (CBS, 2016), but also in previous centuries (Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas & Scholten, 2005). This section explores how participants perceive current migration flows to the Netherlands, and how they perceive migrants in general. The results are presented in two sections. Section 1.2.1 aims to elaborate on more welcoming views towards migrants, and how these views are being shaped. Section 1.2.2 on the other hand focusses on more rejecting views towards migrants, and elaborates on which factors play a role in the shaping of these views.

To create a possibility of writing about views on migration, it is firstly important to describe contacts that participants have with migrants. Contacts between migrants and people with a non-migratory background have been shown important in affecting views on migrants (McLaren, 2003). These contacts can take place on different levels of scale, as e.g. previous research showed that living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood can reduce opposition towards minorities and immigration (Kaufmann & Harris, 2015). In this section, a differentiation is made between 'direct contact' and 'indirect contact'. Direct contact links to social bonds that people have, with e.g. friends, neighbours, or classmates. Indirect contact links to contact that people have without talking to people, e.g. sitting next to people in the bus, walking past them on the street, or having friends whose friends are migrants (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2007).

Firstly, direct contact with migrants will be discussed here. About half of the participants indicated they have had direct contacts with people with a migratory background. Most of them have these contacts through studies or work, with most of these contacts being for a long period of time instead of only one semester. However, these direct contacts with migrants are connected directly to the place where they take place, instead of participants calling these people friends that they also see in other places. Only one participant mentioned having a friend from Iraq, though she immediately added that this friend had been living in the Netherlands for about 15 years already and that she found out the friend was a refugee after years of friendship.

About half of the participants indicated they didn't have any direct contacts with migrants. The description of Sterre (23, Vinkhuizen) supports this:

“Actually, I do not have any contact with people with another cultural background. I think I don't know anyone.”

Participants described a whole set of reasons why they thought they didn't have contacts with people with another cultural background. Some of them mentioned that their studies were taught in Dutch, which made it harder for them to get in contact with people that didn't speak Dutch. Other participants mentioned they were living in a neighbourhood or street where most people didn't have a migratory background, as some of them also mentioned that the place where they moved from to their current place of residence was predominantly 'white'. This was mostly the case for participants from smaller villages, such as IJsselmuiden or Barneveld. This might be because migrants moving to the Netherlands are on average getting younger over the years, which makes larger cities more attractive to them due to for e.g. possibilities for education (Manting & Huisman, 2015). Another reason participants didn't have direct contacts, is that they already established their group of friends and that they didn't feel the need to expand it anymore. Here, it seems that people create a maximum of people that they can be close to, as also suggested by Nitti, Atzori & Cvijikj (2015). None of the participants deliberately had no contacts with migrants.

Interviewer: “Would you be open to it (contacts with migrants)?”

Olivia (23, Schildersbuurt): “Yes sure... but it's not that I bother (about them being migrants). It's not a conscious choice, it's just coincidence.”

This quote exemplifies that participants are not unwilling to have contacts with migrants, but that in their opinion living circumstances cause this not having of contacts. Participants e.g. indicated living in a neighbourhood with the majority of the population having a non-migratory background, makes it harder for them to form social bonds with people with a migratory background. Geographic distance to other people seems to influence their contact with people from a different cultural background, as becoming close to people who geographically far away is hard (Banerjee *et al.*, 2014).

The other form of contact that people can have with migrants, is indirect contact. In research of Visintin *et al.* (2017) indirect contact is defined as *contact with migrants through other people*. Their research shows the importance of considering different forms of contact in describing feelings and attitudes towards migrants, such as coming across people in the neighbourhood. These different forms of social contacts are being used in this research as well, as linkages between place, forms of contact and views on migration will be linked later-on in this results section. All participants in this research indicated they had indirect contacts with migrants. How some of the participants feel about this type of contact is being described by Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen):

“I'm just not concerned with it. I mean... yeah, why doesn't it bother me? I'd like to say: just because it is so.”

Olaf describes a feeling more participants acknowledged and recognized in their daily lives: though he has indirect contact with people with a migratory background, he explained he feels

indifferent about these contacts, which furthermore do not affect him in his social life. Here, this does not mean participants find indirect contact unimportant, but it can be explained that they just do not give special attention to the fact that people have another cultural background. This might be because they have been raised like this by their parents, such as in the case of Olivia (22, Schildersbuurt). Another reason can be found in the fact that participants want to be non-judgemental towards people with another background, as Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt) expressed.

Quinten (24, Overvecht, Utrecht) showed he did care about the indirect contact he had with people with a migratory background. He exemplified this in an interesting way when he spoke about how he felt when he had indirect contact with migrants, e.g. when entering a bus.

“In the bus in Overvecht, I think, threequarters [of the people] is from the Middle-East, Arabic, eh origin. I sense that I have an automatic tendency to show them that I’m fine with the fact that they are here, or so” (Quinten, 24, Overvecht, Utrecht).

As this quote shows participants might not always be in direct contact with people with another cultural background, but Quinten mentioned that he always gets a feeling of showing the migrants some sign of them being welcome in the country. As examples of this he mentioned taking the empty seat next to them, or smiling to the children of a migrant mother. The tendency to show migrants that they are welcome, regardless their cultural background, is also elaborated on by Carola (22, Damsterbuurt) and Quinten (24, Overvecht, Utrecht). They are willing to show them their empathy and willingness to be part of the same place, in this case: the bus. Here, participants show that sharing places with other people can have an influence on how they view migrants, though this does not necessarily have to lead to increasing place attachment (Manzo & Perkins, 2006).

Before elaborating on the different perceptions of participants towards migrants, there is one important factor that is influencing ways of viewing migrants. Some of the participants mentioned that it mattered to them with which intention the migrants migrated to the Netherlands. People who fled their country due to e.g. wars or famine were regarded differently than people that migrated to the country due to economic reasons. Sterre explained:

“Those people that are coming for economic, for economic purposes, those have less priority to me than people who move here because their life is in danger.” (Sterre, 23 Vinkhuizen)

This quote of Sterre can be explained by her feelings that people who migrate due to economic reasons should try to build a life in their own country first, before migrating to the Netherlands. She distinguishes between people who flee for their lives, and people who, in her words ‘migrate to profit from Dutch society’, with e.g. it’s social services. In discussion with the participants it also showed that the general view of the participants is often based on general views and indirect contact, instead of views based on direct contacts with people with a migratory background. This distinction shows to be more general, as Yarris & Castañeda (2015) also found that (governments and) societies tend to make a distinction between people who are forced to leave (fleeing) and people who choose to leave (migrating). Sterre (23, Vinkhuizen) seems to make this distinction as well, by regarding people that migrate to the Netherlands as ‘refugee’ or ‘migrant’. This distinction shows that people tend to view migrants differently dependent on the type of migration. Some of the participants showed more

welcoming views towards migrants as their reason to migrate was regarded as necessary because of the living circumstances at the place they left.

4.2.1 Encouraging views towards migration

After describing contacts that participants have with migrants, their views on migrants and migration are described in this section. Positive views on migration in this research are characterized as views which can be anticipated as receptive and positive to the inflow large groups of migrants. This section describes how participants developed open views to migrant flows.

The majority of participants in this research was open to people that migrate to the Netherlands. One of the most important reasons for this openness is that a share of the people that enter the country, have fled due to wars and famines in the Middle-East. Research of e.g. Gause (2014) and Ismael, Ismael & Perry (2014) already showed these factors as being influential in the process of leaving a country, and when entering the Netherlands most participants are open to migrants that leave due to these conditions. Most participants stress that they understand that people leave a country which gives uncertainty and danger to the lives of people that flee, and that they move to a country that can offer them perspectives to improve their living situation.

Olivia (22, Schildersbuurt) thinks it is normal to search for the best opportunities in life, and she therefore can very well understand that people move to the Netherlands. An uncertain living situation in another country, in her opinion, is logically solved by moving to a country where this situation is more stable. Another factor here is that some of the participants explained their positive views towards migration with pity for the people who have to move. They stress that people who have to flee due to uncertain circumstances are dependent on circumstances beyond their reach in the country where a war or famine started. The participants perceived the Netherlands as a country that can offer improvements in living circumstances, compared to some countries in the Middle-East, such as Syria or Iraq. Therefore, participants indicate these circumstances should be shared with people that have presumably smaller chances of a healthy and prosperous life, as also Olivia (22, Schildersbuurt) explained:

“We are having such great circumstances here, why would we be selfish, eh, why wouldn’t we make it possible for others to share in that?” (Olivia, 22, Schildersbuurt).

Here, Olivia explains she would be willing to share her living situation with people who have lesser changes in life. Other scholars found that younger people are more concerned with societal inequality (Fox, 2012) which is shown by participants of the current research as well. A lot of migrants that have entered the Netherlands in recent years had to leave material possession behind (Terpstra, 2013), and participants in this research seem to be willing to share their possessions with these migrants. It may be that Olivia (22, Schildersbuurt) is being more concerned about societal inequality, and therefore is more open towards migrants. On the other hand, she did not elaborate on social contacts she has with migrants, which then seems to contradict with her opinions.

Eva (19, Concordiabuurt) added another dimension to why she held encouraging views towards migration. She explains she didn’t want to make choices for other people whether to move to the Netherlands, because she didn’t want to be the person to make choices for others. In her opinion,

all people have their own lifestyle, and all people can decide for themselves what to do with their lives. Apparently, not wanting to interfere in choices of other people is also shaping attitudes towards the inflow of migrants. This however does not necessarily have to apply to migrants in particular, as it may be a more general view on society (Bargetz, 2015). Also, Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt) endorsed the rights of people to move wherever they want, but she immediately realized that this point of view created what she called a situation of 'reality versus ideals'. Iris described herself as being very open towards migrants, and she therefore regarded borders of countries as something negative. People, in her view, are all the same, and do all live on the same planet, so they should be free to move wherever they want. On the other hand, she felt that borders are necessary to maintain orderliness and previously made agreements. Furthermore, she felt it was not possible to mix up all cultures to one culture, as there are many differences amongst currently existing cultures. Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt) explained that these confusions sometimes made her realise that being progressive about certain topics is not always leading to a realistic view on these topics.

A world without borders, in which everybody is free to move, is an ideal that is shared by Quinten (23, Overvecht, Utrecht) and Esther (23, Binnenstad-Oost) as well. This can be explained by the age of the participants, as well because of their progressive attitudes towards the world (Ross & Rouse, 2015). As Milkman *et al.* (2012) found, younger people tend to be more aware of social and economic inequality. This inequality becomes visible in borders between countries with different living circumstances. The positive views on migration by Quinten and Esther therefore can be explained by their views on borders and movements between parts of the world that are now separated by these borders.

Next to e.g. age and the attitudes of their families and friends towards migrants, lastly the media can be an actor that plays a role in shaping the views of participants towards migration and migrants are the media (Van der Linden & Jakobs, 2016). For the majority of participants, media-coverage played a large role in the gathering of information about migrants, and as a result of that the image they create of migrants. Some of the participants mentioned the news as their largest source of information, as others mentioned that they watched it regularly but that they were very aware of the fact that media can be subjective in its storytelling as well.

“I’m always very aware of the fact that ehm, that media eh, can blow stories up, they can push very much in a certain direction, a lot of times they give a distorted picture...” (Sterre, 23, Vinkhuizen).

Here, Sterre shows that she knows media are not always working objectively. To solve that, some of the participants mentioned that they tried to watch media that were both endorsing right-wing as well as left-wing politics. Some participants mentioned that media coverage about migrants positively contributed to their views on these people, as it showed them the urge of people to migrate from their country. These views can be closely linked to feelings that have been described earlier in this section, when dealing with differences in motives of migrants, and how these shapes the views of participants. Media coverage can contribute to the image that people have of countries that migrants come from most, such as Syria. The frame of the story in media coverage (Bos *et al.*, 2016) is therefore not only affecting the broader debate in Dutch society, but also participants in this research.

4.2.2 Reserved views towards migration

Next to encouraging views towards migrants, there are views on migration which are not as encouraging or distinctively negative. These views of participants will be discussed in this section. As a first factor shaping reserved views towards migrants, the attitude of the migrants is being discussed. Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen) mentioned that his views on migration are being influenced negatively due to the attitude of some groups of migrants. He describes attitudes of migrants who are not willing to adjust to Dutch culture and language. Here, it seems that levels of integration of migrants can shape views on migration negatively.

“They [migrants] have difficulties with how we organized Dutch society, they do not take effort to adjust..., they don’t stick to our rules, they cause trouble...” (Olaf, 20, Vinkhuizen).

The views of Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen) can be related to previous research that showed that the intentions of migrants can highly influence the views of inhabitants of a country (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015), as e.g. people who are willing to work hard and learn the language of the country are regarded with more favour. Preferring assimilation instead of integration as an acculturation method furthermore may place a role in this view of this participant (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Levels of integration of migrants into a new society can play a role in the shaping of views on integration by people living in the home society. This is mainly related to an increase of numbers of migrants, research of Ceobanu & Escandell (2010) found. The importance of integration of migrants has been stressed by about half of the participants, as they think it is important in both the connection between all inhabitants of a country, as well that it adds something to the country where people migrate to. However, there is a difference in attitude amongst participants. Some of them expect that migrants will, in the end, integrate completely in Dutch society, as others expect that migrants will not. This difference in attitude can shape views on migration, irrespectively of the outcome of the process of integration. The by participants desired form of acculturation of migrants can however play a role in shaping the views on migrants, as perceived success of the process and the desired form of acculturation may be related (Berry, 1990; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997).

Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen) mentioned that the attitudes of migrants about learning Dutch culture and language affected him negatively. Some other participants also stressed the importance for migrants to meet certain levels of integration. These levels include learning the language of the country people are moving to, as this, in the view of the participants, increases levels of integration and connectivity in a society.

“You could say, it’s nice to talk, but it makes an essential difference if you speak Dutch, you can more easily take up knowledge, better understand people. I think it’s essential to integrate well.” (Stan, 21, Vinkhuizen).

These views contrast with people who have more welcoming views towards migrants, as a multicultural society in their opinion is something that evolves slowly. The language skills of migrants then will develop during a longer process, in contrast to an obligatory language test in the beginning of the process of integration.

Some participants furthermore stressed the importance of understanding Dutch norms and values regarding women, homosexuals, democracy, and state of law as being important in the process of integration. Some participants feel that migrants who are not willing to learn these norms and values, or are not willing to respect them, should not be welcome in the Netherlands.

Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen): “certain norms and values, Dutch norms and values, such as equality, no discrimination, living in a democratic system... ehm, Dutch state of law, and laws and rules stand first, above the Sharia, or, eh, alternative states of law...” – “Because I think that’s eh, a religion that doesn’t match Dutch culture, and that causes such damage to it, that we cannot accept it.”

Here, Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) gives his view on what he expects of migrants (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997) – and furthermore shows that his feelings towards migrants are being shaped by his fear of migrants wanting to obey the Sharia laws. Religion and culture are important reasons for Jorn to view migrants negatively, as he thinks the Dutch cultural norms and values will be affected by people that are Islamic. The opinion of Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) has been found more present in Dutch society (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016) in recent years. A part of these reserved views towards migrants and their different cultural background may be due to the opposition between non-Western and Western cultures in the Netherlands (Lucassen, 2005).

Participants indicate that crime rates can be a factor in negatively shaping views on migrants. Both Carola (22, Damsterbuurt) and Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) mentioned that crime rates play a role in their perspective on migrants, as media present crime rates in relation to migrants a lot (Dixon & Williams, 2014). Although previously the media was mentioned as a source for more welcoming views towards migration, some participants also mentioned the media as a source that negatively shaped their views towards migrants.

“The media feeds these feelings that migrants cause unrest and hassle.” (Olaf, 20 Vinkhuizen).

Though Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen) stressed the importance of different forms and sources of media, he did explain he is influenced by the coverage of the media. The negative ways in which migrants are being portrayed fuelled his negative feelings towards people with another background.

In the previous two sections, strong differences in views on migration of Dutch students without a migratory background are presented. The inflow of migrants in their own living situation or country has an impact on how they shape their views towards migrants, with a diverse range on how they welcome migrants in the Netherlands. Attitudes which cause participant to be more open to migrants are firstly that they feel they should share the living circumstances in the Netherlands with people who come from countries where those circumstances can’t be met. Secondly, participants feel that they cannot oblige people to live their life in whatever way. This includes the freedom for people to move all over the world. Thirdly, and this is closely linked to the second reason, some participants share an opinion on the presence of borders, which should be removed to assure people can move freely all around the world. A factor that is furthermore shaping views on migrants, is coverage of the media.

Media coverage feeds views on migration in different ways, as some participants mentioned the media as a factor affecting their feelings towards migrants negatively. Another factor that is shown

to be important in shaping more reserved views towards migrants, are attitudes of migrants. Their attitude on learning Dutch culture and language, by participants mostly related to a lack of this attitude, is negatively affecting views on migrants. Crime rates and the fear of migrants that are changing existing ways of life and culture are the last factors in shaping negative views towards migrants, as mentioned by participants.

Though the previous paragraphs partially explain the views on migration, in this study it is the aim to explore whether views on migration play a role in the attachment to places of Dutch students without a migratory background and vice versa. Therefore, in the next sections, the attachment to places of participants will be elaborated more on.

4.3 Attachment to places and interlinkages with views on migration

As described in chapter 2, the Tripartite Model of Scannell & Gifford (2010) has three components on which place attachment can be studied: person, place, and process. The model shows that both physical aspects of a place, also called services, as well as the process of being in a certain place has an influence on levels of place attachment. In this section, the feelings of attachment to place of the participants are being elaborated on more, and interlinkages with the inflow of migrants are discussed. Participants reflect on whether they feel changes in their place played a role in their attachment to this place. Specifically feeling home, feeling safe and feeling are being linked to these feelings and experiences with attachment to places, as previous research showed that these processes can shape the linkages studied (e.g. Čapo, 2015).

In the interviews, the participants expressed their feelings and experiences towards the concept of place attachment. This attachment can be related to different geographical levels of scale (Lewicka, 2010), and therefore in section 1.3.1 the attachment to the country will be described, in section 1.3.2 the attachment to the city of residence is discussed, and in the last section the attachment to the neighbourhood is described.

4.3.1 Attachment on a country-level

The level of attachment to the country of participants in this research is mostly linked to the national identity, the feeling of being a 'Dutch person'. Feelings and identifications with a nation have a large impact on place-attachment, which again forms a persons' identity (Gruffudd, Herbert & Piccini, 1999), though little research has been done amongst young people. Therefore, in this section, we firstly focus on this feeling of 'being Dutch', as an illustration of the attachment of participants to the country they live in.

At times, the participants mentioned the link between attachment to the country and the building of identity themselves, other times the researcher asked for the link explicitly. Of the group of participants, only Olaf (20, Vinkhuizen) mentioned that he does not have a very strong relationship with the Netherlands, because

"... I can very well imagine that I won't be living in the Netherlands all my life. The Netherlands are a very nice time for me [a nice place to live], but I don't really feel connected to it. At least, not as strong as I hear other people talk about it" (Olaf, 20, Vinkhuizen).

Olaf shows that the attachment to place has to do with a 'connection'. In his case he doesn't find this connection with Dutch ground, as he connects his identity not to the place where he lives and the people that are living there with him. Other participants did link their place attachment to the country and to the feeling of being a 'Dutch person'. Not all participants could explain whether they feel Dutch, as part of their identity. Participants that indicated that they felt their identity was Dutch and they felt connected to the country, said so for different reasons. One participant related it to the level of facilities, such as medical care and infrastructure. Another participant mentioned that the Dutch identity might not exist, but nonetheless he feels that he certainly is a Dutch person.

“... other people might regard the Dutch as being rigid and narrow minded, a little bit Calvinistic also... I'm not bothered by that too much, I feel Dutch anyway.” (Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen).

Next to feelings of participants that they actually feel like they are a Dutch person, and therefore attached to the Netherlands as a place, other participants felt more negligent and even negative towards identifying as 'a Dutch person'. Olivia (22, Schildersbuurt) didn't want to be a part of the same society as persons that oppose heavily against people with another cultural background. She seems to feel less attached to the Netherlands, as she has to share the space of the country with people that do not share her views on migration and migrants.

Although Carola (22, Damsterbuurt) explained that she feels at home in the country, she also added that, to her, the Dutch identity does not exist. She therefore feels more rebellious towards this 'Dutch identity':

“.. (some people say) “we, The Dutch, have a certain identity, we all have that one peace in our body [have the same spirit], or we all do the same thing”, that's something I'm completely disagreeing with” (Carola, 22, Damsterbuurt).

Here, Carola shows that feelings of identity and attachment to places can be strongly linked, as also Twigger-Ross & Uzzell (1996) found. Carola explains that her attachment to the country where she lives becomes weaker as other people oppose to migrants due to a so-called shared identity. Research of Visser-Bekteshi (2013) showed that identification with a nation state might lead to exclusion of certain 'them' groups, instead of focussing on integrating these groups in to 'us'. Carola quite explicitly mentioned that she didn't want to be a part of such a society. On the other hand, literature about place attachment focusses more on the us-them structure than in previous times, when the relations to place were regarded more individually (Moslund, 2015). Participants may thus feel that this us-them structure in the society is creating decreasing levels of attachment to the country.

As proposed earlier, linkages between place attachment and views on migration in this research are sought through processes of feeling home, feeling safe and feeling free. Feeling at home in a country is one of the geographic scale levels that will be elaborated on in this section.

Some participants described that they didn't feel that the Netherlands were less their home, due to the inflow of migrants to the country. The fact that they didn't perceive themselves as people with strong ideas about what should be Dutch identity, might play a role in this, because having strong thoughts on how a culture is formed may increase perceived threat of people with another culture

(Breton, 2015). Some participants mentioned that the coming of migrants to the country does not influence them directly as a person, but that they see the influence on a country level, as heated debates and protests might be an outcome of this inflow. These participants, indicated that, over time, this might influence them in how they feel at home in the Netherlands.

Feelings of safety in this research are hard to link directly to the geographical scale of the country, as none of the participants elaborated on that explicitly. This means that for most participants the inflow of migrants in their country does not affect their feelings of safety in the society. However, media coverage is a factor of influence on the national scale. Participants may not feel threatened directly by migrants in their personal life, but media coverage that shows certain scenarios can give them feelings of unsafety. It is notable that none of the participants stressed that feelings of safety are being affected by the inflow of migrants in the country, as some of them mentioned increasing crime rates and higher levels of incivilities as a factor affecting them on the lower geographical scales. Crime rates and reported levels of incivilities have been shown important in shaping views towards migrants and attachment to places by other scholars (Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2003).

Feelings of freedom can be linked to the inflow of migrants more directly. Some of the participants mentioned that they were afraid that people with another cultural background migrating to the Netherlands would influence the culture of the country (e.g. Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen and Sterre, 23, Vinkhuizen). Fear of changes in culture therefore makes the participants afraid their attachment to the country will decrease due to the inflow of migrants. This can be explained by the opinions of some of the participants that considered themselves as religious. They sometimes stressed that they feared more religious intolerance, especially for Christian groups, caused by the inflow of migrants with a non-Western background. Another factor that participants imply to play a role in their decreased feelings of freedom, was that they were afraid that migrants will apply other rules and laws, e.g. the Sharia, that eventually affects the country as a whole. These findings may be linked to research of Bourhis *et al.* (1997), as some of the participants that elaborated most on the fear of application of other rules and laws, seemed to prefer assimilation or exclusionism as a form of acculturation.

The previous section shows that participants are divided on their attachment to the Netherlands. This is due to the bond with people that live in the country, both positively and negatively, their identity and with infrastructure and memories. Not all participants feel a strong connection with the geographical scale of the country, as the country might be too large to feel associated with directly. Furthermore, a globalizing world may decrease feelings of attachment to a country, especially amongst young people (Nayak, 2016). To conclude on the linkages with the inflow of migrants in the Netherlands, this research shows that on a country-level, mostly feeling free is an important process to study. Some of the participants explained that their attachment to the country might decrease if people with another cultural background bring a society with possibly new rules, values, and laws.

4.3.2 Attachment on a city-level

Another level of geographical scale, on which has been focussed in the interviews, is the city the participants are living in. Most participants were living in the city of Groningen, a city in the Northern province of Groningen, with 202,636 inhabitants on January 1st, 2017 (CBS, 2017b). One of the participants was living in the city of Utrecht, in the province of Utrecht, with 343,038 inhabitants

(CBS, 2017b). Both cities are part of the seven largest cities of the country (CBS, 2017b). All participants moved to their current place of residence because they started a study at a university or university of applied sciences. When referred to 'the city' in this research, Groningen is meant, unless otherwise stated.

It is important to further elaborate on the attachment to the geographical scale of the city, as it is clear that all participants have more concrete, day-to-day experiences with the place they are currently living in and have their most recent memories here. For the participants, the city therefore may be the place in which they have most experiences with the inflow of people with a migratory background. Participants mentioned that their attachment to the city they are living in is shaped by places in this city, by people living in it and by memories they made. This section therefore deals with the attachment to the city of residence, and whether and how this is linked to the views on migration.

The participants indicate that the atmosphere that they experience in this place is important in creating attachment to the place. Groningen, often framed as a student-city, is valued a lot for this characteristic. For example, in 2015, Groningen was housing almost 60,000 students who left their parents place to go studying (Dubbeling, 2015; Gemeente Groningen, 2017). Eva (19, Concordiabuur) explained that she liked Groningen more than her previous living environment, a city where she had been studying previously, because:

“Groningen is more of a student-city. They do try to be such a city in Leeuwarden [another middle-sized city in the north of the Netherlands], but it actually is nothing”.

Eva explicitly indicates that Groningen has specific characteristics that make it a place to be attached to. Rik explicates some specific factors that contribute to this place attachment: the compact infrastructure, the respect for one another and the large amount of young like-minded people living in the city. Here it seems that people with the same way of life are influencing the feelings of place attachment of the participants, to their place of living, which is reflected in Manzo & Devine-Wright (2014, eds.) as well: “... an emotional connection based on shared history, interests or concerns”. The presence of more students, is also important in the social contacts that participants described. A lot of them describe places in the city that are important to them, as places where they interact with other people. In this regard, the research of Ramkissoon, Smith & Weiler (2014) also characterized 'social bonding' as one of the factors influencing place attachment.

To gain more insight into the role of social contacts in the place attachment of participants, the characteristics of some important places for social interaction of the participants are analysed. Firstly, being a member of a student association is an important factor in creating social connections in relation to a place. Sterre (23, Vinkhuizen) calls it the most important place for social interaction, because it is the place where she met most friends during her studies. Other participants mentioned the location of a pub their students' association is meeting in as an important place in the city. This shows that social interaction with others, can create important places to which one is attached and connected to (Ramkissoon, Smith & Weiler, 2014; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

“The students' association absolutely is a social network to me” (Stan, 21, Vinkhuizen).

Another place people mentioned as being important for social contacts in the city is a place where participants can sport. Rik (22, Oosterpoortbuurt) mentioned visiting plays in a football stadium made him feel connected to other people. The fact that he visited the plays with his friends, made the place an important one for him. Eva (19, Concordiabuur) on the other hand only went surfing in the city where she was living with her parents, and not so much in Groningen. Her attachment to the place where she grew up was still large because she could go out surfing there.

Rik (22, Oosterpoortbuurt) delivered an interesting view on places that are important for his social contacts, as this links closely to the views more students have on the city.

“I’d mention the inner city as a whole. On days when the weather is nice, and you bike through town, through the inner city, it always gives a certain, ehm, the feeling that the inner city of Groningen gives” (Rik, 22, Oosterpoortbuurt).

Here, he seems to refer to the inner city of Groningen as being a lively place, which he later-on connected with the presence of a lot of students in the city. Here, research of Ramkisson, Smith & Weiler (2014) links closely to the results of social bonding expressed by Rik (22, Oosterpoortbuurt), who show that attachment to places increases as social connections of people increase. Quinten (24, Overvecht, Utrecht) furthermore posed an interesting point of view as well. As he had been studying in Groningen for the previous six years, he was not that attached to his place in Utrecht, because he made all his friends and social contacts in Groningen already. This account highlights that attachment to a new city may diminish, because someone is already attached to another place as their strong ties are there.

“I’m not that attached [to Utrecht], because I have mostly friends that live elsewhere [i.e. Groningen].” (Quinten, 24, Overvecht, Utrecht)

Some of the participants also mentioned that Groningen could be interchanged with any other city, as they would have made social connections in another city as well. Here participants show they think very differently about how attached they would be to Groningen without the social contacts that are there. Some are strongly attached to its place and atmosphere, while others expected another city to deliver the same place attachment, as long as their friends are there. These feelings of the participants show that their attachment on a city-level is rather large, as they meet with people they know, go to places with these friends, and build memories with these people and within these places. This relates closely to research of Anton & Lawrence (2014), who found that attachment to places can highly depend on having social contacts and being part of a certain social group.

Being a student is significant in identifying people and places which are important for the participants, as Groningen is for most of them the first place where they live independently and which they had the opportunity to choose by themselves. They therefore chose their own city to get attached to. Most participants however seem strongly related socially, as none of them stressed the importance of physical bonding with the city. Strong social ties, as elaborated on by almost all participants, reflect place attachment on a social level, but to more analyse the role of the inflow of migrants on place attachment, it is important to focus more strongly on other aspects of place attachment.

To discuss the attachment to the city regarding the views on migration, the processes of feeling home, feeling safe and feeling free are discussed here. Feeling home in a city is being influenced by a variety of processes, such as the atmosphere and the social contacts. The participants have already shared some of their experiences with feeling at home in the city in the previous sections. Now they are related to changes in their environment, due to e.g. the inflow of new people with another cultural background.

None of the participants felt less at home due to the inflow of migrants in the city they are living in. This can be because most participants did not have a lot of direct contact with migrants, and the ones that did have contacts with people with a migration background felt these contacts added value to their life. Here, again it seems that social ties seem to affect place attachment. Most participants do not have strong social ties with migrants, and therefore they indicate migrants are not playing a large role in their attachment to the city.

Stan (21, Vinkhuizen): “It does matter to me whether I’m having real contact with them, that would definitely influence me, but, it’s depending on how they feel at home here, if you have contacts with them, that would matter in how I feel about them.”

Different from Stan, Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt) could imagine feeling less at home, when more people with a migratory background would live in her former living place Emmen. Although she did not observe any differences in her feelings of home in Groningen, such as living there for a long time already and having own belongings by hand, she observed a difference in feeling at home in her former living place Emmen. Her decreased feelings of home in Emmen were affected by the inflow of people with a migratory background and can be mostly linked to the size of the group of migrants. In her opinion, Groningen is a city with low levels of migrants, while Emmen inhabits a lot of them. She therefore could imagine that her feelings of home would be different if she hadn’t left Emmen, as she sometimes felt a cultural minority in Emmen. In Groningen, she did not feel that way, which may be caused by perceived lower levels of migrants. This clearly links to research of Gorodzeisky & Semyonov (2009) who found that the size of the group of ‘others’ can have an influence on how people regard migrants. For Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt), the size of the group was the only important factor in shaping place attachment in regards with migrants, as she considered herself as being very open to migrants on a larger scale. Also, Schlüter & Davidov (2013) found that the group-size of migrants is important in shaping views of people that already live in a certain place. This research is supported by the opinion of Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt), who clearly expressed having no problems with migrants, as long as they did not all live in the same city.

Feelings of freedom in a place did not seem to be changed by an inflow of migrants on the city-level, as much as it changed the feelings of place attachment on the country level. Participants in this research seem less anxious for a changing culture in their city, as they sometimes were when elaborating on the country level.

That participants feel less changes in their feelings of freedom caused by inflow of migrants on the city-level, may be due to several reasons. Social ties on the city-level are strong, which might give participants higher levels of freedom. Most of the participants however do not have strong social ties with migrants, and therefore migrants do not influence levels of freedom on the city-level. Another

important factor may be the, in the opinion of some of the participants, low perceived levels of migrants in Groningen. As a last reason, the role of the media on the city-level is mentioned here. Several participants expressed the importance of the influence of media-coverage on their feelings of freedom and place attachment. However, this importance is stressed more on the geographical level of the country, as none of the participants valued regional media as an important factor in shaping their feelings of freedom.

Feeling safe, however, is more important in shaping place attachment on a city level. Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) expressed that the presence of migrants in his surroundings can give him feelings of unsafety. He expressed that certain daily situations, such as entering a bus that transports a lot of people with a non-Dutch background may influence his feelings of safety in the city.

Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen): "I'd watch out a little bit more for my wallet, yes. I don't think that's unfair, no."

Elaborating on this, he explained that crime-rates show that people with a migration background are represented high in these ratings. For him, this representation justified the feelings of unsafety around people with a migratory background. Though he acknowledged immediately that he felt it was sad for people to be treated that way, he did justify his feelings based on the numbers and rates, with which he indicated it was not discriminating to him.

"When we see that people from certain, Moroccan, Antillean, Turkish background, that they are, ehm, statistically overrepresented in criminality rates, I think it's a very logical conclusion to be watching out better around them. And that you feel more distrust. So that's what I'm doing." (Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen).

This quote shows that some of the participants felt they made rational considerations in how they view migrants. Using crime rates, some participants felt less safe in the presence of people with another cultural background.

To conclude on the interlinkages between attachment to places and views on migration on a city-level, we firstly see that most participants feel strongly attached to their city of residence. Almost all participants feel at home in the city, due to mostly strong social ties they have with people that are living in the same city. Feelings of home in Groningen are not changed through people with a migratory background, which may be due to perceived low levels of migrants in the city. Feelings of freedom, as a second factor, do not seem to be affected by the presence of migrants as well. This can be due to the same reasons as why participants do not feel that Groningen becomes less their home due to migrants, and in addition to that the lower influence of media coverage on city-levels may play a role. Participants experienced their feelings of safety in a place to change most when more migrants entered their city of residence or previous places they lived. Some participants e.g. used crime-rates as a factor influencing their views on migration, which can be best applied in day-to-day activities that are performed on the city-level, such as taking a bus or walking through a shopping street.

4.3.3 Attachment on a neighbourhood-level

In this section, feelings, and experiences with place attachment to the neighbourhoods' participants are living in are being presented. All twelve participants feel differently about their neighbourhood, partially because a total of eight neighbourhoods has been spoken about.

Furthermore, some participants who came from the same neighbourhood showed different experiences within the same neighbourhood, Vinkhuizen.

Social interaction and social bonding can be, as described earlier, important factors in attaching to a place (Ramkissoon, Weiler & Smith, 2014). On the level of the neighbourhood, this research shows that participants distinguish in the strength of social interaction amongst people in their neighbourhood. Firstly, there are strong ties, which means that people are actually associating with each other and have regular contact. Secondly, this research focuses on indirect contacts within the neighbourhood, such as meeting each other in a supermarket or the bus (Visintin *et al.*, 2017). These contacts make up the largest share of contacts that participants have within their neighbourhood.

Most participants mention that they have minimal contact with their neighbours. Only two participants have regular contact with their neighbours. For one of them, this means drinking a beer or cup of tea from time to time, and for the other it means just talking for a little while. Some of the participants think their spare contacts with their neighbours is due to the fact that they are students:

“Well, I do think we have a way of life that differs so much, ... to make it a sustainable relationship..., our ways of life are to different” (Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen).

“I don’t know, I’m a student, I’m not going to make a connection with my neighbours... It’s more that, I just need a place to live” (Marte, 21, Vinkhuizen).

These quotations show that the participants do not feel attached to their neighbourhood based on the people that are living in their direct environment. It indicates these participants are attached to their place through their home, their own house. However, some of the participants mention that they sometimes feel unhappy about the lack of social contacts with their neighbours. None of them however mentioned an intention to increase these contacts, and none of them stressed that they felt less at home in their neighbourhood due to the absence of these contacts with neighbours. Greeting people when leaving the house is often mentioned as a duty that participants feel they have, and that they are fine with.

Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka (2016) found that diversity of people in a neighbourhood can have an influence on the attachment to the neighbourhood. Tolsma, Van der Meer & Gesthuizen (2009) described diversity in household characteristics. Amongst these, they distinguish in income, educational level, and age, that shape diversity. Most neighbourhoods described by the participants of this research seem rather diverse in their composition. The neighbourhoods consist of young families, older people, but mainly a majority of students are types of people that are mentioned by the participants.

The attachment to the neighbourhood in this research doesn’t seem to depend on the composition of the neighbourhood. Most of the participants stress that they are satisfied with the social diversity in their neighbourhood, though some of them noticed that the diversity has its disadvantages as well. Parties by students, which frustrate other people living in the neighbourhood are one of the factors that are mentioned. How diversity in a neighbourhood leads to lower levels of attachment to the place is illustrated by Jorn:

“People with less financial resources tend to be lower educated, and that has its repercussions on how people communicate. So, when we have some sort of a conflict, of which as a student you are used to solve that with words ... some people in this neighbourhood tend to be at our door swearing, or they threaten to beat you up some time, to put it vulgarly” (Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen).

Here, Jorn stresses a disadvantage of a neighbourhood with socially diverse people. Different levels of education, as being referred to by Tolsma, Van der Meer & Gesthuizen (2009) can create friction between neighbours, which then in the case of Jorn leads to decreased feelings of attachment to his neighbourhood.

The other level of diversity in a neighbourhood is ethnic diversity (Oliver, 2010). Some of the participants expressed they felt that their feelings of safety in the neighbourhood and therewith their attachment to the neighbourhood was conflicted by the inflow of people with a migratory background. One participant mentioned that, in her current neighbourhood, she felt safe. However, in the neighbourhood she had been living previously, she felt less safe and therefore less attached to the neighbourhood. Iris (23, Zeeheldenbuurt) linked experiences in her previous neighbourhood to the presence of a lot of people with another cultural background, which sometimes made her afraid to leave her house at night. She describes the presence of a lot of people hanging on the streets at night, who sometimes followed her up till her house and yelled at her when she passed by.

“I didn’t feel comfortable with that at all. Because, then they know where you live also” (Iris, 23, Zeeheldenbuurt).

In her opinion, in this previous neighbourhood a lot of bikes got stolen and a lot of drugs-trafficking happened. That she could see this happening made her feel very unsafe. That this does not happen in her current neighbourhood made her feel a lot safer there. Here, participants indicate that feelings of safety and the presence of people with a migratory background may be interlinked, and may both have effects on levels of place attachment to the neighbourhood. In this research, levels of perceived safety in the neighbourhood do not seem to distinguish between genders, as both men and women indicated feelings of safety due to people with another cultural background in their neighbourhood. However, most men that indicated unsafe feelings indicated so because of the presence of people with another background, as women focussed more on actions taken by people with another cultural background.

For all but one of the participants, feelings of home did not change on the geographic scale of the city and the neighbourhood, due to an inflow of migrants. Most of them felt at home in their neighbourhood for the same reasons they mentioned when speaking about the city-level. Reasons to both feel at home on the level of the city and the neighbourhood are e.g. social contacts participants have. Carola (22, Damsterbuurt) however mentioned that she feels very at home in the city, but that the Oosterparkwijk, in which she lives, decreases her feelings of home and safety. People screaming at her on the streets, and asking her for money, make her feel unsafe. She explained she’d rather call the city centre her neighbourhood, also because it’s nearby her house and it gives her more feelings of home and safety. Here, it seems most important that her house is on the edge of the neighbourhood she officially resides in. Across her house, the city-centre begins, which may explain why she feels more at home in that part of the city instead of her official neighbourhood.

Lastly some of the participants link their feelings of place attachment to the neighbourhood to their feelings of freedom. These participants mention that in their current living situation they have to share their house with other people, which decreases their feelings of freedom. Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) e.g. mentioned that he has to consider his neighbours when listening to music, which sometimes makes him feel less free.

“I mean, our houses are very noisy, if I take that aspect into account, I do feel less free. I cannot put my music on very loud...” (Jorn, 21, Vinkhuizen).

So, Jorn (21, Vinkhuizen) feels limited in his freedom in his neighbourhood, though this does not seem to affect his views on migrants. The limitations of not being able to play loud music are not linked to ethnical diversity of a neighbourhood. Only Olaf indicated that he had to consider the different attitudes of people with a migratory background in his daily living. Because he lived with people with a different cultural background, e.g. people from Turkey, China, and France, he was made aware that he sometimes had to limit his freedom in choosing the meals he wanted to prepare. However, because he felt open minded to other cultures and backgrounds, it did not affect his feelings of freedom in his own place.

To conclude on the neighbourhood-level, this research shows that feelings of freedom are not being influenced by the presence of people with another background. Only one of the participants mentioned a situation in which this could have affected his sense of freedom. Feelings of safety in the neighbourhood and therefore the attachment to the neighbourhood, however, affected the participants more. The presence of people with another cultural background gave some participants feelings of unsafety. It is important to consider that feelings of unsafety were not generally caused by a recent inflow of migrants in the neighbourhoods of the participants. These feelings of unsafety do occur on the country-level. However, people with another cultural background sometimes caused feelings of unsafety amongst participants on the neighbourhood-level. These people, however, may be living in the neighbourhood for a long time already, and therefore the feelings of unsafety cannot be related to recent flows of migrants. Feelings of home can be more or less compared to the city-level, as most participants described little contacts with people with another background. These weak ties do not threaten feelings of home of the participants. It can be concluded here that feelings of home on the neighbourhood-level are not affected by the inflow of people with another cultural background.

5. Conclusion and discussion

5.1 Introduction to conclusion and discussion

This section concludes on the results of the current research. As discussed previously, a research question has been proposed to study the subject of this thesis.

Research question: What is the role of current migration flows in the experiences with attachment to places amongst Dutch students without a migratory background?

To find answers to this question, this research proposed three factors that are important in the feelings of attachment to places, with regard to views on migrants by the participants. These factors are 'feeling at home, feeling free and feeling safe'. These factors have been used previously by several scholars to describe processes that shape attachment to places (e.g. Čapo, 2015). Though mostly used in processes of place attachment of migrants, it can be used in research on the host population as well. Increasing numbers of migrants may bring changes to a place that can play a role in the place attachment of the host population (Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Lewicka, 2008).

To present the results, this research aimed at three levels of scale, to make a clear distinction between different forms of attachment. These levels are the country-level, the city-level, and the neighbourhood-level. Previous research stressed the importance of taking different levels of scale into account, as factors affecting the levels of place attachment may have different consequences for attachment to places (Lewicka, 2010; Qian, Zhu & Liu, 2011). On all these levels views on migration of Dutch students without a migratory background can be changed, and are therefore important to take into consideration. Firstly, the results on the views on migration will be concluded on in section 5.2. The next paragraphs will further elaborate on the conclusions on the different levels of scale.

5.2 Views on migration

The majority of participants in this research held welcoming views towards migrants. As a first reason, it can be concluded here that participants feel that they should share their living circumstances with people who leave countries where these circumstances can't be met. Young people tend to be more aware of societal inequality (Fox, 2012), which may explain this finding. The second reason is that participants do not want to oblige other people whether or not to move, and the third reason can be described as a view on the world that is rather idealistic in the words of the participants: a world without borders. The last reason for participants to hold encouraging views towards migrants is the role that media play in the shaping of thoughts and feelings on people with a migratory background. On a more general level, it can be concluded here that this study found similar results on higher-educated young people and their views towards migrants, as previous scholars did (e.g. McLaren, 2003). This research however adds to previous research as it has been conducted in the context of the Netherlands, while previous research mostly focussed on the United States and Canada. Especially the aspect of the highly-educated people being young as well, adds to previous research (e.g. Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016).

Next to factors that shape views that are encouraging and welcoming towards migrants, we can distinguish some factors that shape these feelings adversely as well. Firstly, it can be concluded that levels of integration, and the willingness of migrants to participate in this process, may be influential in the views of the participants of this research. With increasing numbers of migrants entering a country, the importance of integration of migrants increases (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010).

However, only a minority of participants stressed the importance of this factor in the shaping of their views on migrants. Another factor shaping adverse views on migrants, is that in the opinion of some of the participants, migrants are not willing to learn Dutch language and culture, though previous research found that these factors are important in shaping views on migrants (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015). Here, this research seems to contradict previous research that found that Dutch inhabitants have a growing preference of assimilation as a form of acculturation of migrants in the Netherlands (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006), as none of the participants stressed their preference for this form of acculturation. This may be due to the low levels of contacts participants have with migrants, and furthermore their general more open views towards migrants may play a role (Fox, 2012).

5.3 Conclusions and discussion on the country-level

This section concludes on the place attachment of participants on the country-level, in regard to the inflow of migrants with another cultural background. The first factor that has been used in this research, is feeling at home. Though the Netherlands is increasingly becoming multicultural due to the inflow of people from countries with another cultural background (CBS, 2016a), this research shows that feelings of home of the participants do not seem to be affected greatly by the inflow of migrants. Participants do not stress the importance of giving new meanings to the concept of home, in regards with migrants, though Harris (2009) suggested so. The Netherlands as a home for the participants is mainly shaped through feelings of a shared identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1997) and by the level of facilities, such as infrastructure and medical care.

Most participants mentioned that the Netherlands was not becoming less their home due to migrants, as some of them mentioned that they felt less at home due to reactions towards migrants from Dutch society. Some of them however stressed that the inflow on the country-level did not affect them immediately, but that in the end this might be the case if societal resistance keeps on growing and the flow of migrants keeps increasing. This may link to research of Davidov & Schlüter (2013), who found that total numbers of migrants are important in shaping views on migration on the country-level, as furthermore has been found that increasing numbers of people with another cultural background are seen as a threat to Dutch societal values (Lucassen & Lucassen, 2015).

Feelings of safety as felt by the participants in this study seem to be hardly affected by the inflow of migrants on the country-level. None of the participants felt that the Netherlands become less safe due to the inflow of migrants. However, some of them mentioned the influence of the media in creating feelings of unsafety, as also has been suggested by Van der Linden & Jakobs (2016).

The last concept that has been used to describe changes in attachment to places due to the inflow of migrants in the Netherlands is feeling free. Some of the participants mentioned feelings of decreasing freedom due to the inflow of migrants, as some of them regarded migrants as a threat to existing norms and values in Dutch society. These feelings of declining freedom are persistent in Dutch society amongst other groups as well (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016), while this research adds the opinion of young, highly-educated people to this existing research. Feelings of opposing Western and non-Western cultures (Lucassen, 2005) however do not seem to be largely present amongst participants of this research. This might again be due to more progressive opinions on the topic studied here, as young people tend to be more open towards migrants than older generations (Ross & Rouse, 2015).

5.4 Conclusions and discussion on the city-level

The following section concludes on the place attachment of participants on the city-level, in regard to the inflow of migrants with another cultural background. The majority of the participants feels much at home in their current place of residence, Groningen, or Utrecht. This is mostly due to strong social ties that people have to the place (Anton & Lawrence, 2014). Migrants entering the city of the participants are not perceived as influencing these feelings of home, probably due to experienced low levels of migrants and the scarce contacts that participants have with people with a migratory background (Shamai, Arnon & Schnell, 2012). This study also shows that feelings of home are not perceived being influenced by the inflow of migrants, though some scholars suggested so (Barbieri, Zani & Sonn, 2014).

This study did not show that participants feel affected in their feelings of freedom on a city-level. This is interesting, because this research shows participants feel that these feelings of freedom are important on the country-level. Migrants being a threat to existing forms of freedom (Paxton & Mughan, 2006) therefore seems to only play a role on the largest level of scale, though the city is more experienced in day-to-day life. This study however shares some findings with Billig (2006), as can be concluded that feelings of freedom increase as attachment to a place increases. Most participants in this research seem to be more attached to Groningen than they are to the Netherlands.

Feelings of safety as a factor in shaping attachment to places with regards to the inflow of migrants, is concluded to be the only factor that is being affected on the city-level. The clustering of people with a migratory background in some parts of the city gives unsafe feelings to some of the participants, as they link the presence of these people with criminal activities. It is interesting to see that participants who are generally more attached to their city than to their country, relate feelings of unsafety mostly to the latter level of scale. After all, previous research found that higher levels of attachment to a place lead to increasing feelings of safety (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). This study found that feelings of unsafety as related to migrants increase with increasing levels of attachment to a place.

5.5 Conclusions and discussion on the neighbourhood-level

The last section concludes on findings on levels of place attachment in regards with the inflow of migrants on the neighbourhood-level. As a first concept, feeling at home is discussed here. This study showed that feelings of home in the neighbourhood do not seem to be greatly affected by the inflow of migrants. An important explanation for this finding may be the perceived low levels of migrants in the neighbourhoods of the participants, though experienced levels differ amongst participants that live in the same neighbourhood. Relatively scarce contacts with migrants on this level of scale may furthermore contribute to these findings (Shamai, Arnon & Schnell, 2012). Some participants however mentioned that they felt more at home in their current neighbourhood, with lower levels of cultural diversity, than they did in their previous neighbourhood. Cultural diversity on the neighbourhood-level therefore seems to affect feelings of home, in contrast to findings that cultural diversity may reduce opposition towards migrants (Kaufmann & Harris, 2015).

Some of the participants mentioned that they sometimes felt unsafe due to the presence of people with another cultural background in their neighbourhood. This however cannot be related to the recent inflow of migrants in their neighbourhood, but more to the presence of migrants that

have been living in the neighbourhood for a long time already. Indirect contacts in day-to-day practices sometimes contribute to these feelings (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2007), although this study also showed that some participants use these situations to shape their feelings towards migrants positively. Feelings of freedom do not seem to be affected by the inflow of people with a migratory background either, as only one of the participants elaborated on decreased levels of freedom due to choices he had to make because of the presence of one person in his household that had another cultural background. Feelings of freedom therefore only seem to be an important factor in shaping views on migration and attachment to places in the broader context of the country, and less important on the geographical scale of the city and neighbourhood.

5.6 Conclusion and discussion on theories used

As a last part of chapter five, a conclusion and discussion on theories used is presented here. The Tripartite Model (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) has been used to describe processes of attachment to places. It stated that processes of place attachment are shaped through people, place, and process. This study showed that levels of attachment to places by participants is not largely affected by the process of migration. Most participants feel attached to their current place through contacts with other people, as has been suggested by other scholars as well (Anton & Lawrence, 2014). New people with another cultural background entering a living situation do not seem to affect these feelings of attachment amongst participants of the current study. Previous research suggested that changes in places might change levels of attachment to these places (Keith & Pile, 1993). In this research, it is found that societal changes in the Netherlands do not seem to have a large effect on levels of attachment to the country.

Views on migration can be shaped by socio-economic characteristics of inhabitants of a host society (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009), which in this study can be closely linked to research of e.g. Fox (2012), who found that younger people are in general more progressive towards migrants. Findings in the current study seem to confirm these previous findings, as most students held encouraging views towards migrants.

6. Limitations and suggestions

This section discusses limitations to the current research and gives suggestions for further research.

6.1 Limitations

Although the results of this study contribute to more insights in views and migration and their effects on attachment to places, it also has some limitations which should be considered. First, it is important to highlight the target-group of participants. The group of students, who is generally considered more progressive and open towards migrants (Alcalde, 2016; Fox, 2012), is not a representation of Dutch population, and therefore views on migration and levels of place attachment might differ greatly amongst other groups in society. Furthermore, though anonymity of the participants tried to prevent socially desirable answers (Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987), it however might be that participants found it hard to name migrants a threat to their feelings of freedom and safety.

Moreover, in this research only twelve participants have been interviewed. Due to time limitations, this was the maximum number of participants that could be interviewed. To completely discuss the views of Dutch students without a migratory background, a larger group of participants should be interviewed. Views on migration can be very diverse, as also has been shown in this research, and therefore interviewing more students might shed even more light on the current topic.

Lastly, it is taken into account that all students that are interviewed were living on their own, and in a larger city in the Netherlands. Living in a smaller city, or village, in another part of the Netherlands could result in different findings amongst students that e.g. did not leave their parents to study. Even if their attitudes would be generally more progressive, their city of living can change results greatly due to composition of the town and e.g. the (eventually perceived) numbers of migrants that entered this town (Schlüter & Davidov, 2013).

6.2 Suggestions for further research

The first suggestion to be made here, is that quantitative research on the topic might be necessary to further implement conclusions that have been made in this research. The views of only twelve students cannot be used in implementing policy in the country. It would be useful to use the results from the current research to survey larger amounts of young students, in order to find a larger support for the findings of this thesis. The factors of feeling at home, feeling safe and feeling free have been shown to be a valuable contribution to use in follow-up research.

Another suggestion for further research to be made here is that further research should be done on levels of place attachment of host-societies in regards with the inflow of migrants. A lot of research and theories about place attachment focus on migrants as their population of research. This research however showed that attachment to places of the host-population can be affected by migration as well. The in this research proposed three factors to study the linkages between place attachment and views on migration can be very well used for this purpose.

The current research has shown that on different levels of scale, attachment to places is being influenced differently amongst students with a non-migratory background. This research did not find strong evidence that levels of feeling home are being affected by the inflow of migrants, though literature suggested so. It would be therefore interesting to do further research on factors that can

influence feelings of home with regards to migrants, as some of the participants did stress some factors that influence their feelings of home.

Further elaborating on the place of residence of participants in the current research, it would be interesting to further look into the place attachment and views on migration of students that did not leave their parents to study. Furthermore, it would be interesting to look at students that are living in smaller towns and cities in the Netherlands, as this might have an influence on outcomes of the research.

The last suggestion that should be taken into consideration, is that this research studies young people that are highly educated. Levels of education can influence both levels of place attachment (Fischer & Malmberg, 2001; Zenker & Rütter, 2014) and views on migration (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Further research therefore should focus on groups of students that have lower levels of education, as their attachment to places may be stronger and their views on migrants less progressive.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A

This appendix consists of the final interview guide that has been used for this research. It has been written and used in Dutch, as participants all spoke Dutch.

Goedendag. Hartelijk dank dat u deel wilt nemen aan dit onderzoek. Mijn naam is Karl Sluiter, student Population Studies aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen. In het kader van mijn masterthesis doe ik onderzoek naar de rol van huidige migratiestromen in ervaringen met verbondenheid met de leefomgeving van Nederlandse, autochtone studenten. Verbondenheid met de leefomgeving wordt in literatuur op vele manier gedefinieerd, maar richt zich op ervaringen met plaats, gevoelens van veiligheid of vrijheid, en op bijvoorbeeld bestaande onderlinge relaties die met een plek verbonden zijn. Met huidige migratiestromen worden migratiestromen vanuit landen met een andere culturele achtergrond bedoeld. Is het voor u duidelijk wat het onderwerp van het onderzoek inhoudt?

Voordat we aan dit interview kunnen beginnen is het belangrijk te melden dat de data die middels dit interview wordt verzameld gegarandeerd anoniem behandeld zal worden. Het interview wordt evenwel opgenomen, voor een goede verwerking van datgene dat besproken is. De opnames worden tevens geanonimiseerd opgeslagen, en zijn alleen toegankelijk voor de onderzoeker en zijn begeleider, dr. Sanne Visser. Bij verwerking in de thesis wordt alleen naar u gerefereerd als ‘respondent #’. **Gaat u akkoord met de opname van het interview?**

Vraag 1. Achtergrondinformatie van de respondent.

1. Kunt u iets meer over uzelf vertellen?
 - a. Probes: Hoe lang studeert u al in Groningen, welke studie volgt u, waarom hebt u voor deze studie gekozen, vanuit welke plek verhuisde u naar Groningen en wat voor (soort) plek was dat?
2. Kunt u iets meer vertellen over uw interesses en/of hobby's?

Vraag 2. Informatie over huidige leefsituatie.

1. We zijn op dit moment in uw huis. Kunt u me iets meer vertellen over het huis en de buurt? Hoe zou u uw huis en buurt typeren?
 - a. Probes: iets vertellen over medebewoners, wat is uw relatie met hen?
2. Bevalt uw huidige woning, en bent u blij met de omgeving waarin dit huis staat? Kunt u vertellen waarom dit zo is?
3. Bent u van plan om een lange periode in uw huidige leefomgeving te blijven wonen, en kunt u uitleggen waarom dat (niet) zo is?

“Inleidende zin om meer richting beschrijving van gevoelens over huidige leefomgeving over te gaan”, zoals “We gaan nu wat dieper in op uw gevoelens, ervaringen en sociale contacten in uw leefomgeving”.

Vraag 3. Gevoelens over huidige woon- en leefsituatie.

1. Hoe voelt u zich met betrekking tot uw huidige leefsituatie?

- a. Probes: wat vindt u van het niveau van voorzieningen, over georganiseerde activiteiten, de hoeveelheid groen, de sociale interactie met anderen? Uit wat voor soort mensen bestaat de buurt, en hoe heeft dat invloed?
2. Kunt u meer vertellen over het gevoel van veiligheid in uw huidige leefomgeving?
3. Voelt u zich vrij om te doen wat u wilt in uw huidige leefomgeving, buurt?
 - a. Kunt u aangeven waarom dit het geval is, of waarom niet?
4. Voelt uw huidige leefomgeving als uw thuis, en waarom (niet)?
 - a. Welke dingen zijn belangrijk voor u om de plek ook 'uw plek' te maken?
 - b. Welke gebeurtenissen hebben op deze plek plaatsgevonden die deze plek belangrijk voor u maken?
 - c. Zijn er dingen die u het gevoel geven dat uw huidige leefomgeving niet 'uw' leefomgeving is?
5. Denkt u dat uw huidige leefomgeving een onderdeel van uw identiteit is?
 - a. Probes: Voelt u zich verbonden aan de buurt, is wie u bent mede te danken aan uw leefomgeving, voelt u zich een 'echte' (buurt X-er).
6. Zijn er plaatsen in uw huidige leefomgeving die belangrijk zijn voor sociale interactie met anderen? Denk bijvoorbeeld aan een religieus gebouw, een sportclub, een vereniging. Waarom zijn deze plaatsen belangrijk voor u?
7. Kunt u beschrijven in hoeverre er in uw buurt sprake is van vermenging van mensen met verschillende culturele achtergronden, gebruiken en levensfasen?

Vraag 4. In recente Jaren zijn veel migranten met een verschillende culturele achtergrond naar Nederland gekomen.

1. Kunt u in het algemeen beschrijven wat uw gevoelens zijn richting mensen die met een andere culturele achtergrond naar Nederland migreren?
2. Hoe is uw contact met mensen met een andere culturele achtergrond?
 - a. Probes: Hoe vinden deze contacten plaats, hoe zijn ze begonnen en hoe voelt u zich over deze contacten? (Indien van toepassing: waarom denkt u dat u geen contact heeft met migranten met een andere culturele achtergrond?)
3. Komt u migranten tegen in uw omgeving, zonder dat u direct contact met ze heeft? Welk gevoel geeft dit u?
4. Kunt u mij vertellen wat uw mening is over het proces van integratie door mensen met een andere culturele achtergrond in Nederland? Zijn er volgens u eisen waaraan mensen moeten voldoen?
 - a. Probes: het leren van een taal, het overnemen van normen en waarden, aanpassing in openbare ruimte, het uiten van religie.
 - b. Kunt u beschrijven hoe het proces van integratie in uw ogen op dit moment verloopt?
 - c. Probes: Negatief, positief? Waarom?
5. Kunt u negatieve gevolgen van migratie in uw samenleving beschrijven?
6. Hoe denkt u over de multiculturele samenleving in Nederland, en de gevolgen daarvan?

Vraag 5. Deze vraag gaat over bronnen van informatie die participanten gebruiken/tegenkomen in hun relatie met migranten van andere culturele achtergronden.

1. Hoe denkt u dat uw beeld over migranten wordt beïnvloed?
 - a. Probes: media, persoonlijke ervaringen, mensen in omgeving, politiek.

2. Kunt u aangeven of er verschillen zijn tussen direct contact met migranten in uw dagelijks leven en uw beeld van de migrantenstroom als groep?
 - a. Probes: waarom is dat eventuele verschil er?

Vraag 6. Deze vraag gaat over de invloed die de kijk op migratie uitoefent op verbondenheid met plaats.

1. Kunt u uitleggen hoe gevoelens over uw huidige leefomgeving zijn beïnvloed door migranten met een andere culturele achtergrond?
 - a. Probes: wat is er veranderd in de omgeving, zijn er zaken waardoor je je minder veilig voelt, waardoor je je minder thuis voelt? Voel je je minder aangetrokken tot je leefomgeving?
2. Heeft u het gevoel dat uw leefomgeving minder úw leefomgeving wordt door de komst van migranten? Kunt u beschrijven waarom dat zo is (of niet?)
 - a. Probe: gevoel van verliezen van grip op de wereld?
3. Is uw kijk op migranten verandert in de periode dat u in uw huidige leefomgeving leeft?
 - a. Probes: wat heeft uw verhuizing daar mee te maken? Wat beïnvloedt uw gevoelens met betrekking tot migranten het meest?
4. Wat is voor u de ervaring die u het meest bijblijft, met betrekking tot migranten en de kijk daarop?
 - a. Probes: Wat hield het in, waarom is het positief, waar vond het plaats?

Vraag 7. Afsluitend.

- a. Denkt u dat u de komende jaren fijn in uw huidige leefomgeving kunt wonen?
- b. Als u naar de toekomst kijkt, hoe denkt u dan dat de migrantenstroom verder zal verlopen? Hoe heeft dit een invloed op uw persoonlijke leven?

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname aan dit interview. De informatie zal zoals aangegeven volledig anoniem behandeld worden. Als u na afloop van het onderzoek een samenvatting van de resultaten wilt ontvangen, kunt u uw e-mailadres achterlaten bij de onderzoeker.

Appendix B

This appendix consists of the complete code-tree of this research. It is being referred to in section 3.7 earlier. Because the interviews have been taken in Dutch, the code-list is in Dutch as well.

beeldvorming: negatief
beïnvloeding: afspraken EU
beïnvloeding: belezenheid
beïnvloeding: contacten
beïnvloeding: contacten: voorbeeld
beïnvloeding: criminaliteitscijfers
beïnvloeding: criminaliteitscijfers: uitleg
beïnvloeding: eigen mening
beïnvloeding: ervaring
beïnvloeding: geaardheid
beïnvloeding: houding migranten
beïnvloeding: issue
beïnvloeding: leefomgeving
beïnvloeding: leeftijd
beïnvloeding: levensbeschouwing
beïnvloeding: levensfase
beïnvloeding: media
beïnvloeding: media: aanbod
beïnvloeding: media: gevoelens
beïnvloeding: media: gevoelens: voorbeeld
beïnvloeding: opvoeding/situatie thuis
beïnvloeding: opvoeding/situatie thuis: voorbeeld
beïnvloeding: persoonlijkheid
beïnvloeding: politiek
beïnvloeding: series
beïnvloeding: studie
beïnvloeding: verhuizing
beïnvloeding: vrienden
beïnvloeding: werksituatie
buurt: aardrijkskundige naam
frictie tussen verschillende groepen
integratie
integratie: assimilatie
integratie: belang
integratie: conflicten
integratie: frequentie
integratie: gedrag autochtonen
integratie: gedrag migranten
integratie: gedrag migranten: gevoelens
integratie: gevoelens
integratie: huidige status
integratie: huidige status: reden
integratie: kennis
integratie: openbaar leven
integratie: realiteit vs. idealen
integratie: relatie met plaats van afkomst
integratie: samenleving
integratie: samenleving: gevoelens
integratie: terugkeer
integratie: verplichting
integratie: verplichting: reden
integratie: voorbeeld
integratie: voordeel autochtonen
integratie: voordeel migranten
integratie: voorwaarden
integratie: voorwaarden: aanpassen
integratie: voorwaarden: gevoelens
integratie: voorwaarden: gevolgen
integratie: voorwaarden: inburgering
integratie: voorwaarden: inburgering: autochtonen
integratie: voorwaarden: interesse tonen
integratie: voorwaarden: normen en waarden
integratie: voorwaarden: papieren
integratie: voorwaarden: reden
integratie: voorwaarden: regels
integratie: voorwaarden: taal
integratie: voorwaarden: taal: reden
integratie: voorwaarden: taal: voorbeeld
integratie: voorwaarden: voorbeeld
integratie: voorwaarden: voorbeeld: autochtonen
integratie: voorwaarden: voorbeeld: reden
integratie: voorwaarden: werk zoeken
leefomgeving: buurt: activiteiten
leefomgeving: buurt: bebouwing
leefomgeving: buurt: beschrijving
leefomgeving: buurt: diversiteit: belang
leefomgeving: buurt: ervaringen
leefomgeving: buurt: gebeurtenissen
leefomgeving: buurt: gebeurtenissen: participeren
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: angst
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: betrokken
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: desinteresse
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: fijn
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: gelatenheid
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: gerust
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: gezellig
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: lelijk
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: leuk
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: mooi
leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: onprettig

leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: onprettig: reden
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: prettig
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: rustig
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: tevreden
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: veilig
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: veilig: beschrijving
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: veilig: reden
 leefomgeving: buurt: gevoel: vredig
 leefomgeving: buurt: infrastructuur
 leefomgeving: buurt: infrastructuur: gevoel
 leefomgeving: buurt: ligging
 leefomgeving: buurt: ligging: gevoel
 leefomgeving: buurt: naam
 leefomgeving: buurt: reden van wonen
 leefomgeving: buurt: sfeer
 leefomgeving: buurt: sfeer: beschrijving
 leefomgeving: buurt: sociale interactie
 leefomgeving: buurt: sociale interactie: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: buurt: sociale interactie: gevoelens: reden
 leefomgeving: buurt: sociale interactie: waarde
 leefomgeving: buurt: type mensen
 leefomgeving: buurt: type mensen: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: buurt: type mensen: gevolg/reden
 leefomgeving: buurt: verbondenheid
 leefomgeving: buurt: voorzieningen: activiteiten
 leefomgeving: buurt: voorzieningen: deelname
 leefomgeving: buurt: voorzieningen: groen
 leefomgeving: buurt: vorige
 leefomgeving: buurt: vorige: beschrijving
 leefomgeving: buurt: vorige: beschrijving: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: huidig: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: huidig: sociale interactie
 leefomgeving: huidig: sociale interactie: waarde
 leefomgeving: huidig: toekomst
 leefomgeving: huidig: toekomst: negatief
 leefomgeving: huidig: toekomst: positief
 leefomgeving: huidig: verandering
 leefomgeving: huidig: verandering: sociale contacten
 leefomgeving: huidig: voorzieningen
 leefomgeving: huidig: voorzieningen: gevoel
 leefomgeving: land
 leefomgeving: land: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: stad: tevreden: reden
 leefomgeving: toekomst
 leefomgeving: toekomst: gevoelens
 leefomgeving: toekomst: reden
 leefomgeving: toekomst: wensen

leefomgeving: toekomst: wensen: voorzieningen
 leefomgeving: vorige: contacten
 leefomgeving: vorige: sfeer
 leefomgeving: wensen
 leefomgeving: wensen: voorbeeld
 leefomgeving: wensen: voorbeeld: gevoel
 leefomgeving: woning: bebouwing
 leefomgeving: woning: beschrijving
 leefomgeving: woning: beschrijving: thuis
 leefomgeving: woning: ervaringen
 leefomgeving: woning: ervaringen: voorbeeld
 leefomgeving: woning: ervaringen: vorige
 leefomgeving: woning: gevoel: lelijk
 leefomgeving: woning: gevoel: veilig
 leefomgeving: woning: huidige: toekomst
 leefomgeving: woning: huisgenoten
 leefomgeving: woning: huisgenoten: gevoel
 leefomgeving: woning: nationaliteiten
 leefomgeving: woning: periode
 leefomgeving: woning: sfeer
 leefomgeving: woning: tevreden
 leefomgeving: woning: tevreden: reden
 leefomgeving: woning: type mensen
 leefomgeving: woning: vorige
 leefomgeving: wooncomplex: inwoners
 leefomgeving: wooncomplex: sociale interactie
 leefomgeving: wooncomplex: type mensen
 maatschappelijk debat
 migranten
 migranten: behandeling
 migranten: behandeling: toekomst
 migranten: behandeling: toekomst: reden
 migranten: contacten
 migranten: contacten: gevoel
 migranten: contacten: gevoel: reden
 migranten: contacten: reden
 migranten: contacten: relativering
 migranten: ervaring: fictief
 migranten: ervaring: negatief
 migranten: ervaring: positief
 migranten: ervaring: toekomst
 migranten: ervaring: vroeger
 migranten: ervaring: vroeger: positief
 migranten: gevoelens
 migranten: gevoelens: reden
 migranten: gevoelens: reden: taal
 migranten: gevoelens: reden: veilig
 migranten: gevoelens: verandering: reden
 migranten: gevolgen
 migranten: gevolgen: negatief

migranten: gevolgen: negatief: relativering
 migranten: hoeveelheid
 migranten: hoeveelheid: voorbeeld
 migranten: landvorming
 migranten: niet welkom: behandeling
 migranten: niet welkom: reden
 migranten: ontwikkeling
 migranten: overtuiging
 migranten: plaatsing
 migranten: proces
 migranten: relatie met plaats
 migranten: relatie met plaats: huidige invloed
 migranten: relatie met plaats: huidige invloed: reden
 migranten: relatie met plaats: relativering
 migranten: relatie met plaats: stadium integratie
 migranten: relatie met plaats: toekomstige invloed
 migranten: relatie met plaats: voorbeeld
 migranten: relatie met plaats: vorige invloed
 migranten: toekomst
 migranten: toekomst: gevoelens
 migranten: type migrant
 migranten: vrijwilligerswerk
 migranten: welkom
 migranten: welkom: behandeling
 migranten: welkom: reden
 migranten: zelf meegemaakt
 multiculturele samenleving: beschrijving
 multiculturele samenleving: gevoelens
 multiculturele samenleving: gevoelens: reden
 multiculturele samenleving: succes
 multiculturele samenleving: succes: reden
 niet thuisvoelen: delen met anderen
 niet thuisvoelen: delen met anderen: gevoel
 niet thuisvoelen: huisbaas
 niet thuisvoelen: lengte verblijf
 niet thuisvoelen: niet aan de orde
 niet thuisvoelen: oordelen
 niet thuisvoelen: oordelen: uitleg
 niet thuisvoelen: sociale contacten
 niet thuisvoelen: type wijk
 niet thuisvoelen: uiterlijk woning
 niet thuisvoelen: woning
 niet thuisvoelen: woning: reden
 participant: geslacht
 participant: jaar studie
 participant: jaren zelfstandig
 participant: leeftijd
 participant: levensbeschouwing
 participant: persoonlijkheid
 rol overheid
 rol overheid: mensen zelf
 rol overheid: regelgeving
 rol overheid: regelgeving: voorbeeld
 rol overheid: samenleving
 rol overheid: soort mensen
 sociale controle: negatief
 sociale controle: plaats
 sociale controle: plaats: reden
 sociale controle: positief
 studie: beschrijving
 studie: keuze voor studie
 studie: keuze voor studie: tevredenheid
 studie: keuze voor studie: tevredenheid: reden
 studie: positieve kanten
 studie: vorige studie
 thuisvoelen
 thuisvoelen: andere plek: gebeurtenissen
 thuisvoelen: contacten
 thuisvoelen: diversiteit
 thuisvoelen: eigen ding doen
 thuisvoelen: eigen kamer
 thuisvoelen: gebeurtenissen
 thuisvoelen: gebeurtenissen: gevoel
 thuisvoelen: gebeurtenissen: voorbeeld
 thuisvoelen: gevoel
 thuisvoelen: gevoelens
 thuisvoelen: identiteit
 thuisvoelen: identiteit: Nederlander voelen
 thuisvoelen: identiteit: reden
 thuisvoelen: inrichting
 thuisvoelen: invloed migranten
 thuisvoelen: kennis van stad
 thuisvoelen: ouders
 thuisvoelen: ruimte
 thuisvoelen: rust
 thuisvoelen: schoon
 thuisvoelen: soort wijk
 thuisvoelen: spullen
 thuisvoelen: spullen: gevoelens
 thuisvoelen: studie
 thuisvoelen: tijd
 thuisvoelen: toekomst wonen
 thuisvoelen: voorzieningen
 thuisvoelen: vorige: sociale contacten
 thuisvoelen: wordt geleefd
 tijdbesteding: toekomst
 verhuizen: reden
 vermenging: buurt
 vermenging: buurt: contact

vermenging: buurt: negatief
vermenging: buurt: negatief: voorbeeld
vermenging: buurt: reden
vermenging: buurt: type mensen
vermenging: buurt: voorbeeld
vermenging: leefomgeving: relativering
vermenging: studenten
vermenging: studenten: reden
vrije tijd: bijbaan
vrije tijd: bijbaan: beschrijving
vrije tijd: familie: vorige woonplaats
vrije tijd: koken
vrije tijd: lezen
vrije tijd: musical
vrije tijd: muziek
vrije tijd: muziek: concerten
vrije tijd: muziek: concerten: sociale contacten
vrije tijd: muziek: dirigeren
vrije tijd: muziek: festival
vrije tijd: muziek: klarinet
vrije tijd: muziek: orgel
vrije tijd: muziek: piano
vrije tijd: muziek: saxofoon
vrije tijd: muziek: zangles
vrije tijd: muziekles
vrije tijd: nieuws
vrije tijd: series kijken
vrije tijd: sporten
vrije tijd: sporten: fitness
vrije tijd: sporten: hockey
vrije tijd: sporten: sportschool
vrije tijd: sporten: sportschool: contacten

vrije tijd: sporten: surfen
vrije tijd: sporten: tennis
vrije tijd: sporten: voetbal
vrije tijd: sporten: volleybal
vrije tijd: sporten: volleybal: sociale contacten
vrije tijd: studentenvereniging
vrije tijd: vrienden
vrije tijd: vroeger
vrijheid
vrijheid: anonimiteit
vrijheid: gevoel
vrijheid: reden
vrijheid: sociale contacten
wereldbeeld: toekomst
woonplaats: huidige
woonplaats: huidige: andere wijk
woonplaats: huidige: andere wijk: ervaringen
woonplaats: huidige: andere wijk: gevoelens
woonplaats: huidige: andere wijk: type mensen
woonplaats: huidige: beschrijving
woonplaats: huidige: beschrijving: gevoelens
woonplaats: huidige: kennis van
woonplaats: huidige: keuze voor stad
woonplaats: huidige: type mensen
woonplaats: vorige
woonplaats: vorige: beschrijving
woonplaats: vorige: beschrijving: contacten
woonplaats: vorige: beschrijving: gevoelens
woonplaats: vorige: beschrijving: gevoelens: reden
woonplaats: vorige: beschrijving: type mensen
woonplaats: vorige: frequentie

Appendix C

This appendix consists of all code-families used in this research.

Code family	Quantity
Creating an image about participants	1
Descriptions about free time of participants	32
Descriptions about participants	6
Descriptions about studies of participants	6
Desires about the living environment	3
Feeling Dutch	1
Feelings and descriptions about a multicultural society	5
Feelings and descriptions about contacts with migrants	5
Feelings and descriptions about current place of living (city)	10
Feelings and descriptions about experiences with migrants	6
Feelings and descriptions about freedom	5
Feelings and descriptions about migrants	48
Feelings and descriptions about mixing of cultures and people	10
Feelings and descriptions about previous place of living (city/town)	7
Feelings and descriptions about social control	4
Feelings and descriptions about the building (complex)	3
Feelings and descriptions about the city	1
Feelings and descriptions about the future living environment, no geographical element	5
Feelings and descriptions about the house	18
Feelings and descriptions about the living environment, no geographic element	8
Feelings and descriptions about the neighbourhood	50
Feelings and descriptions about the previous environment, no geographical element	2
Feelings and descriptions about the relation between migrants and place	8
Feelings and descriptions about the role of the government	6
Feelings and descriptions about the country	2
How are people being influenced about migrants	28
How are people thinking about integration of migrants	41
Leftovers	6
Reasons why people DO feel at home	30
Reasons why people DO NOT feel at home	12

Appendix D

This message with in it a call for participants has been posted on LinkedIn and Facebook. It was shared 20 times.

“Voor mijn masterscriptie doe ik onderzoek naar de wisselwerking tussen verbondenheid met de leefomgeving en meningen over mensen met een andere culturele achtergrond. Ben jij een Nederlandse, autochtone student die op kamers woont en lijkt het je leuk mee te doen aan dit onderzoek? Stuur me dan een even een berichtje of mail naar karl_sluiter@hotmail.com. Ook als je meer informatie wilt voordat je toezegt: contact me! Delen wordt gewaardeerd.”

Appendix E

This mail was sent to all participants before they definitively joined the research.

“Dag [NAME],

Ik hoorde via [NAME] dat je wel mee zou willen werken aan mijn masterthesis. Ik doe onderzoek naar de wisselwerking hoe mensen kijken naar migranten en hoe sterk ze verbonden zijn met hun leefomgeving. Dan moet je vooral aan je huis en buurt denken, maar mag ook over de samenleving gaan. Ik onderzoek hiervoor autochtone studenten, die voor hun studie op kamers zijn gegaan.

Idealiter kom ik bij je thuis langs voor het interview, omdat het ook over je leefomgeving gaat. Ik zou het interview graag opnemen zodat ik het later kan uitwerken en gebruiken, maar je bent verder volledig anoniem. Alleen mijn begeleider kan het interview terugluisteren, maar je naam en dergelijke hoef je niet te noemen of die knip ik er later uit.

Ik hoor graag of je mee wilt doen! Voor een interview zou ik af kunnen spreken op [DATE]. Ik hoor graag of je op één van deze momenten beschikbaar bent.

Alvast bedankt!

Met vriendelijke groet,

Karl Sluiter”