

# Place Identity in neighbourhoods in Enschede

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*Determined by personal experiences and processes of othering and  
stereotyping*

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## **Abstract**

That 'the neighbourhood' appears to be a simple and easy to define term, is a deceiving thought. Two leading perspectives that are visible in science and in practice, one focusing on practical aspects of place and one on social aspects, indicate that 'the neighbourhood' cannot be seen as unilateral. People namely experience place in different ways, which means that different place identities can be identified in a certain place. This study aims to understand how place identity processes can be related to the neighbourhood as place. The focus hereby is on the influence of 'others' in this identity-making process. A qualitative method (interviews) is used to examine this inquiry and to lay the focus on personal experiences. Four different neighbourhoods in Enschede, varying in profile, were the setting for this research. The outcomes of this study are primarily confirmation of already existing literature. What can be concluded is that place identity develops on the basis of different indicators. These indicators are: the sense of 'feeling at home', identity-making processes based on othering, change, and meaningful experiences that determine attachment to a place. The role of others in developing a place identity is large. Others that are seen as positive or negative, are used to identify the self. Furthermore, the (negative) image of (residents of) other neighbourhoods helps in positioning the own neighbourhood in a better way. The connection between others and the image of other neighbourhoods eventually have a large influence on an individual's (place) identity.

*Key words: The neighbourhood, Perspectives, Place identity, Othering, Enschede*

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	1
1. Introduction.....	4
1.1 Background.....	4
1.2 Research problem .....	5
1.3 Enschede as research context .....	6
2. Conceptual Framework .....	7
2.1 introduction.....	7
2.2 Practical aspects of the neighbourhood.....	8
2.2.1 The neighbourhood of George Galster.....	8
2.3 Social aspects of the neighbourhood .....	11
2.3.1 The making of 'place'.....	11
2.3.2 The neighbourhood of Henri Lefebvre .....	12
2.3.3 The neighbourhood is an imagination.....	14
2.4 Practical vs social aspects of the neighbourhood .....	15
2.5 My neighbourhood is my identity .....	16
2.6 Others as identity-makers .....	17
3. Methodology .....	18
3.1 Study area: Enschede .....	19
3.2 Exploration of the socio-spatial structure of Enschede using cluster analysis.....	20
3.2.3 Cluster profiles and geographical distribution .....	25
3.3 Determining the empirical design of the research.....	27
3.3.2 Interviews .....	28
3.3.3 The use of a geographical map.....	29
3.4 Target population and participant selection.....	30
3.5 Ethical considerations .....	32
3.5.1 Informed consent .....	32
3.5.2 Positionality and reflexivity .....	33
3.6 Data analysis process .....	34
4. Results .....	35
4.1 The participant's perception of the neighbourhood.....	35
4.1.1. The social-practical dichotomy is visible among the participants.....	35
4.1.2 Visual and physical boundaries .....	40
4.1.3 Cluster profiles compared to the perception of the participants .....	41

4.2 Identity-making by means of others .....	42
4.2.1 Others as positive factor for identity-making .....	43
4.2.2 Others as negative factor for identity-making .....	44
4.2.3 Othering processes by others.....	49
4.3 Influence of a changing neighbourhood .....	50
4.3.1 Changes in cluster 1 and 2.....	50
4.3.2 Changes in cluster 3.....	52
4.4.3 Changes in cluster 4.....	52
4.5 Meaningful experiences that determine attachment.....	53
4.5.1 Attachment to the city of Enschede.....	53
4.5.2 Attachment in different stages of life .....	54
5. Conclusion .....	56
5.1 Reflection and recommendations.....	58
References.....	60
Appendices .....	67
Appendix 1: table of neighbourhoods and districts in Enschede.....	67
Appendix 2: interview guide.....	70
Appendix 3: base maps used during interviews.....	73
Appendix 4: examples of sketch maps .....	74
Appendix 5: poster .....	75

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

'The neighbourhood', a geographical place whereof almost everybody has an idea of what it is and how the term can be understood. While it intuitively feels as a relatively simple term, It seems hard to find an unambiguous definition for 'the neighbourhood' which is generally used in science. How researchers define a neighbourhood depends on their background and research focus (Galster, 2001; The Young Foundation, 2010).

Researchers with a background in urban studies and planning, such as researcher George Galster, often define the neighbourhood on the basis of practical aspects. Galster (2001) argues that a neighbourhood can be seen as a location or area consisting of specific attributes. These attributes vary from demographic and class status attributes to proximity and socio-interactive attributes. Examples of the four above mentioned attributes are respectively: age, income, proximity to a hospital and social familiarity between households. The method of Galster (2001) helps to classify neighbourhoods and to separate them from other neighbourhoods. He combines a location with a range of attributes and this combination forms a spatial package that is called: 'the neighbourhood'.

Researchers who focus on social aspects of place, argue that how people understand the neighbourhood is based on how they understand place in general. The general understanding of place largely depends on what experiences and associations people have with that place. The mental framework people have is essential in how they see and understand places. This mental framework, including experiences and associations, are used by people to construct their own place by giving meaning to a 'neutral' space (Vanclay, 2008). Transforming this 'neutral' space into place means that people themselves decide, often unconsciously and on the basis of their perspective and experiences, what definition they give to place (Lefebvre, 1991; Vanclay, 2008). These perspectives and experiences of people and the transformation of a 'neutral' space are reflections of the identity of a person and of what that person stands for. When this reflection is tied to a specific place, this place becomes part of someone's identity. This process is called 'place identity'. In short, place identity refers to the process of personal identity-making based on associations and experiences obtained in a certain place (Proshansky et al., 1983; Vanclay, 2008).

The experience and the production of place is not attached to a specific scale, which means that people can get attached to a place on different levels of scale. This scale ranges from (rooms in) a single house or a street to much larger scales as the region, the country or the universe (Tuan, 1975; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). This attachment can also be on a neighbourhood scale. Rivlin (1982) argues that

people often define their neighbourhood on the basis of (a positive) connection with other residents, instead of on an actual location or area. Social factors, such as this connection and interaction between residents, are of higher influence than locational factors. Locational factors are characteristics that are tied to a specific location, such as housing characteristics of a practically defined neighbourhood (Galster, 2001).

The mentioned connection of an individual with residents and other social contacts are of positive influence in experiencing place. However, a 'negative' connection also may exist. This negative connection between a person and others can be explained by the term 'othering'. Othering is the process of personal identification by identifying another person as 'he' or 'she' or another group as 'them', to identify yourself or your own group as 'I' or 'us' (Jensen, 2011). This relationship can be seen as negative because it is about creating a distance between you and 'other' individuals. Comparing yourself with different persons or groups in neighbourhoods are helpful in creating a personal (place) identity, because distinguishing yourself from behaviour or personal traits of others says something about your own behaviour and personality.

That social variables are of more influence than locational factors may lead to an experience of people that the boundaries of their perceived neighbourhood do not match with the practical, administrative boundaries of the neighbourhood. This could be because the construction of their own boundaries are most influenced by social factors and experiences and connections with others, while in practice, neighbourhoods often are defined by means of locational factors. Both contrasting perspectives, the one focused on practical aspects of place and the perspective that focuses on social aspects, acknowledge in their own way that social factors and meaningful associations are important in defining place and also for the relation an individual has with a place. In the perspective that focuses on practical aspects, Galster (2001) pays attention to social factors by making use of sentimental and socio-interactive attributes, which include especially the relationships between residents and their familiarity. These social factors are *part* of the definition of place in general and that of the neighbourhood in specific. In the perspective that focuses on social aspects, Lefebvre (1991) emphasizes the importance of social factors by arguing that social and mental perceptions of people themselves are crucial for people in understanding place and that these perceptions are *leading* in defining place.

## **1.2 Research problem**

The contrast mentioned in the first sentences of the introduction, between the ostensibly simple perspective on the neighbourhood by society and the relatively complex discussion about the definition of it in scientific research, is the starting point of this research. A discrepancy is visible

between administrative boundaries used in practice, often used by the municipality and in projects, and the intuitive and ambiguous boundaries residents and researchers draw to define neighbourhoods. The question rises what the important and decisive factors or perspectives are in defining a neighbourhood. This research aims to study the importance of different perspectives in experiencing the neighbourhoods by its residents. Furthermore, it tries to understand to what degree place identity and the process of othering are important in experiencing the neighbourhood. Additionally to already existing literature, the two perspectives and their relation with place identity and othering will be discussed and linked together. The focus of this research will be on how people position themselves against others based on differences in (perceived) neighbourhoods, to determine their own (place) identity. The following research question is used to investigate the previous inquiry: *How does the place identity of residents of Enschede (the Netherlands) develop based on the position of their own neighbourhood compared to the position of other neighbourhoods in Enschede?*

To be able to answer this question, the following and first sub-question will be used: what types of neighbourhoods can be classified in Enschede? The second sub-question helps to identify which mental framework residents of Enschede have in defining their neighbourhood. The question used for this is: in what way do residents of neighbourhoods in Enschede define and experience their own neighbourhood? To investigate the role of positioning and othering, the last sub-question is composed as: What role does othering and stereotyping have in positioning oneself against other neighbourhoods in Enschede? The answers of all the questions together will explain how the place identity of residents of Enschede is created.

### **1.3 Enschede as research context**

This city of Enschede is chosen as context for this research for various reasons. First, Enschede is the 11<sup>th</sup> largest municipality in the Netherlands and thereby a middle-large city when comparing it to cities in the Netherlands as a whole (Gemeente Enschede, 2016). The Netherlands does relatively have a high amount of middle-large cities, which are important in the urban structure of the Netherlands because middle-large cities often also provide for the smaller agglomerations around the cities, in terms of facilities and job opportunities (Lekkerkerke, 2016). Furthermore, middle-large cities include almost twice as much residents than the four largest cities in the Netherlands. Therefore, it seems convenient to use a middle-large city because the results of the research might help to establish a more general image of the Netherlands than when using a very large or very small city. Secondly, Enschede offers 10 registered districts consisting of 71 neighbourhoods for people to settle down (CBS, 2018). With this large number of neighbourhoods to live in, it seems plausible to assume that these neighbourhoods differ in characteristics and identity, which is a positive circumstance as case for this research. To support the assumption of variety in neighbourhoods in Enschede, the municipality argues

that every neighbourhood is different from other neighbourhoods and that no neighbourhood is the same (Gemeente Enschede, 2016). The third reason is a more practical reason. As an inhabitant of Enschede, I am interested in the identity of the city and its inhabitants. Besides, I already have personal connections and social contacts which may help in recruiting participants for this research.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

### **2.1 introduction**

When conducting research in specific neighbourhoods, it first is important to understand why using the neighbourhood as scale for researching place identity and othering seems to be relevant and reasonable. First of all, as mentioned in the introduction, research on place is not attached to a specific scale and the neighbourhood is therefore a place that can be chosen for research. Previous studies have proven that the neighbourhood is a place which is very important in a person's life and identity and therefore it is a significant scale to conduct a place identity research (Rivlin, 1982; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Despite this, Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) and Lewicka (2010) mention the risk of being biased by assuming that the neighbourhood is the right scale to research place identity because of the high amount of studies using this scale. Nonetheless, social contacts are very critical and influential in creating a place identity (Lewicka, 2010), and the neighbourhood is a common place to find social contacts. Moreover, the neighbourhood is a scale on which a lot of segregation between certain groups takes places, where different neighbourhoods serve as a home for a specific group of people (Alba & Logan, 1993; Gieryn, 2000). For a research on othering and place identity, it might be concluded that the neighbourhood is a suitable scale to study these processes. Furthermore, the relation between place identity and the neighbourhood differs between countries and people (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013). Therefore, focussing on a not-yet-researched context, the neighbourhoods in Enschede, is worth researching.

Before going further in depth with explaining the terms 'place identity' and 'othering' in relation to the neighbourhood scale, the chapter will start with a discussion on how a neighbourhood can be seen and defined. Researchers with different backgrounds do not always agree on what is important in defining a neighbourhood and in defining the word 'place' in general. Hunter (1979) argues that in practice, researchers and planners often describe a neighbourhood in terms of what is functional and fitting for their own research or project. This particular research tries to give an analysis of different perspectives on the definition of neighbourhood in the following paragraphs.

## **2.2 Practical aspects of the neighbourhood**

The first perspective on defining the neighbourhood is focused on a practical explanation of the term. In this perspective, neighbourhoods can in general be seen as "... physical spaces, bounded in some way, with physical characteristics such as housing, transport, and environment ..." (Lupton & Power, 2004, p. 13). In short: the neighbourhood is a physical place marked by boundaries (Golab, 1982, in Galster, 2001). Hunter (1979) describes the neighbourhood somewhat similar, namely as a spatial entity with the size between a household and a city. However, he emphasizes the role of social characteristics arguing that the neighbourhood has and is part of a social system (Hunter, 1979). Keller (1968, in Galster, 2001 and in Schwirian, 1982) also highlights that the neighbourhood has boundaries not only based on physical characteristics but also on social and symbolic characteristics. Remarkable is that definitions in this perspective often consist of the word 'boundaries' or a derivative of it. For professionals and planners that focus on these practical aspects of place, it is easier to deal with opportunities and problems in neighbourhoods when specific boundaries are set within where to operate. For this reason are neighbourhoods, in practice, often described as a spatial area within official administered boundaries (Hunter, 1979; Sampson et al., 2002). These boundaries are usually based on practical issues, for example boundaries based on tax funding or on geographical location (Hunter, 1979).

### **2.2.1 The neighbourhood of George Galster**

George Galster is one of the researchers that bases his definition of the neighbourhood on, such as above described, practical issues. He defines a neighbourhood as "the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses" (Galster, 2001, p. 2112). The attributes that are used in this definition can be divided between locational or structural attributes and social or residential attributes. Attributes that are locational or structural are bounded to a specific area or location. Examples are the infrastructure of the neighbourhood or the proximity of the location to relevant amenities. Examples of social or residential attributes are demographic, sentimental or socio-interactive characteristics of a location. The attributes and corresponding examples that Galster uses to define a neighbourhood are shown in table 1.

The perspective of people on how the bundle of attributes is constructed, determines the boundaries of a neighbourhood. Although Galster argues that a specific location must be determined beforehand because otherwise the attributes cannot be measured, he does not argue that all attributes are bounded to a specific place. For example, the environmental attribute pollution does not always stay between boundaries but might include a much larger scale. However, locational attributes are often more bounded to a place than social characteristics. Dwellings (locational) are for example literally tied

to a certain location, whereas friend networks (social) are not. It is the combination of all attributes on a specific location that can determine a profile of a specific neighbourhood.

**Table 1:** Attributes (and examples) needed to define a neighbourhood according to Galster (2001, p 2112).

Attribute	Examples in theory	Attributes used for cluster analysis (further explained in chapter 3.2)
Structural characteristics of residential and non-residential buildings	Materials, design, density, type	- Housing value - Number of rental houses - Number of owner-occupied houses
Infrastructural characteristics	Footpaths, roads, utility services	- Number of cars per household - Distance to train stations
Demographic characteristics of the residential population	Family composition, age, race, ethnic and religious types	- Age - Number of migrants
Class status characteristics of the residential population	Education, occupation, income	- Income - Percentage of social welfare
Tax/public service package characteristics	Public schools, parks and recreation, public administration	- Distance to day-care centres - Types of companies
Environmental characteristics	Degree of land, air, water and noise pollution, topography	- Area size - Urban level
Proximity characteristics	Access to employment, shops etc. by distance and transport	- Distance to supermarkets, - Distance to department stores
Political characteristics	Political stability, political influence	No data
Social-interactive characteristics	Local friend networks, social control, familiarity between households, interpersonal associations	- Vandalism and crime - (Sexual) violence
Sentimental characteristics	Historical significance of the place, residents' sense of identification with place	No data

It is too simple to state that attributes on itself only determine a neighbourhood's boundary. Galster (2001) argues that the neighbourhood can be seen as a commodity being consumed by different actors. He states that "the consumers of a neighbourhood can be considered the producers of neighbourhood" (p. 2116). Consumers of neighbourhoods are households, property owners, business

people and local governments. The consumers determine the meaning that is given to the attributes. They value and weigh the different attributes to determine what they think is important in defining their neighbourhood. This valuation is steered by changes in the attributes that occur in a specific location that might (or might not) be part of the individual's neighbourhood. For example, if a change takes place within a for the person meaningful location, the satisfaction and wellbeing of an individual may change positively or negatively. The location of where changes (per attribute) take place and whereof the residents determine that these changes are important, is called a person's externality space. A person can have different externality spaces, every space based on the attributes or externalities Galster (1986; 2001) determined. If something changes in a location and a person feels affected, this space can be considered as being that person's externality space and also as part of that person's neighbourhood. If changes occur in a specific location, and these changes are not of any effect on the person, it can be concluded that that location is not part of the person's externality space and therefore not part of his or her neighbourhood (Galster, 1986; 2001). Galster (1986; 2001) introduced the concept of externality space to make the definition of the neighbourhood quantifiable. He does this by summing the externality spaces of different externalities and of different individuals that leads to a definition of the boundaries of a neighbourhood.

As mentioned, the affective changes that take place in people's lives can all be scaled under one of the attributes that form a neighbourhood bundle. The attributes vary in scale, which means that not all attributes cover the same area (Galster, 2001). Housing characteristics might for example cover a smaller scale than water or air pollution, so changes in one of these attributes also covers different scales. This argument and the fact that individuals value the attributes differently, shows that the reason why the boundaries of people might differ, is because of the difference in scale and valuation between the attributes what also leads to thinking in (slightly) different boundaries by the residents. "... residents perceive clusters of neighbourhood attributes that vary at the same scale across roughly congruent spaces" (Galster, 2001, p. 2114).

Both Rivlin (1982) and Galster (2001) state that social-interactive or residential attributes have a greater influence on the process of determining the boundaries of their neighbourhood than locational factors. Examples of influential social attributes are social networks and familiar and personal associations with other residents. People do for example determine their neighbourhood based on where people of the group they feel part of live (Rivlin, 1982). Such changes in social network do often more affect the wellbeing of a person than if structural and locational changes take place. The concept of externality space shows that what a person feels to be his or her neighbourhood depends on affective changes in attributes, where social and residential attributes outweigh the effects of

locational or structural attributes. The attributes are the starting point in determining boundaries of a neighbourhood and which attributes are most important is determined by the residents.

## **2.3 Social aspects of the neighbourhood**

What has become clear from the previous sentences, is that social and residential attributes are very influential for individuals in defining a neighbourhood. For researchers that focus on social aspects on space, perspectives of people are the key in defining neighbourhoods. To corroborate this firm statement, I first start with explaining how researchers in this social perspective see the words 'space' and 'place' in general. At the end of this paragraph, it will be clear why perspectives are key in defining neighbourhoods.

### **2.3.1 The making of 'place'**

Space, in this perspective, is in general seen as a blank location without meaning. Space is a mental production where people give meaning to a blank location. Space becomes place when this meaning is added. This process is called 'place-making' (Vanclay, 2008). Gieryn (2000) and Agnew (2015) argue that every place consist of three different features, which differ in interpretation per place. The first feature of place is that of having a geographical location where social interaction takes place and whereof the boundaries are elastic and not static. The second feature is that place needs material form, or in other words: a place consists of physical material (Gieryn, 2000). Agnew (2015, p. 28) has another second feature, 'the locale', what he explains as a "setting for activity and social interaction", the setting for everyday activities. The last feature is the investment in a location with meaning and value, which makes a place a social construct (Gieryn, 2000) to identify with. This identification with the location and 'the locale' is what Agnew (2015) calls 'sense of place'.

Symbols are important in the process of giving meaning to spaces (Vanclay, 2008). Examples of influential symbols for meaning-making are the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the Tower Bridge in London. These symbols are landmarks that are unique and they have their own narrative constructed around it. People living in these cities with such unique landmarks as symbols often have a stronger relation with place than people in cities without unique landmarks (Gieryn, 2000). The symbols can also be more personal, being for example a place where you grew up or something simple as a discotheque from your youth. As Vanclay (2008) argues, the symbols do only make sense and a place only becomes meaningful when the individual itself develops a relevant connection with it.

Not only individuals, but also a community as a group can construct their own place as a collective process. People of a group together talk about and discuss on what they see as the boundaries of their place based on collective symbols (Rivlin, 1987). On the neighbourhood level, a group of people, residents for example, do then agree on what the boundaries of their neighbourhood are by talking

about their experiences and perspectives (Schoenberg, 1979). One of the perspectives of different groups can become the dominant perspective on a place. The dominant group often consists of the people with (political) power and wealth that have the opportunity to construct place for their own interest (Lefebvre, 1991).

### **2.3.2 The neighbourhood of Henri Lefebvre**

Lefebvre has done research about space and his ideas are very meaningful in sociological and geographical research. Lefebvre's book from 1991 is called "the production of space". Space in this sense must be seen as social space, the space where people are living in and the space people experience. The production of space is a form of place-making, where space, a blank location, becomes a social space (or place) filled with meaning. For this reason, space, social space and place are seen as comparable terms representing similar meaning.

To explain his idea of production of space, Lefebvre (1991) talks about economy, materialism and the production of things being the focus of society. Not only fixed materials, but also mental, spiritual and social materials are results of human production and construction. Lefebvre argues that space is a social material that is a production of human action. Hence, space is a product (Lefebvre, 1991, Elden, 2004). In what way space is produced depends on the ontology and epistemology of groups or individuals. Ontology means having a certain point of view in how to see and interpret the world and what you understand as being the truth. Epistemology is how to know, understand and learn about the world (Toyoki, 2004; Winchester & Rofe, 2016; Grbich, 2013). In the explanation below about different perspectives and point of views, the different ontologies and epistemologies per perspective will be explained.

According to various researchers, Lefebvre names Descartes as one of them, space is often produced on two different levels: the mental space and the physical space (Lefebvre, 1991, Elden, 2004). The mental space is in general the space of planners, scientists, engineers, professionals and technocrats, focusing on the macro level use of space. The world is interpreted based on knowledge, practical reasoning and logical signs. How individuals or groups in this perspective interpret the world (ontology) is based these logical understandings and knowledge. Materials such as maps and theories are used to conceive knowledge about the urban reality. Space is produced based on practical goals resulting from this conceived knowledge. The epistemology in this perspective, understanding the world by means of practical materials and theories, is named by Lefebvre as 'representations of space' or 'the conceived space' (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2004; Toyoki, 2004). The groups that sees space in this perspectives are often the dominant producers of space, having the most power to produce space based on their goals and ideals (Lefebvre, 1991).

In contrast with this mental view of space is the concrete or physical perspective on space. The epistemology of this view is named by Lefebvre as 'spatial practice' or 'the perceived space'. As the name already suggests, producing space in this perspective is based on urban practice, where the purpose of the world is that of a system of daily routines in an urban reality. Examples of daily routines are work, leisure and private routines. The world is understood, interpreted and perceived in by senses and the body, what is typical for this epistemology. The ontology is based on the everyday lives of the residents in the physical world (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2004; Toyoki, 2004).

Lefebvre discovered a gap between the mental and physical space. The mental perspective is dominant in the production of physical urban space and in decision making about public space. The perception and experiences of residents are often forgotten in the production of space. Planners and professionals dominantly produce space by using space as a political instrument to achieve their goal. Gieryn (2000, p. 469) states this very clear by saying that cities are created by competition where actors use "... diverse means and power to control the physical terrain in a self-interested way". How residents use space in their everyday lives and how they experience space is not taken into account when planners produce space. This shows the difference in power between the two perspectives on space. The powerful makers of a place, the planners and professionals, might not meet the preferences of the users of a space which could lead to dissatisfaction of the resident's daily environment. It could also lead to a change in perspective of the users of a space in a way that the interpretation of the daily practice by the powerful actors also becomes the interpretation of the users itself.

Lefebvre had critical thoughts on this dichotomy between the two sides of production of space, because he experienced this inconsistency in reality between planned space and used space (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2004). This has led to the addition of a third epistemology on the production of space, the 'representational space' or 'lived space'. The lived space is the world of residents, users and consumers who interpret the world (ontology) on the basis of experiencing space. The experiences derive from associations, symbols, illusions, culture, images, history, lived experiences and signs, which are the basis for the epistemology of this perspective. Space is produced by goals based on passion, dreams, memories and these experiences. This third perspective closes the gap between the mental and physical space by adding meaning and experiences of residents other than only practical factors. For planners and managers, it is important to be aware of the daily routines of people and of the meaning they attach to it.

The following phrase will grab the essence of the previous content in one sentence:

(Social) space is *produced* by different *actors* that *act* on the basis of different underlying *purposes* and *goals*.

As stated earlier, social space, space and place are seen as terms representing similar meaning. From now on, the term place will be used because the starting point of this paragraph was to give a definition of the word 'place'.

From the entire paragraph, it might be concluded that an unambiguous or universal definition of place cannot be given. The reason for this is that an individual or group gives an own definition to place depending on the lived ontology or epistemology, which are one of the three perspectives described by Lefebvre. Place is of different value and appreciated, used and produced in a different way by the three perspectives. However, in practice it is often the dominant perspective whereof the definition is used, what keeps this perspective in a dominant position.

### **2.3.3 The neighbourhood is an imagination**

To go back to the starting question of the chapter of how to define the term 'the neighbourhood', the switch must be made from place in general to the level of neighbourhood. Space is used by Lefebvre in an urban (city) context and the neighbourhood is part of the urban city context. Leary-Owhin (2016) argues that Lefebvre's perspectives can be used on different spatial levels, and therefore also on the neighbourhood level. The statement of Hunter (1979) and Sampson et al. (2002) in paragraph 2.1, who argued that planners and professionals often use administrative boundaries (and not the boundaries of the residents) for research in neighbourhoods because of its practical use, shows that the contrast Lefebvre presents is also visible on the neighbourhood level. Urban planners often use administered boundaries to simplify the decision making of changes in neighbourhoods, while residents of neighbourhoods often do not make use of these administered boundaries. Moreover, Mazer and Rankin (2011) have used the perspectives of Lefebvre in a neighbourhood context. They linked the different perspectives to users of a changing neighbourhood, where the users were homeowners and home tenants. Their conclusion is, in relation to Lefebvre's perspectives, that both homeowners and home tenants see and use the neighbourhood differently. The perspective of homeowners can be scaled under 'representation of space', using logic and knowledge. The changes homeowners made in the physical space has led to a, for them, positively changing neighbourhood. The home renters use space more in the perspectives of 'social practice' and 'lived space'. They are confronted with changes by means of homeowners that disturb their everyday routines and experiences (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). This example gives an idea of how Lefebvre's perspectives can be seen in a concrete way and it shows that they are suitable for being used on a neighbourhood level. The previous arguments indicate that an unambiguous or universal definition also cannot be given for the neighbourhood.

With all information described in the entire paragraph (2.3) and by referring back to the firm statement in the beginning of the paragraph, it can be said that perspectives of people *are* key in determining what the neighbourhood means. “The very idea of ‘neighborhood’ is not inherent in any arrangement of streets and houses, but is rather an ongoing practical and discursive production/imagination of people” (Gieryn, 2000, p. 472).

## **2.4 Practical vs social aspects of the neighbourhood**

Both the practical and the social perspective on neighbourhood have other variables that for them are important in defining a neighbourhood. Researchers that have a practical perspective focus on practical aspects in defining a neighbourhood, such as locational and social attributes. Gieryn (2000, p. 466) argues, from a social perspective that focuses on social aspects, that he disagrees with the use of attributes or variables. He states that if the neighbourhood is “simply a bundle of analytic variables used to distinguish one another in terms of its economic or demographic features, then it is not place”. To further understand the difference between the social and practical perspective, they will be compared to the three perspectives of Lefebvre. The perspective of researchers and professionals that focus on practical aspects may be scaled under the perspective ‘representation of space’. These researchers argue in a logical way and base their choices on logic and knowledge. The use of attributes and boundaries, which are leading in the practical perspective on space, are instruments that are based on knowledge. Professionals are often the ones that create and produce public spaces in reality, using these sort of instruments. Researchers in the social perspective that focus on social aspects of place, do focus more on the experience of people and how this shapes place. Therefore they may be scaled under the perspective ‘representational space’, because this perspective also focusses on the experiences, meanings and associations of people. The mismatch that exists in real life between the professionals and the residents, does also exist in academic research, where researchers in the practical perspective focus on different angles of place and reality than researchers in the social perspective. Holloway & Hubbard (2001) experienced a similar mismatch in defining nature. They argue that nature is seen in science as a combination of natural elements in a physical reality. However, nature can also be seen from a human perspective as consisting of socially constructed ideas. These socially constructed ideas are very important in understanding the relationship of humans with the physical environment (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). When projecting this mismatch on the different perspectives of the neighbourhood, it shows that the experiences of residents may also be very important for understanding how neighbourhoods are seen, used and how they must be planned by professionals. “There is perhaps in all of this a human desire for order and knowability, but also an intense recognition that behind any impression of order lurks an unknowable confusion (...)” (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 137). This confusion consists of experiences and socially constructed ideas.

## **2.5 My neighbourhood is my identity**

To shift the focus from the dominant perspective of professionals to the 'representational space' of residents, the focus of the following section will be on understanding how residents experience their neighbourhood. It first is important to recognize that places are part of people and that people and place cannot be seen independent of each other (Rivlin, 1982). As earlier explained, a certain place can be very special for individuals because of the meaning they attach to it (Tuan, 1975; Vanclay, 2008). These meanings are created because of certain experiences and associations people have with that specific place (Rivlin, 1982; Vanclay, 2008). Living longer in a specific place means having more time to develop personal experiences that can be attached to the place of residence (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). Every individual has its own experiences with a specific place so multiple meanings and realities are created for the same place, as is amplified in paragraph 2.2.1 with Lefebvre's perspectives (Tuan, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Vanclay, 2008). Place is socially constructed based on the meaning people attached to it. If something changes in a place and this affects a person, it may result in a change in that person's attachment to the specific place, in a positive or negative way (Vanclay, 2008).

The meaning of a place is often seen as a reflection of the identity of the self (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). Proshansky et al. (1983) call this reflection of the identity in relation to place 'place identity'. This term can be understood by starting with people having ideas about the world they live in. They identify themselves by being part of a belief-, value- or perception system. The belief system helps a person to understand what is appropriate or not, which leads to determining important norms and values. The systems people have are related to a certain place or context. The place has become a significant part of the cognitive system of that person. The experiences one has in a place arouses new feelings, beliefs and attitudes towards that place. This is how a place identity is created. Norms and values are part of someone's identity, and the identity is related to a specific context or place (Proshansky et al., 1983). A place identity is thus determined by how much that person's identity is based on and rooted in a specific place by means of their created cognitive system (Vanclay, 2008).

Place identity seems to be a very abstract concept that contains experiences, thoughts, ideas, values and associations that differ per individual. Cuba & Hummon (1993) and Jorgensen & Stedman (2001) used statements as "I feel at home in this specific location", "I can really be myself in this specific location", "this location is a reflection of me as a person" and "I belong in this specific location" to make sense of the abstract definition.

Researching the neighbourhood as scale for place identity makes sense, because it is an important level on which people identify with place. This is because experiencing place develops strongly in childhood (Rivlin, 1987), and the neighbourhood in particular is for children a large area to develop

their social contacts and relationships. They develop their place in and attitude towards the world based on the neighbourhood they live in. The neighbourhood itself has become part of their identity (Rivlin, 1987). Identity creation also develops in later stages of life. Relationships and integration with other residents of a neighbourhood that develop over time, are strongly influencing factors in identifying with the neighbourhood (Rivlin, 1982; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Vanclay, 2008; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016). In fact, it seems to be easier to define yourself in relation with others as being part of a group than to define yourself as individual (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016). Feeling a member of a group determines which value systems you feel comfortable with and thereby which attitude you hold against the world.

Another important influencing factor in the process of identity-making in neighbourhoods, next to relational factors, is that the neighbourhood offers people a home, shelter and basic needs. These basic services help to develop a daily routine and to form a relation with the neighbourhood you live in and its other residents (Rivlin, 1987). The physical environment of the neighbourhood is the basis for where these practical and social factors are linked together (Rivlin, 1982).

## **2.6 Others as identity-makers**

As is mentioned a few sentences before, being part of a group and identifying with a group is very important for identity-making. Place can function to develop connections with other people and as place where you position yourself as part of a lifestyle or group (Bourdieu, 1989). A small distance, relational or physical, between people in a place leads to more interaction and connection and to an increase in common characteristics or a common identity. With a small distance, the chance is higher to become part of a specific lifestyle or group that have common characteristics with you (Bourdieu, 1989). It can be assumed that with a larger relational or physical distance between you and a group, becoming close with this group is of lower chance. Xiao & Van Bavel (2012) argue that the length of the physical distance between certain individuals or groups depend on how this distance is perceived. The physical distance between members of the same group is often perceived and estimated as less physically distant than the distance between an individual and a member of another group, even when the actual physical distance is the same (Xiao & Van Bavel, 2012). This means that the “physical or geographical distance can easily be understood as standing for social distance” (Cornips & De Rooij, 2013). The perceived distance is more important in the connection between groups and in how people experience place than the actual distance in length (Xiao & Van Bavel, 2012). However, the actual distance does play a role in social contact between people. Westlund et al. (2010) support the statement of Bourdieu (1989) that the actual physical distance between people negatively relates to social networks and social connections, which means that a larger actual distance leads to less social networks and connections and that a smaller actual distance leads to more social networks and connections. To

conclude, how large the perceived, actual and social distance is between you and the other person or group determines your position within a group or relationship and it helps you to determine your place identity and your experience of place (Bourdieu, 1989).

As mentioned before, not only the people you positively identify with in your *own* group are important in identity-making, people who are being part of *other* groups are also fairly important in this process (Proshansky et al., 1983). This process of self-identification and meaning creation in relational terms by distinguishing yourself from others is called the process of 'othering'. The process of othering means creating a more negative and large social distance between you and the other to define yourself (Bourdieu, 1989; Dervin, 2016). If you have defined yourself as being part of a group or lifestyle, you often define yourself as 'insider'. The other is seen as an 'outsider' and the relationship between your group and the other is defined as 'us' and 'them' (Jensen, 2011; Dervin, 2016). A certain hierarchy and power is included in the process of othering, because the 'other' group is often seen as inferior (Gieryn, 2000; Jensen, 2011). This is because, when creating an identity, people use comparison techniques to find positive characteristics to define the self by differentiating themselves from negative characteristics of others (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016). This means that othering goes hand in hand with negative classifying and a process of stigmatization (Lister, 2004; Jensen, 2011). According to Tuan (1975, 1990), the experiences of people are in itself always constructive and stigmatising.

The comparison of you with the other is always in a certain context, for example the neighbourhood (Jensen, 2011). The neighbourhood is a place where comparison, othering and exclusion takes place to create identities and to indicate the territory of a group within a neighbourhood (Sibley, 1995; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016; Dervin, 2016). Gieryn (2000) argues that "when people think of neighborhoods, they do not think of physical material as infrastructure or housing, they think of a 'sort' of people that lives there". This sentence shows that people use stereotypes to understand and to define neighbourhoods. For the process of identification and for understanding place, people of one neighbourhood compare themselves with people from other neighbourhoods. An important notion is that people compare themselves with people from neighbourhoods that they define as being relevant to compare with (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016).

### **3. Methodology**

Both perspectives on the neighbourhood discussed above are useful to understand the process of meaning creation and place making in neighbourhoods. Therefore, both will be used in the analysis of neighbourhoods in Enschede. The practical way is used to discover the socio-spatial composition and structure of neighbourhoods in Enschede, which is done by use of a cluster analysis (see chapter 3.2).

This socio-spatial structure is the foundation for determining a suitable location for executing the empirical research. A location where different kind of neighbourhoods lay next to each other, seems suitable for this research. A cluster analysis seems an appropriate method for finding this location, because it determines natural groups in of all the neighbourhoods in Enschede. By visualising the groups on a map to find the spatial structure, a suitable location can be determined. The cluster analysis determines the natural groups on the basis of similar socio-spatial characteristics, which are the attributes that are determined by Galster (2001). The practical perspective is, next to determining the structure and location for empirical research, also useful for understanding the spatial context of the residents of Enschede, because it will be assumed that the residents are familiar with the neighbourhood boundaries and classification that the municipality of Enschede operates. Therefore, they might already think practically and use this classification of neighbourhoods for themselves. This shows the power difference mentioned in paragraph 2.1.1 between professionals as dominant group and residents as recessive group. Professionals have the power to make a place and this might lead to a change in the perspective of residents who start to incorporate the ideas of planners as their new reality or perspective. In the empirical phase of the research, conducted on the practically determined location, the social perspective will be used. The use of this perspective might show if the residents indeed use the classification and boundaries the municipality operates, and it shows how the practical and social perspectives relate to each other in this context. The focus of the social perspective is on exploring how people classify and interpret their neighbourhood and how they experience it in contrast with other neighbourhoods. It will further be used to understand the process of othering and place identity among the residents of Enschede.

### **3.1 Study area: Enschede**

As has become clear in the introduction, Enschede is chosen as reasonable study area for this research because of the middle-large city character and its variation in neighbourhoods. Enschede namely consists of 10 large districts, covering 71 smaller and varying neighbourhoods in total. A table with names and numbers of the districts and neighbourhoods is added in appendix 1.

The city counted 158.140 inhabitants in 2017 and is thereby the largest city of the province, bigger than the capital city Zwolle (CBS, 2018). The city is located in the eastern part of the Netherlands in the province of Overijssel, near the Dutch-German border. Enschede is mostly known in the Netherlands because of its history in the textile industry and the technical University of Twente. To show the variation of residents within Enschede, the city offers a home for over 150 nationalities and 9.756 students in total live in the city centre and in the surrounding neighbourhoods. According to the municipality, Enschede is the largest city for shopping and music within Regio Twente. Furthermore, it is the most innovative and cultural student city within its region (Gemeente Enschede, n.d.).

### **3.2 Exploration of the socio-spatial structure of Enschede using cluster analysis**

To start the empirical phase of this research, the socio-spatial structure of neighbourhoods in Enschede first needs to be determined. As said, the tool used for this is a statistical cluster analysis. The social and locational attributes of Galster (2001) are the input for the cluster analysis in identifying the socio-spatial structure of Enschede. Table 1 in paragraph 2.1 shows the attributes and corresponding variables that are used for this specific research. The variables in table 1 are chosen with the goal to sketch a profile of the neighbourhoods in Enschede. The variables are obtained out of two sources that have data on the 71 neighbourhoods in Enschede, namely the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) and Kennispunt Twente. Per attribute that Galster (2001) uses to define a neighbourhood, two variables are chosen for the analysis (see table 1). The variables that are chosen are based on the researcher's own interpretation of important variables and on the rapport of VROM (2004) about liveability in neighbourhoods. This rapport explores some variables that have influence on the liveability of residents of neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. The variables do also say something about the identity and profile of neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Variables such as age, number of migrants, rental or owner-occupied housing and the urban level are highly determining variables for the profile of neighbourhoods. The urban level is a standard that measures human activities and density based on the number of addresses within a certain area (CBS, n.d.). An area with a high urban level means that the area is urban and dense in human activity and addresses and areas with a low urban level are more rural and not dense in human activity and addresses. For some attributes, the variables are based on the only available data on this neighbourhood scale, such as the variables for the infrastructural attribute. There are no political and sentimental attributes used in the analysis. Political variables, such as political voting rates, are only available on larger scales, but not on the scale of the 71 neighbourhoods and therefore left out of this research. Sentimental variables, such as self-identification with a place by residents, are not at all available.

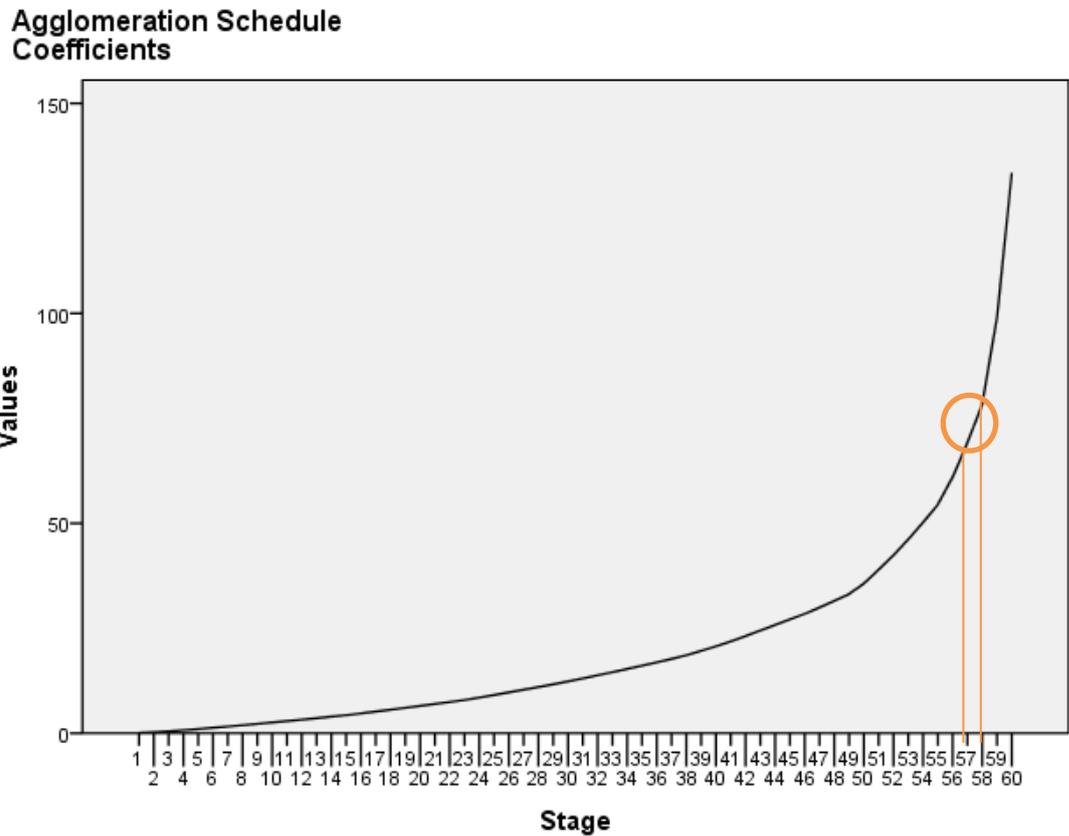
The analysis is conducted in SPSS, with use of two different cluster methods: a hierarchical ward cluster method and a two-step cluster method. First, the hierarchical ward cluster method is executed to find the most optimal number of clusters to work with. A hierarchical ward method uses several steps to create clusters. Every step in the process means that cases with similarities (or dissimilarities with others) will be combined into a cluster. 'Ward' is a practical method for calculating the similarities between two cases and the basis of this calculation is the deviation of the cases from the mean of a certain variable. At the last step of the cluster analysis, only one large cluster will be the result (Wilks, 2011). The best option for the number of clusters is to stop and "find that level of clustering that

maximizes similarity within clusters and minimizing similarity between clusters” (Wilks, 2011, p. 608). This choice is often a subjective interpretation of the data by the researcher itself. Other programs, such as STATA, have built-in statistical options to test how many clusters are most preferable (Rabe-Hesketh & Everitt, 2007). However, STATA is not used because of the inexperience with the program by the researcher.

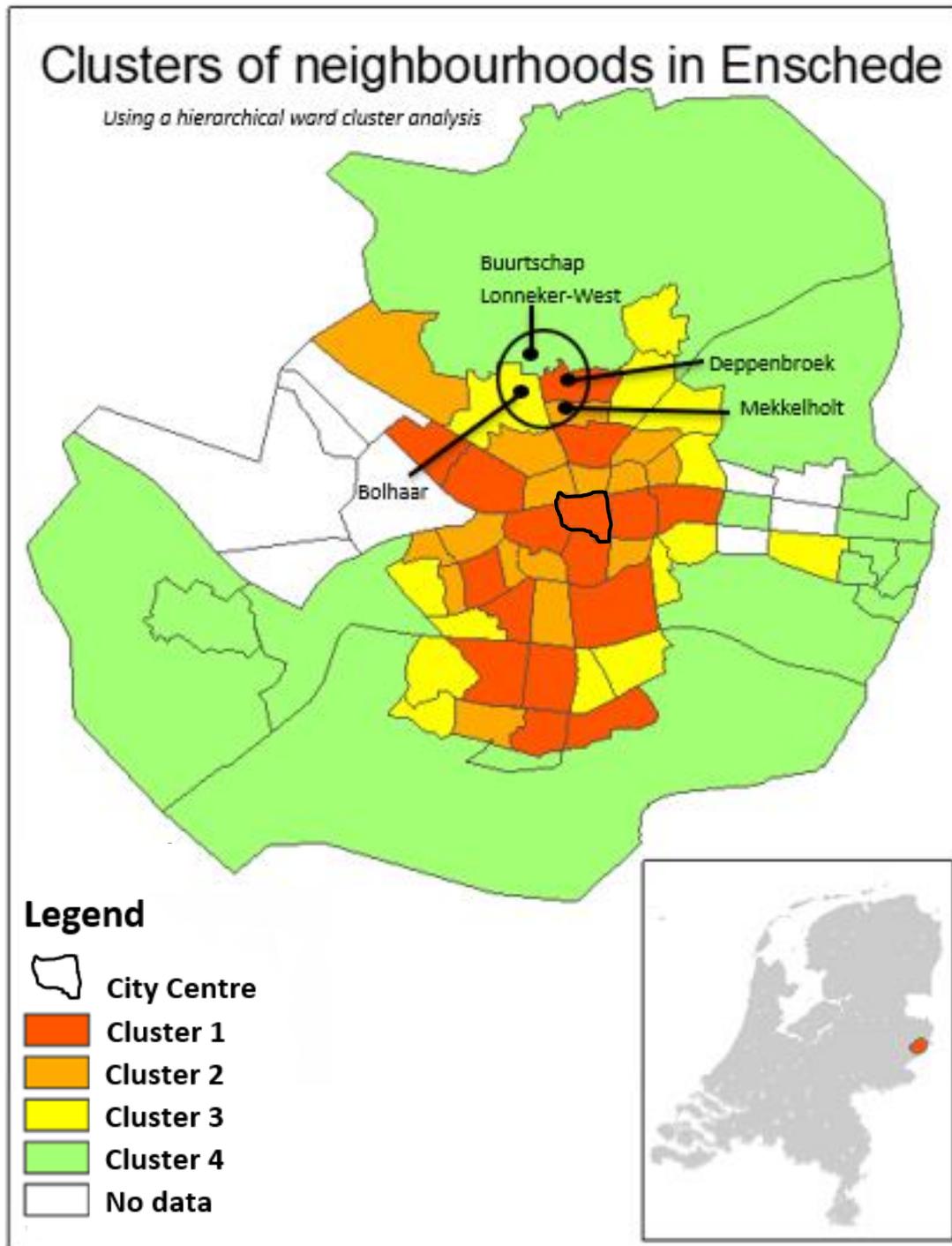
A solution for choosing the most optimal number of clusters in the hierarchical ward method is by making use of the ‘elbow’ method. For this method, the agglomeration coefficient, which shows the variability between clusters at the corresponding stage, is combined into a graph with the actual step or stage of clustering of where the coefficient is in (Ketchen & Shook, 1996; IBM corporation, 2013). The most suitable number of clusters can be read from the graph at the point just before the curve bends and forms an ‘elbow’ structure (Ketchen & Shook, 1996). This is the point in the analysis where clusters that still have to be combined begin to become very different from each other and where further merging of the clusters from this stage seems inconvenient because of these large differences (Ketchen & Shook, 1996). Figure 1 shows the ‘elbow’ diagram of the analysis in this research, made with the hierarchical ward cluster method in SPSS. The stage of the cluster analysis at the point of the sharpest ‘elbow’ curve is between stage 57 and 58 (see figure 1). Stopping at stage 57 means this stage is at the optimal number of clusters before the clusters become too dissimilar from each other. Calculating the optimal number is simply done by taking the number of possible clusters in total (61 neighbourhoods) minus the stopping stage (57). The result is an optimal number of four clusters. The interpretation of this method still is a subjective decision by the researcher because it is interpretable in different ways because multiple bends might be visible in the data (Ketchen & Shook, 1996). This is also the case for this cluster analysis, three bends are visible in figure 1. On the basis of the researcher’s own interpretation and judgement, stopping at four clusters is the best option because of the sharpest bend at this point and because of the practical reason of having not too much clusters to research. The socio-spatial structure resulting from this hierarchical ward method is shown in the map on figure 2.

Next to the hierarchical ward cluster analysis, a two-step cluster analysis is executed. This cluster analysis is used to determine which attributes are most important in dividing the neighbourhoods into clusters and to make a profile per cluster based on these important attributes. Furthermore, this analysis can automatically determine a natural number of clusters in a group of data (Bacher et al., 2004). A two-step analysis uses, as the name already suggests, two steps to determine the division and the number of the clusters. The first step is merging all cases, one by one, into different pre-clusters. The method used for merging the clusters is similar to that of the hierarchical ward method. The difference is that the first step of the two-step cluster analysis does not keep merging until one cluster

is the result. The second step namely calculating which natural number of clusters is the right number to stop (IBM, 2015). Before executing the analysis, all variables are standardized into z-scores to make the variables commensurable (Bacher et al., 2004). The two-step analysis determined a number of two natural clusters in the data. It is chosen to use the outcome of the hierarchical ward method of four clusters to enhance the chance to find a suitable location with different neighbourhood clusters nearby each other for researching othering, stereotyping and place identity processes. Only, the hierarchical ward method does not calculate which variables are most important in determining profiles for the four cluster neighbourhoods. Therefore, the two-step method is repeated with a fixed, and before determined optimal number of four (instead of two) clusters. The socio-spatial structure of neighbourhood in Enschede deriving from the two-step analysis is shown on the map in figure 3.



**Figure 1:** Number of clusters determined with the elbow method.



**Figure 2:** Map of clusters of neighbourhoods in Enschede using the hierarchical ward cluster analysis

# Clusters of neighbourhoods in Enschede

Using a two-step cluster analysis

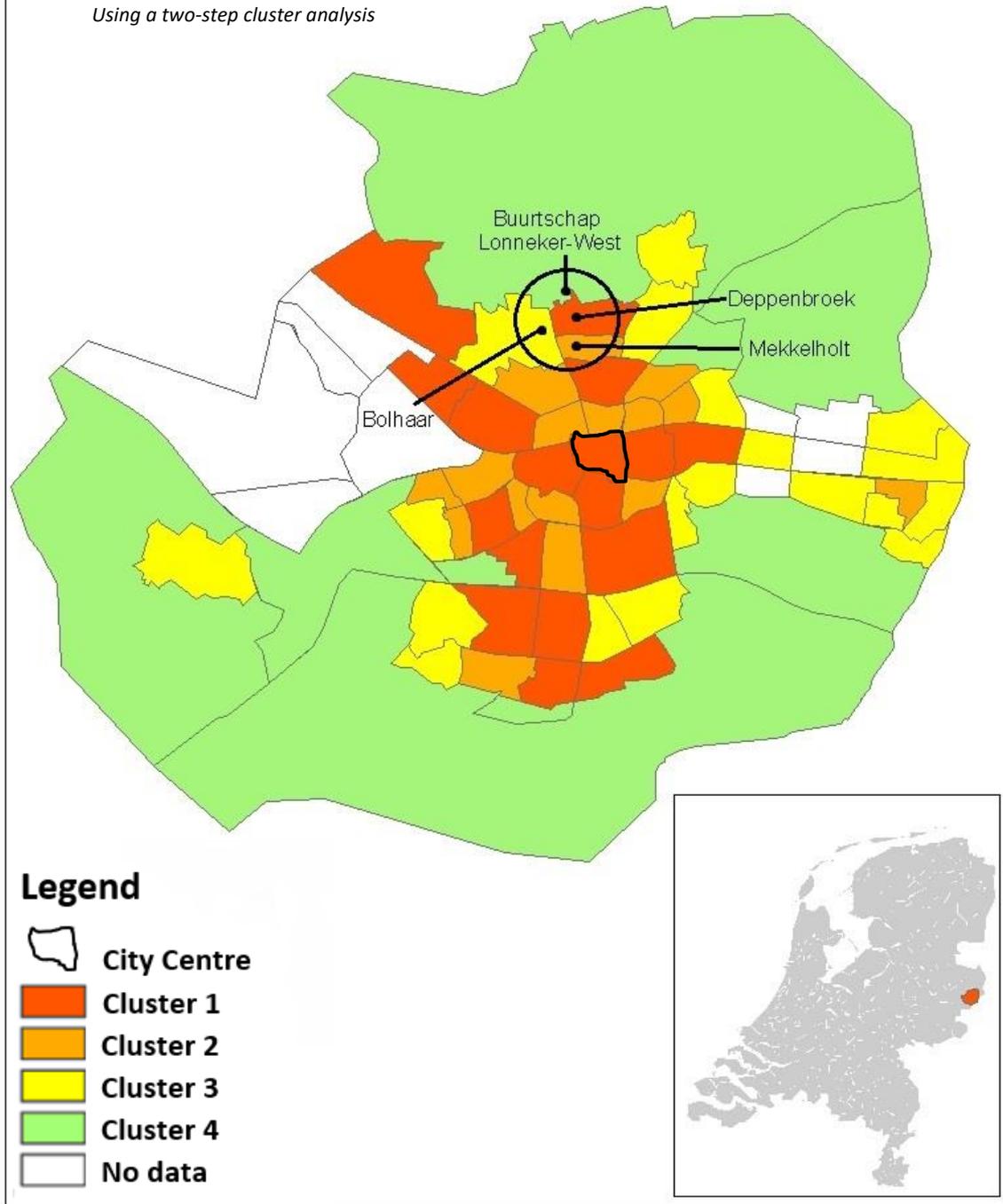


Figure 3: Map of clusters of neighbourhoods in Enschede using the two-step cluster analysis

What can be observed by comparing the socio-spatial structures in figure 2 and figure 3, is that there is a small difference in the division of neighbourhoods in both clusters. Nine neighbourhoods in total are differently divided, whereof especially some neighbourhoods in the eastern part of Enschede diverge. The other 52 neighbourhoods are in both analyses divided in the same cluster. When choosing the area for empirically conducting the research, the eastern part of Enschede will not be chosen because of this difference. The socio-spatial structure that derived from the two-step cluster analysis is from now on taken as basis for the division of the different neighbourhoods in terms of their profiles. It must be mentioned that the cluster analysis only took 61 out of the 71 neighbourhoods for analysis. This is because of the fact that nine neighbourhoods lack data for most of the used variables. These are the nine neighbourhoods with the lowest residents, varying from 15 to 205. The following first neighbourhood that is included in the analysis has 275 residents and has more data available for the variables. The nine neighbourhoods that are not included in a cluster are indicated in the map in figure 2 with the colour white; no data and are written in italic in appendix 1.

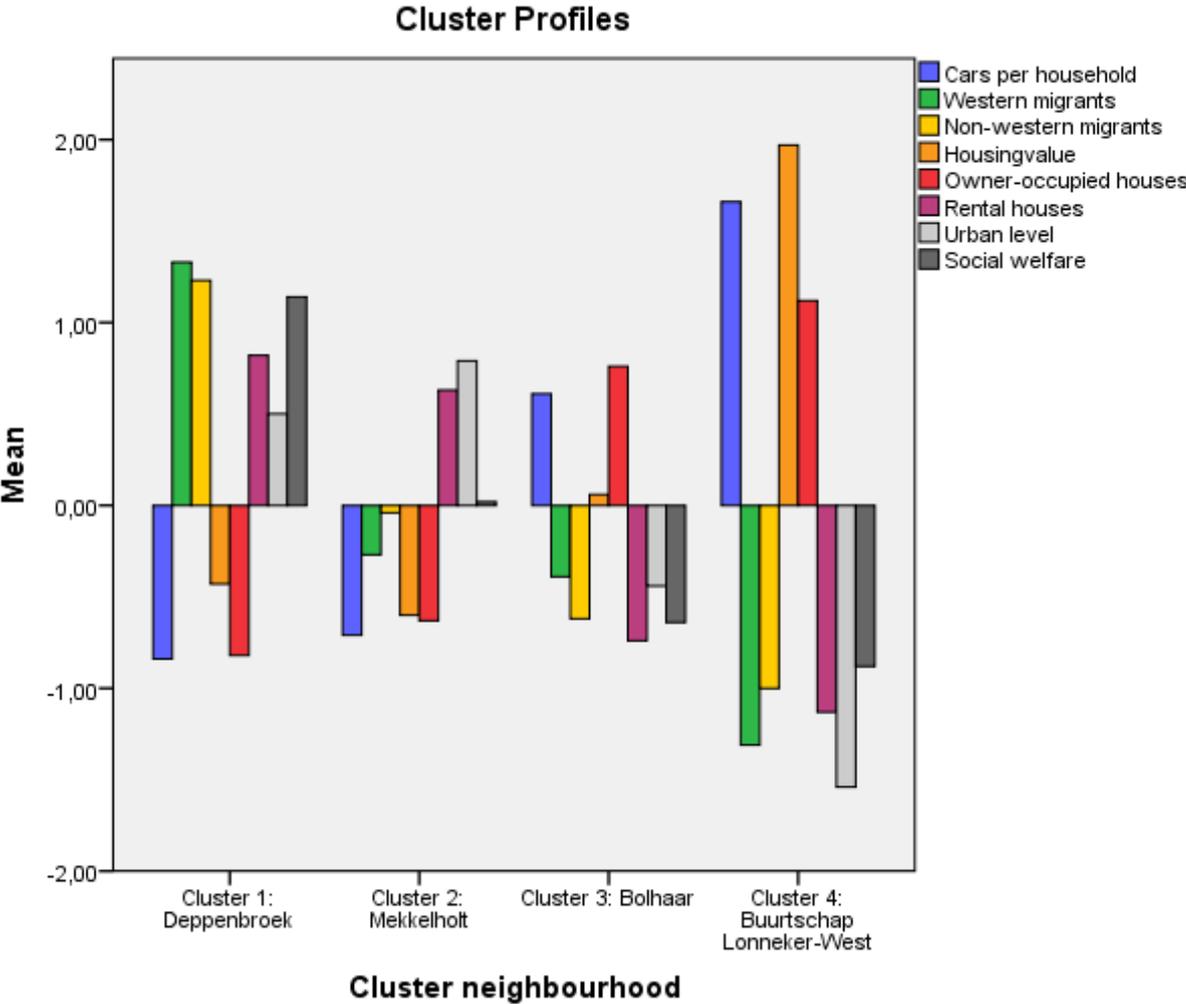
### **3.2.3 Cluster profiles and geographical distribution**

As mentioned earlier, the reason why a two-step analysis is chosen is to find out which attributes and variables are most important in determining the profile of the four clusters. The 18 variables that are shown in table 1, are eventually used to determine the profiles of the neighbourhood clusters. The two-step analysis calculates the importance of these variables in dividing the clusters. Figure 4 shows the profile of the four clusters and the eight (out of 18) most important variables in dividing these four clusters. The legend shows the variables descending from a high importance (cars per household) to a lower importance (social welfare). The variable with the highest importance in the division of the clusters is the number of cars per household, with an importance score of 1,00. This score is a number between 1,00 and 0 and the closer to 1,00, "the less likely the variation for a variable between clusters is due to chance and more likely due to some underlying difference" (IBM, 2012, p. 83). Social welfare has an importance score of 0,53. Variables with an importance score lower than 0,5 are not included in the graph because their influence on the division of clusters too much based on chance.

The figure helps to interpret the profile per cluster. Cluster 1 has for example high scores in number of migrants, rental houses, urban level and social welfare, and low in cars per household, housing value and owner-occupied houses. Cluster 4 has on the other hand the highest score in number of cars per household, housing values and owner-occupied houses. The neighbourhood scores low on the other variables such as migrants and social welfare.

Making this interpretation a bit more concrete on the basis of these scores, it might be said that the neighbourhoods in cluster 1 can be profiled as a working-class neighbourhood with a high amount of migrants and residents in a lower social-class. Cluster 2 are also working-class neighbourhoods in a

lower social class, only without a high migrant level and with a high urban level. The neighbourhoods in cluster 3 are spacious (higher) middle-class neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods in cluster 4 are rural and villa neighbourhoods. The spacious and rural character of the last two clusters is also visible on the map in figure 3, where especially the cluster 4 neighbourhoods are large and located on the edges of the city as a whole. The first-sub question about which kind of neighbourhoods are visible in Enschede is now answered with help of this analysis. In chapter 4, the profiles determined by the cluster analysis will be compared to how the participants experience the neighbourhood profiles.



**Figure 4:** Cluster profiles

The geographical and socio-spatial structure of the neighbourhood clusters in Enschede is shown on the maps in figure 2 and 3. In the light of doing research about othering and stigmatization in neighbourhoods, it seems interesting to find a location where these processes probably take place to a rather high extent. A location with contrasting clusters nearby each other seems a good choice as

location to study these processes empirically. According to the researcher’s own interpretation and based on both maps with the slightly different structure, there are two locations that might be fitting, namely in the north and the south. The final chosen location is shown in figure 2 and 3 by a circle, where the neighbourhood ‘Deppenbroek’ is chosen for cluster 1, ‘Mekkelholt’ for cluster 2, ‘Bolhaar’ for cluster 3 and ‘Buurtschap Lonneker-West’ for cluster 4. The cluster neighbourhoods are located in district ‘Enschede-Noord’. The location is chosen because of the largest variation in the profile of neighbourhoods in this location and because of a more practical reason, namely the chance to find participants by using personal contacts living in this area. The names of the used neighbourhoods and corresponding cluster profiles are shown in table 2.

**Table 2:** Chosen neighbourhood per cluster profile description

Cluster description	Neighbourhood name
1: Working-class neighbourhood with high amount of migrants	Deppenbroek
2: Working class neighbourhood with a high urban level	Mekkelholt
3: Spacious (higher) middle-class neighbourhood	Bolhaar
4: Rural and villa neighbourhood	Buurtschap Lonneker-West

### 3.3 Determining the empirical design of the research

The second phase of the methodology is determining the empirical design by using the socio-spatial structure as input. This empirical research focuses on finding personal data of residents, such as their experiences and perceptions, to understand the third perspective Lefebvre (2001) introduced, the ‘lived space’.

To find this personal information, this research has used interviews (in combination with geographical maps) as qualitative method for collecting this data. Using a qualitative method suits this research because a qualitative method helps to explain underlying personal motivations, experiences, subjective emotions, feelings, perceptions, attitudes and social processes, all related to a specific context or place (Winchester & Rofe, 2016; Clifford et al., 2010), in this case, the neighbourhood.

One of the central issues of qualitative research is about personal and social structures, for example examining what the position of an individual is within a social structure. The second central issue of qualitative research is about the relationship of individuals with place and their environment (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). So, not only for discovering personal perspectives and experiences (the ‘lived space’) is a qualitative method appropriate, it also covers the part of the main research question about how to position yourself against others in a specific context or environment and how place identity is created.

The method used in this research is not intended to produce representative or generalizing results, but it intends to be 'transferable' (Baxter, 2016; Connelly, 2016). Transferability is the extent to which the results of a study are suitable in another context or study with other people by focusing on personal stories and look how these stories fit other settings (Connelly, 2016). Transferability for this research could mean that the results would be comparable with results of the same research but then in another context, for example another city in the Netherlands. It also means that, because of the fact that the results of the interviews fit theory that originates from research in different contexts, the results of this research are transferable, meaning that the outcome of this research is more or less applicable in general.

### **3.3.2 Interviews**

The specific method used in trying to elucidate personal feelings, experiences, subjective emotions, motivations and attitudes in an informal way to find the resident's 'lived space' in relation with the neighbourhood as context, are interviews (Clifford et al., 2010; Longhurst, 2010; Dunn, 2016). The goal of the interviews was to have an open conversation about the participant's personal experiences in relation to the topic. Using interviews has helped to discover which social structures and personal experiences are present in neighbourhoods in Enschede, because what the participants said and how they talked about specific subjects explains largely how the social structure plays a role in their experiences (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). The social structures between residents in some neighbourhoods became clear when talking with the participants about 'other' people in their neighbourhoods.

For the interviews, it is important that the power relation between researcher and participant feels appropriate, so that the participants feel comfortable to talk and speak freely (Goss & Leinbach, 1996). I personally experienced the setting and the ambiance during the interview as pleasant and comfortable for, in the first place, the participant (Longhurst, 2010, Cameron, 2016). 16 interviews were held in total, with four interviews per cluster neighbourhood. All participants were given the opportunity to choose where to hold the interviews, and all participants choose to hold them at their own home. The interviews were executed in a semi-structured manner. In this manner, a set of questions is predetermined but with room left for flexibility and other topics during the interview (Dunn, 2016). The duration of the interviews was between 27 and 54 minutes. The interview guide is added in appendix 2. The interview guide is somewhat based on the statements of Cuba & Hummon (1993) and Jorgensen & Stedman (2001) in their research about place identity.

### **3.3.3 The use of a geographical map**

During the interviews, a map is used to find out what the participants' perceived boundaries are of their neighbourhood by asking the participants to draw a line around what they see as their neighbourhood. Furthermore, the participants were asked about important places and places they visit often. The map has helped to enhance the possibility for the participants to narrate about important places that are meaningful for them in their neighbourhood or in the surrounding neighbourhoods (Boschmann & Cubbon, 2014). This form of data collection is similar to the use of sketch maps. A sketch map is seen as a plain base map of a geographical area that is filled with experiences or representations of people by indicating important locations on the base map. Using sketch maps has led to a visual representation of the meanings and narratives of the participants in relation to their neighbourhood (Boschmann & Cubbon, 2014). The base maps used for the interviews are added in appendix 3. Two examples of sketch maps of two of participants are added in appendix 4. All sketch maps filled with meaning that resulted from the interviews are compared to each other and also to the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhoods. Four composite maps per cluster consisting of the maps of the participants were the result, and these maps are shown and further explained in sub-paragraph 4.1.1.

There are two base maps used in this research. For the neighbourhoods in cluster 1, 2 and 3, the same map containing the three neighbourhoods is used. For cluster 4, another map is used because this cluster covers a large area. When composing the base maps, the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhoods first were included. In order to make it easier for the participants to navigate on the map, it was chosen to zoom in to find a certain level of detail that showed street names. This resulted in two base maps that did not exactly contain the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhoods. This is visible on the composite maps in paragraph 4.1.1. Most of the participants drew their boundaries within the base map. Only a few participants mentioned important locations that lay outside the boundaries of the base map. We discussed these locations verbally and I asked them to indicate it on the edge of the map.

One of the differences between the social and practical perspectives is that the practical perspective determines a location beforehand. Using the two base maps meant that the location in this research also already is determined beforehand. As mentioned above, this influenced the participants, because it forced them to draw the boundaries of their neighbourhood within the specific map I brought. A larger map containing more neighbourhoods or containing all neighbourhoods in Enschede could have made a difference. Yet, because of the focus of this research on the four specific neighbourhoods, it is decided to also focus the map on these neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, the participants were asked to draw a line to indicate their neighbourhood, just after they indicated important places in their neighbourhood. This could have an influence on what they considered as their neighbourhood, and for two participants I am quite sure it influenced their boundaries. It looked like they thought that these important places needed to be within their boundaries, so they drew a circle around the facilities they just mentioned. I learned that in a future research, it might be good to start with the most important subject for your research, which in this case were the defined boundaries.

### **3.4 Target population and participant selection**

The target population consists of the inhabitants of the four cluster neighbourhoods in Enschede that derived from the cluster analysis. The cluster analysis has helped to select the sampling areas. Within this smaller sample area of chosen clusters, participants are selected by means of availability and snowball sampling (Valentine, 2005; 4rd & Bradshaw, 2016; Babbie, 2016). Using participants based on their accessibility is called convenience sampling. The snowball sampling technique is explained by Valentine (2005, p. 117) as “using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else.” As stated in the introduction as reason why Enschede is chosen as study area, I already have a lot of personal contacts. I addressed a large range of different personal and first contacts to find participants. Next to personal contacts, I used social media platforms to find participants. Moreover, I tried to find participants by visiting two community centres and by addressing people on the streets in the neighbourhoods. At last, a poster was placed in the online newsletter of one of the primary schools in the neighbourhoods and on pinboards in supermarkets. The poster is added in appendix 5. The poster was initially made as a request for residents to join in a group conversation, but it eventually helped to find two participants for an interview. The rest of the participants were almost all recruited via the personal contacts.

With the methods of convenience and snowball sampling, researchers must be aware of the risk of ending up with a biased and unilateral participant sample (Babbie, 2016). Therefore, different selection methods were used and different first contacts were addressed to reduce the chance of recruiting participants with the same background or mind-set and to maximize variation in the sample (Valentine, 2005). The personal contacts that were addressed to get the first participants were family, friends and acquaintances of my parents. These first contacts recruited six participants in total by asking colleagues, neighbours and personal contacts. Two participants were recruited via a poster posted on social media by different personal contacts. The snowball method worked in a way that these first eight participants have asked their neighbours, family and friends from their neighbourhood till every neighbourhood cluster ended up with four participants. In total, 16 participants were recruited.

The sample consists of 14 female participants and 2 male participants. The participants that were recruited via the first personal contacts were predominantly female, which probably has had an influence on the number of female participants that were recruited again via these participants. The youngest participant is 24 years old and the oldest participant is 90 years old. The sample is not that varying as was intended in the first place. Despite the fact that different channels were used to find participants, most of the sample still got provided by personal contacts. It seemed hard to find participants by recruiting them on the street, via the community centre or via social media platforms for these neighbourhoods. This might be because of the fact that using personal contacts has the advantage that trust of the participants can be gained more easily because of a mutual contact (Valentine, 2005). However, this resulted in a sample with participants that have probably a similar mind-set. In future research, this could be prevented by taking more time to find participants to gain the trust of the residents or to implement an incentive such as a chance to win a price. A complete overview of the participants per neighbourhood is shown in table 3. Pseudonyms for the participants are used to indicate their gender, but especially to enhance the liveliness and understanding of the quotes used in the analysis.

It must be mentioned that two of the participant officially do not live in the neighbourhood they are interviewed for. The reason why these two, Jannie (82-C2) and Evelien (37-C2), are still chosen for this research is as follows. Jannie (82-C2) has lived her whole life in the cluster 2 neighbourhood. Because of health issues, she had to move to another home. This house is situated in the neighbourhood just below the neighbourhood from cluster 2 (see figure 6 below). She is still used for this neighbourhood because she still feels connected to the neighbourhood of cluster 2, and she still lives nearby. I contacted Evelien (37-C2) via another contact, and she explicitly explained to me that she lives in the neighbourhood of cluster 2. I noticed that, when she told me her address, that she officially does not live within the boundaries of this cluster neighbourhood, but one street beneath them (see figure 6). However, she also feels part of the neighbourhood of cluster 2 and therefore it is chosen to still use her as participant.

**Table 3: Participant information per cluster neighbourhood**

<b>Cluster</b>	<b>Neighbourhood cluster</b>	<b>Participants</b> Gender, age, years of residence	<b>Code for quotes</b> Pseudonym, age-number of cluster
<b>1. Migrant working-class neighbourhood</b>	<b>1. Deppenbroek</b>	Female, 42y, 42	Daniëlle (42-C1)
		Female, 31y, 6	Inge (31-C1)
		Male, 24y, 1	Thijs (24-C1)
		Female, 54y, 51	Sandra (54-C1)
<b>2. Urban working-class neighbourhood</b>	<b>2. Mekkelholt</b>	Female, 82y, 82	Jannie (82-C2)
		Female, 57y, 55	Liesbeth (57-C2)
		Female, 37y, 10	Evelien (37-C2)
		Female, 27y, 25	Marjolein (27-C2)
<b>3. (Higher) middle-class neighbourhood</b>	<b>3. Bolhaar</b>	Female, 55y, 20	José (55-C3)
		Female, 45y, 3	Claudia (45-C3)
		Female, 41y, 3	Femke (41-C3)
		Female, 56y, 10	Marion (56-C3)
<b>4. Rural villa neighbourhood</b>	<b>4. Buurtschap Lonneker-West</b>	Female, 62y, 3	Annet (62-C4)
		Male, 90y, 90	Jan (90-C4)
		Female, 36y, 3	Lauren (36-C4)
		Female, 56y, 3	Paulien (56-C4)

## 3.5 Ethical considerations

### 3.5.1 Informed consent

Part of doing research is considering the ethical issues that research does or might involve. An issue to start with is the concept of informed consent. Informed consent in this research is established by, when getting in touch with the actual participants by personally calling them, explaining the purpose of the research, the length of the interview and what content they could expect so that they could agree with participating in the research on a voluntary basis (Hay, 2010; Babbie, 2016). Before the interviews started, the purpose of the research was repeated and the participants were asked for permission to record the conversation. All participants agreed verbally.

During the interviews, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that sensitive topics might pass, for example when talking about stereotyping subjects or othering. Therefore, the researcher must always respect the feelings of the participant and must always pay attention to doing possible physical harm (Dowling, 2016; Babbie, 2016). One of the subjects that has emerged during some interviews and that I approached with caution and respect is the firework disaster that took place in 2000 in Enschede. The centre of the explosions were in two of the specific neighbourhoods chosen for this research and causes enormous harm. To act cautious, I tried to only talk about this subject when the participant initiated it. Sometimes I started talking about the disaster, relying on my intuition that it was an appropriate subject to talk about. In both cases, I carefully weighted with words to use and how to phrase my sentences.

When the participants agreed on participating in the research, I explained that their identity remains anonymous for others. At the end of the interview I explained to the participants that the research is confidential. This means that the participants are anonymous for readers when the research is published. In this research, no personal information (other than the age and the neighbourhood) is given and the participants are indicated with pseudonyms.

### **3.5.2 Positionality and reflexivity**

As researcher, I have a certain connection with the subject due to my background in Geography and because of being a resident of Enschede. Moreover, I have a certain position in relation with the participant, namely me as being a researcher and student with pre-knowledge about the subject and the participant as being a researched object without pre-knowledge. So, my position or positionality as researcher involves my identity, demographic characteristics and the power or status of the researcher in relation with the participants (Rose, 1997). The positionality of a researcher is already determined by choice of method, where qualitative researchers are often interested in deep insights and understandings (Winchester & Rofe, 2016), which shows that I act and write from standards and interests from this point of view. Being aware of my positionality as researcher might help in being more objective, because I try to keep in mind that my interpretations are subjective in origin (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). To diminish the influence of my background as resident of Enschede during the interviews, I tried to only talk about my own experiences after the interview was finished. This sometimes produced some interesting thoughts of the participants after recording, and some of these are also used for the analysis. When transcribing the interviews, I noticed that when I understand or recognized something the participant said because of my background as resident, I agreed or encouraged his or her thoughts. This sometimes led to the participant not finishing his or her sentences because I gave the impression that I understood it. Despite this sort of steering behaviour, I noticed that it also added a positive and mutual trust and encouragement for the participant to feel free in

saying everything what was on their minds. During the data analysis, the subjective interpretations of me as researcher are diminished by using a second analyser who is asked to critically evaluate the analysis and conclusions I wrote about the data. This second analyser is a family member without specific knowledge about the topic.

### **3.6 Data analysis process**

The analysis of the data starts with transcribing the recorded interviews. The interviews were held in Dutch so the transcripts are also written in Dutch. To interpret the text that derived from the transcripts and to make sense of the words, the text is coded. Coding is a technique used for analysing and organising data by finding categories and patterns and with the goal to systematically transform plain words into meaning (Cope, 2010; Saldaña, 2013). The transcripts are coded in the software program ATLAS.ti. In practice, coding the transcripts means assigning a word or short sentence to a piece of text which summarizes or captures the essence of what is actually said in that piece of text (Saldaña, 2013). The first four transcripts are coded by means of an open-coding method using descriptive codes, with the intention to start coding with an open-mind (Strauss, 1987; Cope, 2010; Saldaña, 2013). The pieces of texts of these four transcripts are coded by use of a splitting technique, which means giving multiple codes to a piece of text instead of only one code. This technique is used to enhance the accuracy of the analysis by looking from sentence to sentence in an inductive way (Saldaña, 2013). After some overlapping codes or patterns were found in the first four transcripts, I used these patterns for coding the following 12 transcripts. These 12 transcripts were coded using a combination of a splitting and lumping technique. Lumping means that the codes that derived from the first four transcripts were (sometimes) used as single or only codes for a piece of text, instead of using multiple codes. This point is when a more analytical approach of the texts started and where codes were changing from descriptive codes to more analytical codes containing more reflection and underlying motives (Cope, 2010). After coding all the interviews, 136 codes were found in total. All 136 codes have been grouped analytically based on connections between the codes to form categories (Cope, 2010; Saldaña, 2013). Some of the codes were already coded as the core category, and some were more coded as a subcategory, which have been grouped into one core category. 14 core categories were determined in total. The next step to fully analyse the data was to find themes out of these categories. The categories were grouped in themes to make it more easy to compare quotes from different interviews about the same theme. During the process of coding and analysing, the codes, categories and themes were constantly recoded and changed to find the 'perfect' analysis result (Strauss, 1987; Cope, 2010; Saldaña, 2013). An example of recoding is, after determining the themes, the re-analysis of quotes in order to find the code or theme that best fits the core of the quote, which sometimes resulted in changing the quote to another theme. After this process, four themes are

determined which are used to explain the core of the interviews and to answer the research questions of this study.

## **4. Results**

The themes that have emerged out of the analysis are: 'the participant's perception of the neighbourhood', 'identity-making by means of others', 'the influence of a changing neighbourhood' and 'meaningful experiences that determine attachment'. All following paragraphs discuss the results of this study in relation to theory and how it relates to the research questions. Quotes are used to illustrate how the different themes can be put into context.

### **4.1 The participant's perception of the neighbourhood**

The first result that needs to be mentioned is that the participants perceive their neighbourhood in a positive way. Except for one, all participants feel happy and at home in their neighbourhood, and they have the feeling that they really belong to their neighbourhood. Cuba & Hummon (1993) and Jorgensen & Stedman (2001) used these kind of feelings as indicator of place identity. Which perspective the participants have in creating these feelings is important in understanding how the place identity of the participants develops. One of the methods used to test which perspective the participants have, is the use of the sketch maps. The perceived boundaries that derive from the sketch maps show how the participants perceive the boundaries of their own neighbourhood and if this fits the boundaries that the municipality draws to divide the neighbourhoods. The second sub-question of this research about what mental framework residents of Enschede have in defining their neighbourhood, can be answered by means of the results of this comparison. Because of the division in perspectives that is visible in science and in practice, it can be said that the participants use different perspectives in defining their neighbourhood and that the differences can be scaled under two overall perspectives. The first one is experiencing and using the neighbourhood in terms of social aspects, which is the focus of Lefebvre's (1991) perspective: 'the lived space'. The second one is experiencing and using the neighbourhood in terms of practical or functional aspects, which is the focus of Lefebvre's (1991) perspective: 'the conceived space'. In what way the participants experience the neighbourhood says something about what are important and meaningful experiences for the development of their place identity.

#### **4.1.1. The social-practical dichotomy is visible among the participants**

The boundaries that the participants draw as their neighbourhood include in general their homes and the surrounding streets around their homes, varying in size. The following four figures show the perceived boundaries of the participants per cluster in comparison with each other and with the official administered boundaries. The first figure (figure 5) shows the perceived boundaries of participants in

cluster 1, the second (figure 6) for cluster 2, the third (figure 7) for cluster 3 and the last (figure 8) for participants in cluster 4. All four figures show that none of the participants use or follows the official administered boundaries of their neighbourhood to draw their own perceived boundaries. This means that the perspective of the dominant group that determine the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhood did not change the participant's perspective on their neighbourhood, as was seen as possible effect of dominant decision making in paragraph 2.3.2.

Besides that the boundaries do not fit the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhoods, the boundaries of all 16 participants do also not correspond with each other. The reason why participants include some places within their boundaries and some places not, differs per participant. The division that is visible in science between researchers that focus on practical aspects and researches that focus on social aspects as is mentioned thorough this article, also is visible among the participants. The participants valuate social and functional aspects of the neighbourhood in a different way. Ten of the participants focus on their neighbourhood by using social aspects and six participants use practical aspects to define their neighbourhood. The difference in valuation and importance of various aspects is a reason why perceived boundaries between the participants differ (Galster, 2001).

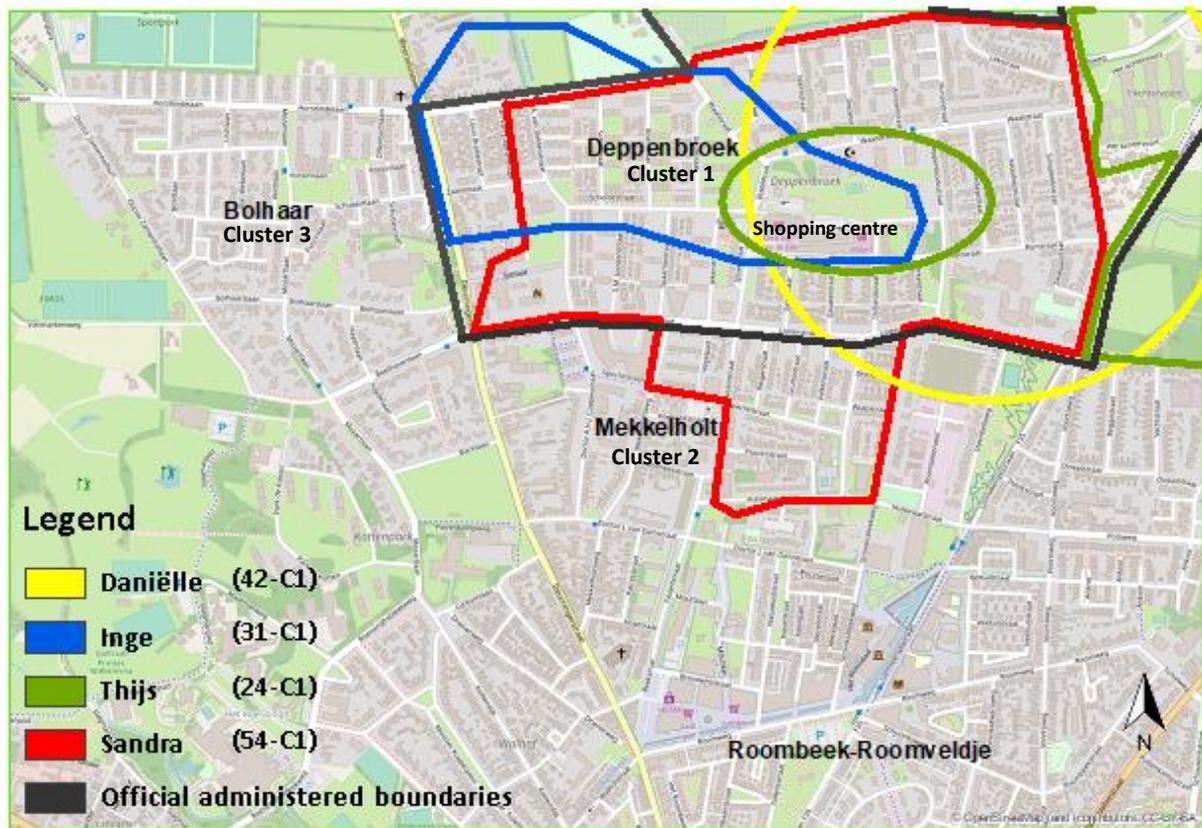


Figure 5: Perceived boundaries per participant from cluster 1, Deppenbroek

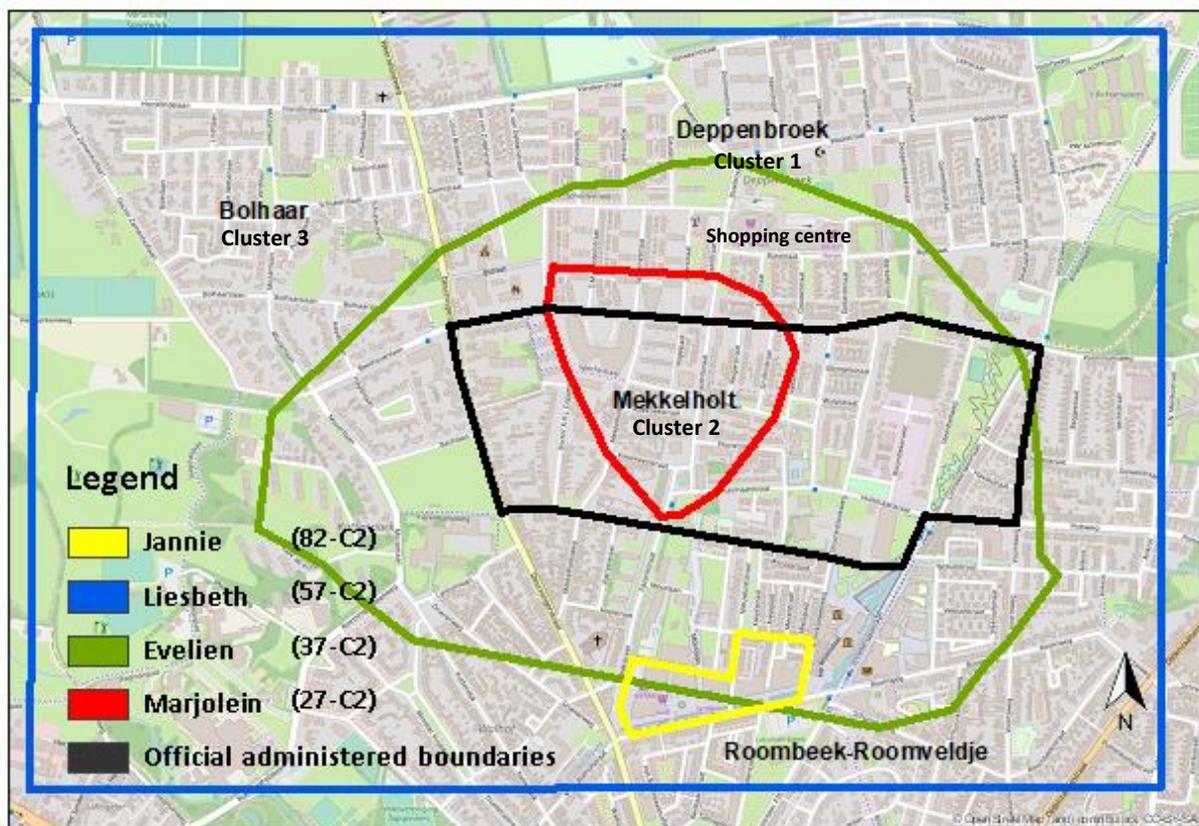


Figure 6: Perceived boundaries per participant from cluster 2, Mekkelholt

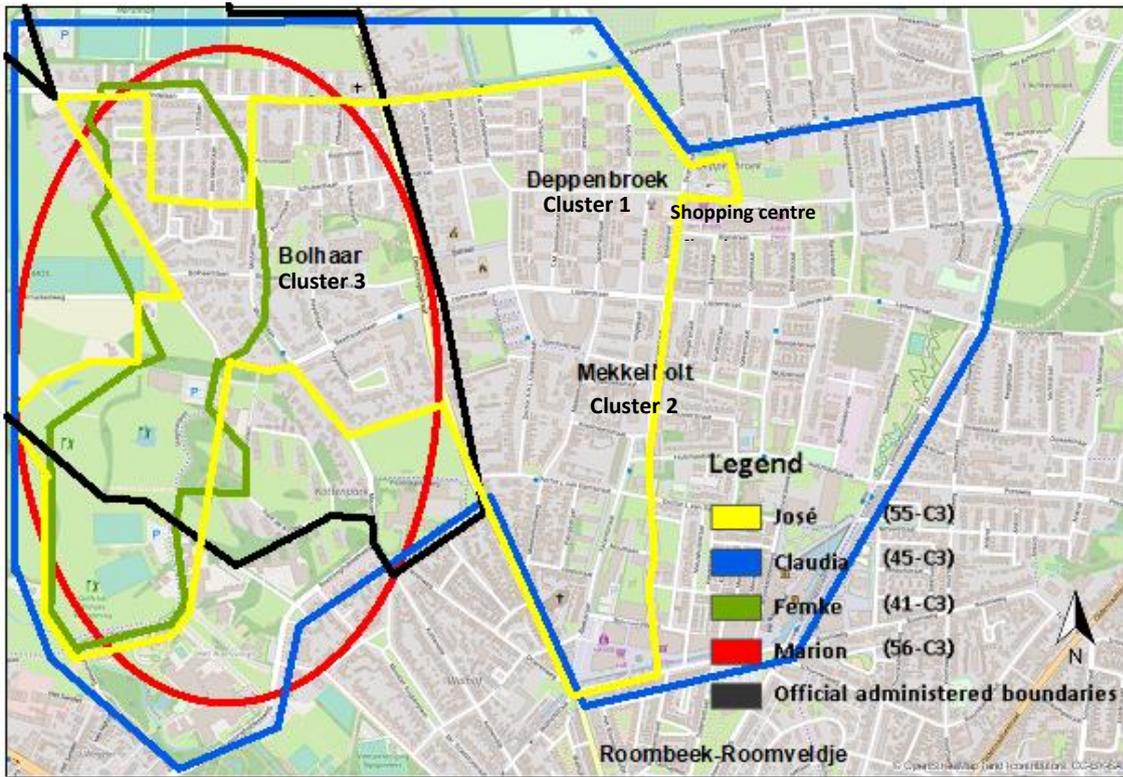


Figure 7: Perceived boundaries per participant from cluster 3, Bolhaar

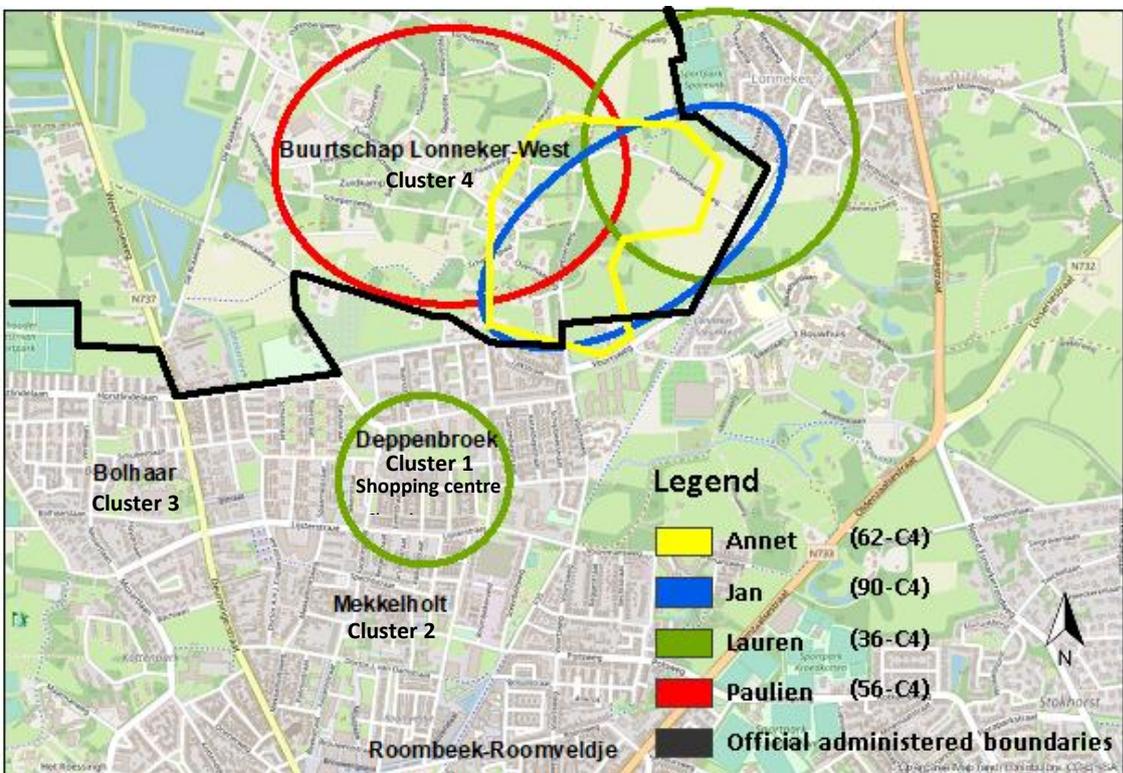


Figure 8: Perceived boundaries per participant from cluster 4, Buurtschap Lonneker-West

Ten of the participants focus on the social aspects of their perceived neighbourhood by involving places they feel connected or engaged to (or not) within their boundaries. This feeling of engagement depends on different factors. The two most often mentioned factors for feeling engaged to a certain place are: the connection between other residents, such as Rivlin (1982) argues, and the connection with the green environment which they use as recreational places. These places are visited often and are therefore seen as familiar. The neighbourhood seems to be a perfect setting for creating meaning based on activities and social interaction (Agnew, 2015), which leads to familiarity and engagement to certain places in the neighbourhood. The following two examples of Sandra (54-C1) and Jannie (82-C2) below show that being engaged to a place in terms of social interaction and familiarity is important in perceiving the boundaries of a place and for giving meaning to a place. The meaning people attach to place are part of a person's place identity (Tuan, 1975; Vanclay, 2008). The engagement with the place itself is based on meanings the participants give based on the social attributes that Galster (2001) has determined, which are the social interactions and the sentimental feelings that these involve. For the ten participants, meanings that derive from social experiences are key in defining their neighbourhood, as is the conclusion in chapter 2.3.3 of the perspective that focuses on social aspects of place. The following quote illustrates the familiarity with places based on social interaction.

*“Well, these are places I sometimes visit [shows them on the map]. And this part is my old neighbourhood, so I feel connected to it. You know, you must see it in that way. Places I am engaged or connected to. And there, I also know enough people there. And my mother lives here. Mina [the dog] also has friends over there and therefore I also visit those parts. And for example this part, I never visit this part and I do not feel connected to it. That's how you must see it, parts I feel engaged to.” (Sandra, 54-C1)*

For Jannie (82-C2), the social interaction with other residents and the familiarity with places changed when she became older. Her perceived neighbourhood is smaller than the neighbourhood of other participants from cluster 2. For her, places that she visits often are also included in her perceived boundaries. Places she does not visit (anymore) are not included. One of the reasons why her neighbourhood became small and why she does not include some places anymore is because of the few social contacts she remained from the past in the neighbourhood. Some of these social contacts have moved or passed away, or these are too immobile to visit her and she is too immobile to visit them. Because she does not have any reasons to visit other places outside her perceived boundaries, she does not feel engaged to these places anymore.

*“My circle is small. I walk from the Lonnekerspoorlaan [street] to the Roomweg [street], along this stream. That way, or sometimes that way. But I walk with the rollator at the moment. So I don’t walk far”. (Jannie, 82-C2).*

In contrast with the previous section, six participants do focus on the practical aspects of their neighbourhood in what they see as their boundaries. These participants often include functional places which they visit frequently and which are, for them, in an appropriate distance. A frequently mentioned functional place is the shopping centre in the neighbourhood Deppenbroek (in cluster 1), which is the only shopping centre in the four neighbourhoods. The six participants used these kind of functional places or locational attributes to determine their boundaries. José (55-C3) for example, draws a line exactly around the places she mentions as being important, which are predominantly facilities such as the shopping centre and the physiotherapist. Using functional attributes to determine perceived boundaries shows that functional and practical aspects are important and meaningful for these participants. They weigh the locational and functional attributes as being of more importance in experiencing their neighbourhood than the social attributes.

#### **4.1.2 Visual and physical boundaries**

Next to the difference in views between all the participants, a difference is found between the four clusters. For most participants in cluster 1 and 2, both working-class neighbourhoods, their perceived boundaries exceed the official administered boundaries of their neighbourhoods and include some places that are officially part of another cluster. For cluster 1, this overlap is with cluster 2 and vice versa. This could be due to the fact that the visual and physical boundaries between cluster 1 and 2 are not that visible. The two neighbourhoods are not divided with natural boundaries such as infrastructure or landscapes. Moreover, the two neighbourhoods are in terms of profile and visual appearance rather similar because both are working-class neighbourhoods.

For six participants from cluster 3 and 4, both spacious neighbourhoods for (higher) middle-class residents, the boundaries do not overlap with parts of other clusters. This could be because both neighbourhoods are more separated from the other neighbourhoods, physically and visually. Neighbourhood cluster 3 is physically separated from the other neighbourhoods by a main street \, and next to the main streets are the both working-class neighbourhoods which are visually different from the neighbourhood in cluster 3, a (higher) middle-class neighbourhood. The neighbourhood in cluster 4 is physically separated between the other neighbourhoods by forest and meadow. Moreover, there is a large visual difference between the villas in this neighbourhood and the buildings of the adjacent neighbourhood clusters 1 and 2. What is also remarkable is that participants in cluster 3 and

4 also include the green surroundings in their boundaries. This is probably because these two neighbourhoods are more positioned in a rural setting with a green environment, what has become clear from the cluster profile analysis and the spatial structure of the neighbourhoods. Participants from cluster 4 have the smallest range to define their neighbourhood and most of participants only include the surroundings of their home and the green environment.

#### **4.1.3 Cluster profiles compared to the perception of the participants**

The cluster analysis already (partly) answered the first sub-question about what kind of neighbourhoods can be identified and classified in Enschede. The results of this analysis are compared to the experience of the cluster neighbourhoods by the participants themselves. The comparison showed that the cluster profiles determined by the cluster analysis can be seen as suitable and correct profiles for the different neighbourhoods. How the participants perceive and experience the neighbourhoods is mostly based on the residents, the feeling and the ambiance of the neighbourhoods. The following section will describe the comparison per cluster neighbourhood.

The cluster 1 neighbourhood (Deppenbroek) is seen as a multicultural neighbourhood. According to the participants, the residents of this cluster neighbourhood are mixed and people of different ethnicities with different financial statuses live in the neighbourhood. This shows the distinctive factor of this neighbourhood that also derived from the analysis: the high amount of migrants in a working-class neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood in cluster 2, Mekkelholt, is seen by the participants from this cluster as cosy, colourful and vibrant. Compared to the profile from the cluster analysis, it can be said that it is a bit of a surprise that the neighbourhood feels 'colourful'. By colourful, the participants mean having a lot of different ethnicities that live together. The cluster analysis showed that the amount of migrants is not that high in the neighbourhood, so it was unexpected that the neighbourhood is called colourful, or in other words: multicultural. However, as mentioned in paragraph 4.1.2, there is no sharp boundary between cluster 1 and 2. Cluster 1 is a multicultural neighbourhood, so the image of the participants could be influenced by this. Liesbeth (57-C2) explains the feeling she has with her neighbourhood:

*"There is enough to do. Really cultural activities in Beien [community centre]. And the square next to me [her house], there are delicious food fairs sometimes and I don't know what. A lot of nice things are organized. But, often I do not join it. Or I only walk across the fair. But you notice that it lives here. So, my feeling, it is a very cosy neighbourhood. A bit a feeling of 'this is my thing'. Colourful, cosy."* (Liesbeth, 57-C2).

The majority of the participants from the other cluster neighbourhoods experience cluster 1 and 2 as more or less the same neighbourhood. This could be due to that the cluster 2 neighbourhood is not large and because of the blurry boundary between the cluster 1 and 2 neighbourhoods. The participants from cluster 3 and 4 predominantly talk about Deppenbroek and Mekkelholt as similar and overlapping.

Most of the participants see the neighbourhood in cluster 3 as an expensive neighbourhood, consisting of a high-class population and large houses. This is in line with the profile that derived from the cluster analysis, namely neighbourhoods in cluster 3 being spacious (higher) middle-class neighbourhoods.

The profile of the last cluster can best be described by the kind of people that chose to live in this neighbourhood. The people that live in this neighbourhood deliberately choose to live in a rural area, and they are wealthy enough to build their own homes. The participants see their neighbourhood as an opportunity to build their dream house, in a green and rural environment, nearby the city centre. Loving a rural environment is almost a requirement when you want to live there. It is a certain lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1989). This lifestyle, the new-built expensive homes and the rural environment correspond with the profile that derived from the cluster analysis. The cluster analysis determined cluster 4 as consisting of villa neighbourhoods in a rural environment.

*“It is a beautiful setting. It is a rural area, or at least, if you like rural areas. That needs to be a bit part of your genes. There are also people that do not want to have mud on their shoes and in their homes. They rather live in an apartment building, then the dirt stays in the lift or on the stairs. Those people are there, without question, but not here.” (Jan, 90-C4).*

What is, other than the rural setting and the opportunity to build a self-designed home, very typical for the neighbourhood is the social cohesion between the residents of the neighbourhood. This social cohesion developed because of a tradition from the region ‘Twente’ called ‘Noaberschap’. When you live in this neighbourhood, you may become part of this Noaberschap. The Noaberschap involves having a certain connection with your neighbours. As neighbour, you have the task to keep an eye on others in your neighbourhood, to help them when needed and to celebrate certain festivities together.

## **4.2 Identity-making by means of others**

This chapter helps to answer sub-question three about the role of othering and stereotyping. The role that othering and stereotyping have in positioning oneself against other neighbourhoods in Enschede

is that these processes are used to position oneself against others to identify the self. Making sense of others and of other neighbourhoods or districts, helps in making sense of yourself as person (Bourdieu, 1989; Dervin, 2016). Others are often seen as negative, but they can also be seen as other in a positive way. This chapter first explains the role of the positive influence of others in identity-making and after that the focus is on the negative role of others.

#### **4.2.1 Others as positive factor for identity-making**

The mental framework and the perception of the participants discussed in the paragraph 4.1.1 tells us what they find important in experiencing the neighbourhood. It also tells something about their identity, because experiences and meaning are part of a certain value system or mental framework, and this value system is part of someone's identity (Proshansky et al., 1983). From this research, it became clear that being part of a certain value system is important in the development of the participants' place identity. The majority of the participants speak about norms and values they feel comfortable with and which are typical for a certain geographically based group they feel part of and belong to. This result matches the arguments of Bourdieu (1989), Proshansky et al. (1983) and Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira (2016) about the influence of norms and values on identity and on feeling part of a group.

Some common characteristics are needed to feel at home in a place and for belonging to a certain group that shares these common characteristics and a common identity (Bourdieu, 1989). This common identity could be a determining factor in deciding where to live and where to feel at home. An example of a common identity as determining factor is the situation of Femke (41-C3) and Claudia (45-C3). They specifically chose their cluster 3 neighbourhood because of the political orientation of the residents. They argue that certain norms and values are related to this political direction, and they feel connected with these norms and values. This indicates that they feel at home at a place where they are part of a group they feel a small social distance with and that hold a certain social belief system. Proshansky et al. (1983) and Bourdieu (1989) indeed argue that feeling at home relates to the degree of social distance and to the degree of similarity of the social belief system between individuals of a group. Femke (41-C3) argues:

*"If I had to describe the neighbourhood, I would say it is a left-wing oriented neighbourhood, very strongly. Everybody actively cares about the environment. I find that very important. (...). Let I put it this way: there are multiple places where it is beautiful, quiet and green, but where another population lives. But then was a left-wing oriented neighbourhood of a high importance [in choosing a neighbourhood]. I find that pleasant somehow." (Femke, 41-C3)*

#### **4.2.2 Others as negative factor for identity-making**

While this above quote is an example of identity-making based on a positive connection with others, this process is also often used in a negative context, called 'othering'. Othering in a negative context means that typical norms and values of *others* are seen as arguments to explain that these are *not* part of your identity, and you distinguish yourself from the groups that hold these norms and values (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2016). This othering process is strongly visible among the participants on different levels of meaning and on different levels of scale. The following paragraphs elaborate on the identity-making process by means of others in a negative way, on different levels of meaning and scale.

##### ***Othering on the district level***

The scale the participants themselves brought up as most important in othering processes and identity-making, is the scale of districts. It seems that the participants feel the district Enschede-Zuid as relevant district to compare with. Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira (2016) argue that individuals only use comparison techniques for neighbourhoods or people they see as relevant in this comparison process. The district Enschede-Zuid consists of the neighbourhoods 'Wesselerbrink', 'Helmerhoek', 'Stroinkslanden' and 'het Burning'. The three first neighbourhoods are 15 times mentioned by the participants as neighbourhoods they do not want to live in. This southern district has not a positive image among the participants. There are two important reasons that show why. First of all, a couple of participants mention the distance. Six participants argue that the southern neighbourhoods are far away from everything. The physical distance between the two districts might be a reason for also feeling socially distant from the residents from district Enschede-Zuid, because of a low interaction with these residents, what Bourdieu, (1989) and Westlund et al. (2010) argue as possible reason for a large social distance. Feeling socially distant from the district is also the second important explanation of the othering process with this district. The image the participants have of the neighbourhoods in district Enschede-Zuid and that of its residents is negative. Enschede-Zuid is seen as inferior to district Enschede-Noord because of the other type of people that live there. This is in line with the argument of Gieryn (2000) and Jensen (2011) that othering involves hierarchy and power. They associate the people in the other districts with social problems, such as criminality and poverty. By giving these characteristics to others, the participants automatically reveal that these negative characteristics are not part of their own value system or characteristics, and thereby, not part of their identity. Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira (2016) already explained that comparison techniques are used in othering processes, in positive and negative sense. Thijs (24-C1) explains how he sees the residents of Enschede-Zuid.

*“If I really had to choose, I would say Wesselerbrink. A lot of people with problems. No, look, if I have to settle somewhere now, it does not really matter but when I will have children, I would try to avoid those kind of neighbourhoods. The problems it often involves. I do not want to say that it happens by definition, but still.”(Thijs, 24-C1).*

Additionally, Femke argues (41-C3):

*“Wesselerbrink gives me a really unpleasant feeling. The feeling of remote streets that are unpleasant and oppressive. A relatively large amount of high-rise buildings. Intuitively very anonymous, while there is actually quite a green environment, so that is not the problem. But a bit the oppressive feeling of high apartment buildings, the anonymous piece in that. “ (Femke, 41-C3).*

There is a strong feeling of Enschede-Noord versus Enschede-Zuid among the participants. They identify all neighbourhoods in Enschede-Noord as ‘good’ in relation to neighbourhoods from other districts, especially the district of Enschede-Zuid. Therefore, they are almost all attached to Enschede-Noord in general. All neighbourhoods in their own district might be places the participants would feel at home. Daniëlle (42-C1) uses the symbol of the church tower in nearby village Lonneker as landmark to show her attachment to Enschede-Noord. Vanclay (2008) argues that landmarks tell a story about a specific place. Daniëlle (42-C1) uses the landmark of Lonneker to tell the story that Lonneker is rustic, cosy and welcoming. Daniëlle (42-C1) projects this story on her own neighbourhood of where she feels attached to and with that, she imputes that her neighbourhood and her district is also cosy and welcoming.

*“I feel at home here [Enschede-Noord]. Although, I could also live in Stokhorst [neighbourhood nearby district Enschede-Noord], because a lot of family members live there. And maybe a bit more directed to Bolhaar. But no further. I still need to see the church tower in Lonneker [village above district Enschede-Noord] (Daniëlle, 42-C1).*

This story does also count for most of the other participants in cluster 1 and 2 and for two of the participants from cluster 4. The other two participants of cluster 4 did not really mention their attachment to Enschede-Noord in particular, but they mentioned district Enschede-Zuid as places they would not feel at home at. Remarkable is that none of the participants from cluster 3 mentioned their attachment to the district. They do not particularly feel attached to Enschede-Noord, other than the other participants. This could be due to the fact mentioned in chapter 4.1.2 about the visual and geographical boundary between this cluster and the other clusters. These participants are physically

separated from the other clusters, which could also lead to a more social and mental separation, as Westlund et al. (2010) indicate.

***Image issues and othering processes on the neighbourhood level***

A lot of the thoughts about other neighbourhoods are based on the image of the neighbourhood and that of the residents that live in it. The image of the residents is often used by the participants in their perception of other neighbourhoods. Gieryn (2000) indeed argues that neighbourhoods are often described and seen by means of the kind of people that live in that neighbourhood. If the image of the residents is negative, the image of the neighbourhood is also seen as negative.

*“If the image is bad, I think you can get more trouble, from the people who live there. And I do not want to discriminate, but that is true. If you look at Velve [a neighbourhood with a negative image], they are outside in the summer in their shirts holding a beer. Well, those are not my kind of people. Let I put it this way: those are just as good, but I feel no connection to them. Then I would also not move there. (Sandra, 54-C1).*

Only after explicitly asking the participants about their view on the other cluster neighbourhoods, they used othering processes to describe the other cluster neighbourhoods. The participants from cluster 1 and 2 feel quite different from the neighbourhoods in cluster 3 and 4. However, this difference is not based on negative feelings. The participants from cluster 1 and 2 are more looking up to the neighbourhoods in cluster 3 and 4. The participants from cluster 3 and 4 do also not have the kind of negative feelings towards the neighbourhoods from cluster 1 and 2 as they feel towards the neighbourhood in district Enschede-Zuid. They feel a connection to the two other clusters, because they often visit the neighbourhoods for doing groceries or they move through them. However, the majority of the participants from cluster 3 and 4 argue that they do not want to live in the two other neighbourhoods, because of sort of people that live there which they see as lower class residents. The difference in image between the neighbourhoods in cluster 1 and 2 and the neighbourhoods in district Enschede-Zuid experienced by participants from cluster 3 and 4, is that the negative feelings towards the cluster 1 and 2 neighbourhoods are not that strong in comparison with the negative feelings towards district Enschede-Zuid. This is because they also have some positive feelings towards the neighbourhoods from cluster 1 and 2 because of the familiarity with these neighbourhoods. The following quote shows the positive and negative feelings of a participant from cluster 3 towards the cluster 1 and 2 neighbourhoods:

*“I find it pleasant that the school [of the children, located in Deppenbroek, cluster 1] is mixed with different nationalities. However, that does not mean I all want them in my neighbourhood. “ (Femke, 41-C3).*

***Image issues and othering processes within the neighbourhood level***

Othering processes based on thoughts about the image of residents are also visible on an even smaller scale, where the participants distinguish themselves from residents that live in ‘bad’ parts of their own neighbourhood. Almost all of the participants (except for Thijs, 24-C1) experience their own part or neighbourhood as decent. They live in the ‘good’ parts with ‘decent’ people. They feel socially distant from other people that have a negative image and which are not part of their group, even if these people officially live in their own neighbourhood. Furthermore, it shows that they *do* feel part of the group that are ‘normal’ or ‘decent’ and that live around them. Some of the participants believe that the degree of decency eventually expresses itself in the neighbourhood in terms of tidiness, because of the behaviour that different degrees of decency involve. It looks like the participants use image of residents as a tool for understanding differences between and within neighbourhoods and the residents within. One participant argues:

*“Well, here in Deppenbroek, it has a sharp contrast with Roombeek [surrounding neighbourhood]. You see that the average income per month is 3000 euros higher in Roombeek, so to speak. Here [in Deppenbroek] are a lot of subsidised rental houses and such, and of course that is less in other neighbourhoods. So, yeah. I notice that here by a lot of things. There are a lot of immigrants, not that that is necessarily wrong, totally not. But people that feel difficulties in society in general live here. And that shows eventually in their behaviour and attitude.” (Thijs, 24-C1).*

The first thing Thijs (24-C1) mentions about the contrast with Roombeek is an example of that othering and image play a role on an even smaller scale than the neighbourhood scale. Roombeek is part of the official neighbourhood Roombeek-Roomveldje. What is remarkable is that the cluster analysis determined that this neighbourhood is scaled under the same cluster as Deppenbroek, cluster 1. However, Roombeek is by the participants seen as a high-class neighbourhood consisting of beautiful new-build houses. This might be because of the fact that Roombeek is famous because of the ‘canal houses’ with a high quality near a bus lane and the expensive part behind this bus lane with large ‘notary’ and ‘design’ buildings, while the parts around this expensive part are more working-class residences as they were before the disaster (VisitTwente, n.d.).

### ***Otherring with multiple levels of meaning***

It seems that the othering process can consist of different levels of meaning. For some participants, the process of othering is experienced on two factors with a different level of meaning. The first level of meaning is othering on a social level that is focused on the specific residents of the neighbourhood. The residents of the neighbourhood in cluster 3 are seen by participants from cluster 1 and 2, as well as participants from cluster 3 itself, as a rich and snooty. These characteristics are seen as negative, and described to its residents. The participants from cluster 1, 2 and 3 do not feel connected to this image and also not to the residents that behave in a snooty way. Some participants from cluster 1 and 2 and three of the participants from cluster 3 explicitly argue that the residents, especially the older ones, sometimes feel a bit elevated in relation to residents of other neighbourhoods. The participants reject this kind of behaviour and they do not embrace it as their own norms and values, which implicitly means that they do not think of themselves as behaving elevated in relation to others.

*“If you talk about Bolhaar, it is that snooty neighbourhood. That was already the thought in the past. I really hate it when people feel elevated. And that was noticeable by the older people, very noticeable. [question: did that ever bother you?]. Eeeuhm.. Well, it is just a real different generation, that did not communicate, or very little. It is if they forget that they also used to be young. I do not like judging and prejudices. I strongly noticed that.” (Marion, 52-C3).*

The second level of meaning is othering on the spatial-structure level that is focused on the general profile of the neighbourhood. General characteristics and the geographical setting of a neighbourhood could in a kind be the basis for how the neighbourhoods are perceived by others. The general characteristic of the neighbourhood in cluster 3 is that it is a unilateral (in terms of people) and rich neighbourhood, whereas the neighbourhoods in cluster 1 and 2 are seen as multicultural consisting of different ethnicities. The people that live in these four neighbourhoods are associated with the general characteristics of the neighbourhoods. This means that seeing a person with another ethnicity than Dutch, this person is associated with the general (multicultural) characteristics of the neighbourhoods in cluster 1 and 2, instead of that of the neighbourhood in cluster 3. This thought indicates that the participants make the shortcut that when seeing a person with another ethnicity, they automatically assume this person belongs to a multicultural neighbourhood. This implies that it is even visible in the appearance of a person if he or she belongs to a certain neighbourhood. Claudia (45-C3) explains this in the following words:

*“I like a multicultural neighbourhood. And I of course miss that in this neighbourhood. Here live a very unilateral kind of people. I still remember that when we bought the house here that that man said: If you look outside here, and you see a foreigner, then he does not belong here. At that time I thought: Oh you just cannot say that! But it is true. Because when you see someone walking here you can directly see if that someone belongs to the neighbourhood. And that part, I notice that I miss that. And luckily the kids see a lot of nationalities on their schools, which I find important. What is not here, is very strongly at Mekkelholt and Deppenbroek.” (Claudia, 45-C3).*

#### **4.2.3 Othering processes by others**

The participants do not only use othering processes themselves, but they sometimes also feel that others use othering processes to define the participants as other. The image of the neighbourhood also seems to be important herein. More than half of the participants sometimes feel that the image of their neighbourhood has influence on how other people see them. The feeling that people use characteristics based on an image to describe you as a person, does not always feels pleasant. It especially does not feels pleasant when you absolutely do not feel that these characteristics are part of your own identity. This may result in that a person that feels in this way, does not feels proud of or attached to the place he or she lives in. This may in turn results in a lower place identity, but this is not necessarily the case for the participants.

An example of the above described process is given by Paulien (56-C4). According to the cluster analysis, cluster 4 is a rural villa neighbourhood. The participants from this cluster are aware of the fact that people see their neighbourhood as such. Paulien (56-C4) thinks that people have a certain image about her neighbourhood, and therefore, about her. When I asked her if the neighbourhood felt part of her identity, she answered with:

*“Well, I have to say that I find it difficult to say to people where I am from, from ‘het Vaneker’. Because they instantly say: Oh, really? Because so much is written about it in newspapers, and not really positive.(...) If it is not necessary, I do not tell that I am from ‘het Vaneker’. [question: what kind of messages are written in the newspapers?]. Yeah, well, almost all negative. People with a lot of money. And I of course realize that these are no houses of 250.000 euros. But people just talk very negatively about it. About the way of building the houses. A lot of prejudices. Like: oh, you live in those big houses over there? Then I think, just behave normal. It does not make me superior or inferior. Just behave normal. (Paulien, 56-C4).*

What is surprising, is that the participants from the other clusters do not see this neighbourhood as how Paulien (56-C4) describes it, or at least, they do not have such images about the neighbourhood

in cluster 4 as they have of the neighbourhood in cluster 3 being snooty. However, maybe due to the short existing of this sub-neighbourhood 'het Vaneker', this image is for now mostly based on the houses and less on the people who live there. This because of the relative short time for people to create an image of the people in such a young neighbourhood.

### **4.3 Influence of a changing neighbourhood**

Despite the fact that the sub-neighbourhood in cluster 4 is young, a lot is already changed (for example the fact that the sub-neighbourhood is created within a large neighbourhood). Through the years, the neighbourhoods are changed in terms of the physical appearance and in social terms. Changes can have a large influence on how people experience a place, where positive or negative changes may lead to a change in a person's place identity (Vanclay, 2008). For most of the participants of the neighbourhood in cluster 1, 2 and 3, the changes have a relative positive influence on their place identity, feeling even more at home because of a change in residents. All participants from cluster 4 experience the same change in a different way.

#### **4.3.1 Changes in cluster 1 and 2**

The changes were the participants in cluster 1 and 2 predominantly talk about are the changes after the firework disaster. The core of the disaster, a firework explosion, was located in neighbourhood of cluster 2 and nearby the neighbourhood of cluster 1. The disaster has destroyed a lot of houses and objects in cluster 1 and 2, with the largest damage in cluster 2. For the participants that already lived in the neighbourhoods (six out of eight) this was a big change for the lives in their neighbourhoods. They explained that after the firework disaster, houses had to be rebuilt and that this has led to both physical and social changes. The physical changes included the rebuilding of the housing becoming neat and good-looking.

Next to this physical change, the disaster led to two types of social changes. The participants mention a change in social cohesion and in the type of residents. The social change in terms of social cohesion was based on a common experience the residents went through together. The social distance between the participants and other residents became smaller because of this common experience. They understand each other better and they also respect each other in another way than before. The experience became part of the identity of the participants and that of other residents, and therefore, identities of residents in the neighbourhood that differed before, are now a bit more the same because of the same experience, according to the participants. If the social distance between people becomes smaller, this often leads to more social interaction and a common identity (Bourdieu, 1989). Sandra (54-C1) describes how she still feels more connected to the people that experienced the disaster with her.

*"I remember that we went to school the day after. The teachers called us like: how are you? And we talked about others also being okay. After that, we went to this soccer club Emos. With everybody, the parents. And then, the people you normally only said hallo to, we hugged each other and we cried because we know they were okay. In that way we fraternized. And I still run into some people, a Turkish dad, I do not even know how his children are named, but we still know each other because of the experience back then. He always asks me how I am, even with his broken Dutch, but still. I notice that that is what is preserved from it." (Sandra, 54-C1)*

The physical changes and corresponding social changes in terms of a change in residents did not only occur because of the disaster. The neighbourhood in cluster 1 and 2 did suffer from image problems and deprivation. Because of this, some parts of the neighbourhoods were renewed and renovated. This phenomenon of neighbourhood renewal was experienced positively by the participants, in terms of feeling closer to the new residents and in terms of a changing image of both the neighbourhood and the participants' identity. Daniëlle (42-C1) shows what this social change entailed:

*"Deppenbroek used to have a bad image. Schipbeekstaat [street in Deppenbroek], an infamous name in Enschede. But with all the new built houses, and the Roombeek [build after disaster], because that also used to be a bit deprived, but now there are expensive houses, it had become better. If you now say 'I am from Deppenbroek' is it not that worse as it was before. I have the feeling that the people who lived in those deprived parts are now all left to the South neighbourhoods". (Daniëlle, 42-C1).*

The participants did feel a large social distance between the people that lived in the deprived neighbourhoods. Now that these parts are renewed, and other people live there, it feels more part of their own neighbourhood again and this changes the place identity in a positive way. The last part of the quote again shows the othering process towards the residents of district Enschede-Zuid, as described in paragraph 4.2.2.

According to Galster's (1986; 2001) theory about externality space, it would mean that the location of the meaningful change of the rebuilt houses would lay in the participants' perceived neighbourhood. However, this is not the case for the participants from cluster 1. These participants did not include the rebuilt houses from the firework disaster in their definition of the neighbourhood. This could be due to the fact that these rebuilt houses are actually located in Mekkelholt, cluster 2. It seems that these participants do not define their neighbourhood on the basis of meaningful changes that take or took place in their perceived neighbourhood. Their perceived neighbourhood is defined as smaller than

were the changes physically took place. However, in their narratives, they did mark these changes as being of influence on them and on their neighbourhood. It might be that the participants in cluster 1 are influenced by these changes because they were also influenced by the firework disaster which makes the result of this disaster important to them, even if the physical changes have not taken place within their perceived boundaries. Furthermore, it might be that the social changes, bringing other residents to the area, is also visible in their neighbourhood while the physical changes are not. People evaluate changes or 'externalities' in a different way, which results in a difference in range of including meaningful and changed locations in their neighbourhood (Galster, 1986; 2001). If the previous assumption about the influence of the physical and social changes is true, the range for physical externalities such as the rebuilt houses, seemed for the participants to be smaller than the range for the social externalities or changes.

#### **4.3.2 Changes in cluster 3**

The change about where participants from cluster 3 predominantly talk about is the change in age and household composition in their neighbourhood. Cluster 3 used to be a neighbourhood with a lot of elderly that already lived for a long time in the neighbourhood. These older-adults are by the participants of cluster 3 associated with the elevated behaviour described in paragraph 4.2.2. The recent trend in the neighbourhood is that more elderly depart and that younger people with more children enter the neighbourhood. Because of the large social distance they feel with the older residents, the participants experience this as a positive change. Therefore the participants feel more at home, which influences their place identity in a positive way.

*"The old people all leave, or they die. All young people take their place. I really like that. Now there is a mix with young and old, and I appreciate that." (Marion, 56-C3).*

#### **4.4.3 Changes in cluster 4**

Participants in cluster 4 also experience social changes. The Noaberschap they are part of is changing. The participant all agree that the traditional Noaberschap is transforming due to a new generation of Noabers. The new people entering the sub-neighbourhood are not part of the Noaberschap. The first four households that entered the neighbourhood did not get included in the Noaberschap, which are (among others) the households of Annet (62-C4) and Paulien (56-C4). Jan (90-C4) regrets the changes that are now taking place in the Noaberschap. He says it is because of a shift in generations and he feels less connection between him and the new Noabers. A lower connection to the residents in a place may lead to a lower place identity (Vanclay, 2008). He talks with nostalgia about the connection between neighbours in the past. However, he understands and accepts that the traditions cannot be pursued. Still, this change is for him very important. He included the houses of the people that are

part of the Noaberschap in his perceived boundaries. So, Jan (90-C4) in particular did make use of changes to draw the boundaries, because these changes are very important for him.

*“Noaberschap is similar to former customs and practices. They are slowly fading away, they are flattened. It used to be considerably solidary. If someone was ill, you did not have to work. Someone else came and took over your responsibilities in your business. (...). But that is different now. Now, the young families, if they are married or not, they both work. If it is economically urgent or not. That is one of the reasons that those customs are changing in form, size and content. But now we talk about 50, 60, 70 years ago. It is a pity, but it is inevitable.” (Jan, 90-C4).*

The three other participants were not that regretful about the changes in the Noaberschap. For them this much of contact and this much of cohesion is just right. They do not feel the need of neighbours that take over the management of their household or business when they feel ill. This is also not that necessary anymore as it was in the past. In the past the Noabers often ran a farm, which is now not the case anymore. The generation the three participants belong to is different from the generation Jan (90-C4) belongs to, and this is a reason for the social distance between Jan (90-C4) and the other participants. However, the three participants would also regret it if this proportion of contact will change into even less contact and cohesion. The difference with Jan (90-C4) is that he already regrets the change that is going on now.

## **4.5 Meaningful experiences that determine attachment**

All the above paragraphs have something to do with meaningful experiences the participants attach to their neighbourhood. How residents define their neighbourhood, how they identify themselves and how they experience change all involve meaningful experiences and events. Also, meaningful experiences are key in attachment to a place (Vanclay, 2008) and the attachment to a place is a factor that strongly determines ‘place identity’ (Tuan, 1975; Vanclay, 2008). For some participants, the attachment to the neighbourhood because of meaningful experiences already started in childhood. For others, the attachment to the neighbourhood became in later stages of life. For these participants, the attachment to the neighbourhood has to do with the intensity of the meaningful experiences and with experiences they already obtained in other places.

### **4.5.1 Attachment to the city of Enschede**

The meaning people attach to places varies from small scales to larger scales (Tuan, 1975; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001) which seems to be also the case for this research. The scales that the participants feel attached to are, from larger to smaller scale: the region ‘Twente’, the city of Enschede, the district Enschede-Noord, the neighbourhood and parts within the neighbourhood. When specifically asking

the participants about which scale they feel most attached to, it seems that the participants feel most attachment with the city of Enschede as scale. This is because of the attachment to the city in terms of having a history in the city. This history and attachment already develops, as Rivlin (1987) argues, in childhood. Being born and raised in a city means that your roots lay in this place. The norms and values and behaviours that are common for residents of a city (Enschede) have become very important for the identity of the participants. They feel a connection to the city because of the meaningful experiences they have and had in the city. Vanclay (2008) calls these meaningful experiences 'personal symbols' and argues that they explain attachment to a certain place. The connection with Enschede is for some of the participants because of social contacts such as family and friends that give a feeling of familiarity, which can be seen as a personal symbol: 'the positive connection with others'. José (55-C3) is born in Groningen, a city in the north of the Netherlands, and feels attached to that city. Despite that she did not talk about Enschede, she really caught the feeling of being attached to a city in the following words:

*"I am born and raised there, most of my family lives there. And also because my husband is born there, and his family lives there too. We started there together when we got married. Our daughter is born there. That is just the place that we are from. So I would type myself as such, belonging there. A sort of blood". (José, 55-C3)*

#### **4.5.2 Attachment in different stages of life**

The reasons for being attached to the city do also apply on the other scales, such as the neighbourhood. When asking about the participants' meaningful experiences with the neighbourhood, the participants that are born in their neighbourhood talk about that their attachment to the neighbourhood already started at a young age because of childhood memories and familiarity with the neighbourhood. People already start experiencing the neighbourhood during their childhood and make memories which are still important for them today (Rivlin, 1987). Cuba & Hummon (1993) argue that the longer a person lives in a neighbourhood, the more time this person has to develop meaningful experiences. Experiences during the lives of the participants have resulted in knowing the people in the neighbourhood, knowing all the places and a lot of family or friends developed over the years are living nearby. For the seven participants that are born in the neighbourhood they still live in, this is the case. Inge (31-C1) narrates:

*"I have spent the largest part of my life in this neighbourhood. My boyfriend is also raised here. My whole life is built here. Here are people I know and that I am familiar with. I think. And also I am familiar with the neighbourhood because I have worked at Albert Heijn [supermarket] from when I was 16. I have everything here." (Inge, 31-C1).*

The supermarket 'Albert Heijn' in this quote is an example of a personal symbol that shows attachment to the neighbourhood.

Next to experiences in childhood, experiences during other stages of life are also important in attachment to the neighbourhood, attachment to the neighbourhood namely develops during a person's life (Rivlin, 1987). The attachment could become stronger (or less strong) during stages of life (Vanclay, 2008) and it could also change in an attachment to other neighbourhoods. The stages that are important for the participants in becoming attached to the neighbourhood are stages where the participants actively choose in going to live somewhere, based on a feeling and connection with the place because of a group of residents that they choose to become part of. The stage in when the participants became (or will become) parents of children is an example of a stage that steers decision making.

Five of the participants only live in their neighbourhood for a relative short amount of time, not longer than three and a half years. These participants do feel very attached to their neighbourhood and do not want to leave. These participants developed meaningful experiences in a relatively short amount of time. The experiences they had in other neighbourhoods do also count as meaningful experiences. These experiences influence the participants in recognizing what they *not* appreciate in neighbourhoods. They deliberately chose to live in their specific neighbourhoods in later stages of life by means of former experiences with other neighbourhoods and the group of residents they chose to belong to. Former experiences can help to appreciate the new neighbourhood even more. Annet (62-C4) argues:

*"Yeah, Roombeek, we lived there for a year. (..) That was a fine neighbourhood. (...) Only, you live on top of each other. It is 'hutje mutje' [high density of houses next to each other], and it is, in my opinion, very stony. Too little nature. (...) If I looked out of the window, I first saw our shed and then the houses behind the shed. And if you looked further, you saw the apartment buildings behind that, some low ones but also the higher ones. You almost did not see the horizon. That is very different from where we live now". (Annet, 62-C4).*

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to study in what way neighbourhoods are experienced and how place identity is created by means of processes of othering. The research question used for exploring this is: *How does the place identity of residents of Enschede (the Netherlands) develop based on the position of their own neighbourhood compared to the position of other neighbourhoods in Enschede?*

Four different neighbourhoods were the setting for this research. To answer the first sub-question of this research (what types of neighbourhoods can be classified in Enschede?) it can be said that the general profile of these neighbourhoods are, according to a statistical analysis *and* to the residents themselves: 1. working-class neighbourhoods consisting of a high amount of migrants, 2. working-class neighbourhoods with a high urban level, 3. spacious (higher) middle-class neighbourhoods and 4. rural villa neighbourhoods.

That the neighbourhood is interpretable in multiple ways has become clear during this research. The division that is present in science in defining the neighbourhood, is also visible among residents. The leading aspects in defining the neighbourhood are practical or social. The answer on sub-question two is that the mental perspective that residents have to make sense of the world around them is not one-sided. Furthermore, this research showed that, the boundaries of the residents in defining their neighbourhood do not correspond with the official administered boundaries of the neighbourhood.

Overall, it can be said that the identity of the residents of Enschede positively relates to the place they live in. This positive relation is established due to four different indicators: the sense of 'feeling at home', the process of identity-making, change, and meaningful experiences that determine attachment to a place. Based on the research of Cuba & Hummon (1993) and Jorgensen & Stedman (2001), it can be concluded that most of the residents of Enschede identify with their neighbourhood because they feel at home and they do have a feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood. This is the first indicator of place identity that shows a positive relation.

The second indicator of place identity, the identity-making processes that takes place on the neighbourhood level, is fairly important in why people feel at home in their neighbourhood. 'Those are (not) my kind of people' can be seen as 'slogan' for explaining the process of othering that happens in the neighbourhood (and beyond, and within). This research supports the arguments of Proskansky et al. (1983), Bourdieu (1989) Jensen (2011), Dervin (2016) and Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira (2016) about that others that are seen as positive, and others that are seen as negative, have an influence on the identity-making process among the residents. Norms and values and the lifestyle of other groups help

the residents of Enschede in developing their own identity. It seems that these othering processes vary in meaning and in scale, where the residents find it most important to compare themselves with residents from other districts of the city. A factor that came up as important for identity-making and othering processes in this research, is the image of residents in certain neighbourhoods. The image of residents could be a tool to distinguish the self from others and to position the own neighbourhood in relation to other neighbourhoods. To answer the third sub-question of this research: the role of othering and stereotyping in positioning the neighbourhood against other neighbourhoods is that of identity-making.

The third indicator of place identity is change. Changes that take place in neighbourhoods are overall experienced by the residents as positive. Especially social changes, such as a shift in residents, are seen as positive when residents experience the newcomers as more similar to them than the former residents. Changes that are seen as positive also have a positive effect on the place identity of a person (Vanclay, 2008). This is because when residents see their neighbourhood as more positive and more fitting to their preferred standards, they feel more connected to their neighbourhood.

Meaningful experiences that determine attachment to a certain place is the last indicator of place identity. This study found that meaningful experiences are created on the basis of different events that occur in different stages of life, which supports the reasoning of Rivlin (1987) about attachment to the neighbourhood. In addition to this, it seems that former experiences in other neighbourhoods are also important in attachment to the new neighbourhood.

All of the indicators that are discussed above, together help to answer the main research question. The answer on the research question is that the position of a resident's own neighbourhood compared to the position of another neighbourhood, is of influence in a way that the positive or negative image of (residents of) other neighbourhoods helps in determining the place identity of the resident, mostly because of othering processes.

The outcome of this study is most of all a confirmation of the general theories and concepts that are used in the conceptual framework of this research. Although the results of this study especially count for residents of neighbourhood in Enschede-Noord, it seems reasonable that these results could be transferable to another context or setting, such as other cities in the Netherlands.

## 5.1 Reflection and recommendations

Concepts as 'the neighbourhood' and 'place identity' are experienced as ambiguous and rather vague, because they consist of experiences and meanings which are hard to interpret and which differ between individuals. This has an influence on the structure and the foundation of this research, also being a bit fuzzy and sometimes multi-interpretable. In the end, the results of this research have contributed to the interpretation of the used concepts, because it gave an insight in that indeed experiences and meanings are concepts that are ambiguous and subjective. In this way, every research about these concepts means that the concepts evolve and that it becomes more and more easy to find a meaningful interpretation. This research has led to a more concrete interpretation of the ambiguous concepts by finding experiences and meanings.

Nonetheless, this research turned out to be a research that most of all confirmed theory. For this research, I used a conservative approach that was led by already existing theory. In future research, I would try to find a research problem that is more complementary or additional to existing research. The focus then would be on challenging myself in finding a surprising or innovative research problem. Examples could be by focusing on another scale than the frequently researched neighbourhood, choosing a little-used research method or by implementing a surprising concept in relation to place identity, for example using economic or health concepts.

To examine the concept of place identity in relation to other neighbourhoods in a more extensive way, more attention could have been given to this concept in the interviews. I asked the participant for example about how they thought about the other surrounding cluster neighbourhoods. However, using more 'to the point' questions may bring a bit more explanation about place identity and the position of their neighbourhood in comparison to the other neighbourhoods. An example of a more to the point question that could be asked after the previous question is: Do you want to live in Mekkelholt (neighbourhood from cluster 3)? These kind of question might be more direct and might elucidate the real feeling people have towards their surrounding neighbourhoods.

When looking at the analysis, it has become clear that the residents of Enschede almost all were more attached to Enschede as city than as there are attached to their specific neighbourhood. Furthermore, the results about othering-processes show that the participants compare themselves more with other districts, such as they did with Enschede-Zuid. Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) and Lewicka (2010) spoke about the bias of the neighbourhood being the 'best' place for a study in place identity. This research resulted in being a confirming research for studies in place identity in neighbourhoods. But, it also

might be interesting to study place identity and othering on a city or district scale, because of the processes that are visible on those scales. As mentioned above, a research on a different scale could be additional to theory instead of this research most of all confirming theory.

Another point of reflection is the change from intending to do focus groups as method to actually using interviews as method. I noticed that the participants sometimes hold some thought back when we talked about stereotyping images of others. However, because of the perceived comfortable setting, most of the participants eventually talked about their honest images of others and that of other neighbourhoods. In a focus group, there could be more restraints for telling what they actual think, because they might feel that they might insult or offend someone. Yet, focus groups have the advantage that people interact with each other and discuss certain subjects (Morgan, 2011), which may lead to other information than expected in the first place. Using focus groups might be interesting as addition next to using interviews in future research. A positive addition of another method in this research is the use of the sketch maps. The sketch maps contributed to the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. The maps were sometimes used to show the context about were the participants talked about.

What also might be interesting for future research, is focusing on the influence of image on the identity-making process of individuals. As is described in the results and the conclusion, image of others, of other neighbourhoods and of the participants themselves are important in how the participants experience and identify themselves. The role of image might be a subject to further research to study in detail.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: table of neighbourhoods and districts in Enschede

<u>Number of district or neighbourhood</u>	<u>Name of district or neighbourhood</u>	<u>Number of cluster</u>
<b>00</b>	<b>00 Wijk Binnensingelgebied</b>	-
1	City	1
2	Lasonder, Zeggelt	4
3	De Laares	4
4	De Bothoven	1
5	Hogeland-Noord	4
6	Getfert	1
7	Veldkamp-Getfert-West	4
8	Horstlanden-Stadsweide	1
9	Boddenkamp	4
<b>01</b>	<b>01 Wijk Hogeland-Velve</b>	-
10	Velde-Lindenhof	1
11	't Wooldrik	2
12	Hogeland-Zuid	2
13	Varvik-Diekman	1
14	Sleutelkamp	2
15	<i>'t Weldink</i>	-
16	<i>De Leuriks</i>	-
<b>02</b>	<b>02 Wijk Boswinkel-Stadsveld</b>	-
17	Cromhoffsbleek-Kotman	4
18	Boswinkel-de Braker	1
19	Pathmos	4
20	Stevenfenne	1
21	Stadsveld-Zuid	4
22	Elferink-Heuwkamp	4
23	Stadsveld-Noord-Bruggert	4
24	't Zwering	2
25	Ruwenbos	2

<b>03</b>	<b>03 Wijk Twekkelerveld-T.H.T</b>	-
26	Tubantia-toekomst	1
27	Twekkelerveld	1
<b>04</b>	<b>04 Wijk Enschede-Noord</b>	-
28	Walhof-Roessingh	4
29	Bolhaar	2
30	Roombeek-Roomveldje	1
31	Mekkelholt	4
32	Deppenbroek	1
33	Voortman-Amelink	2
34	Drienerveld-UT	1
<b>05</b>	<b>05 Wijk Ribbelt-Stokhorst</b>	-
35	Scheurserve	4
36	Ribbelt-Ribbelerbrink	4
37	Park Stokhorst	2
38	Stokhorst	3
<b>06</b>	<b>06 Wijk Enschede-Zuid</b>	-
39	Stroinks Noord-Oost	2
40	Stroinks Zuid	1
41	Stroinks Noord-West	2
42	Wesselerbrink Noord-Oost	1
43	Wesselerbrink Zuid-Oost	1
44	Wesselerbrink Zuid-West	4
45	Wesselerbrink Noord-West	1
46	Helmerhoek Noord	2
47	Helmerhoek Zuid	2
48	Het Brunink	3
<b>07</b>	<b>07 Wijk Bedrijfsterreinen Enschede- West</b>	-
49		
50	<i>Industrie- en havengebied</i>	-
51	<i>Marssteden</i>	-
52	<i>Koekoeksbeekhoek</i>	-
53	<i>Kennispark</i>	-
<b>08</b>	<b>08 Wijk Glanerbrug en omgeving</b>	-

54	Glanerveld	2
55	Bentveld-Bultserve	2
56	Schipholt-Glanermaten	2
57	Eekmaat	4
58	Oikos	2
59	Eilermarke	2
60	<i>De Slank</i>	-
61	<i>Dolphia</i>	-
62	Eekmaat West	2
<b>09</b>	<b>09 Wijk landelijk gebied en kernen</b>	-
63	Dorp Lonneker	2
64	Dorp Boekelo	2
65	Buurtschap Lonneker West	3
66	Noord Esmarke	3
67	Buurtschap Zuid Esmarke	3
68	Buurtschap Broekheurne	3
69	Buurtschap Usselo	3
70	Boekelerveld	3
71	Buurschap Tweekelo	3

## **Appendix 2: interview guide**

### **Defining the neighbourhood: practical or social?**

Kan je op de kaart aangeven met een stift plekken in je buurt waar jij vaak komt en kan je ondertussen vertellen waarom?

Kan je ook plekken aangeven die je belangrijk vindt in je buurt met een andere kleur stift?

Zijn er nog plekken die je mist in je buurt?

Kan je een cirkel trekken en daarmee aangeven wat voor jouw gevoel jouw buurt is?

Wat zijn eisen/dingen waar een buurt volgens jou echt aan moet voldoen?

### **Attachment and identity neighbourhood**

Hoe lang woon je al in je buurt?

A hoe was het om hier op te groeien?

B waar heb je daar voor gewoond?

Waarom ben je in deze buurt gaan wonen?

Hoe zou je je eigen buurt omschrijven? De typische sfeer of de identiteit?

A Voel je je daar prettig bij?

Voel je je thuis in je buurt? Waarom?

Als je aan je buurt denkt, wat voor gevoel roept dat dan op? Hoe komt dat?

Wat is je meest gedenkwaardige ervaring of herinnering aan je buurt? Kan je dat uitleggen?

### **Neighbourhood image**

Wat denk je dat het imago is van je buurt? Bij anderen? Bij eigen bewoners?

Heeft een imago van een wijk ook invloed op of jij er in zou gaan wonen of niet?

### **Place identity & social distance**

Hoe zou je de bewoners van je buurt beschrijven?

Heb je veel contact met andere bewoners? Op welke manier?

Voel je je verbonden met de andere bewoners uit je buurt?

Is het belangrijk voor je dat familie of vrienden in de buurt wonen?

Net heb je bewoners van je buurt omschreven, vind je dat jij als persoon ook bij deze beschrijving past?

Voel je je echt iemand uit ... (naam buurt)? Is de buurt onderdeel van jou als persoon?

### **Othering**

In welke wijk of buurt in Enschede zou je ook wel willen wonen?

A waarom?

B Aantrekkelijk?

C Vergelijken met eigen buurt?

Heb je ook voorbeelden van wijken of buurten waar je echt niet zou willen wonen? Waarom?

Hoe zou je omliggende buurten zoals Mekkelholt, Deppenbroek, Bolhaar, Lonneker west, Roombeek, stokhorst beschrijven? Hoe kijk je naar deze wijken?

### **Externality space**

Is je gevoel over je buurt door de jaren heen wel eens veranderd? Hoe komt dat? Levensfase?

En zijn er ook dingen in je buurt veranderd die invloed hebben gehad op jouw woonplezier?

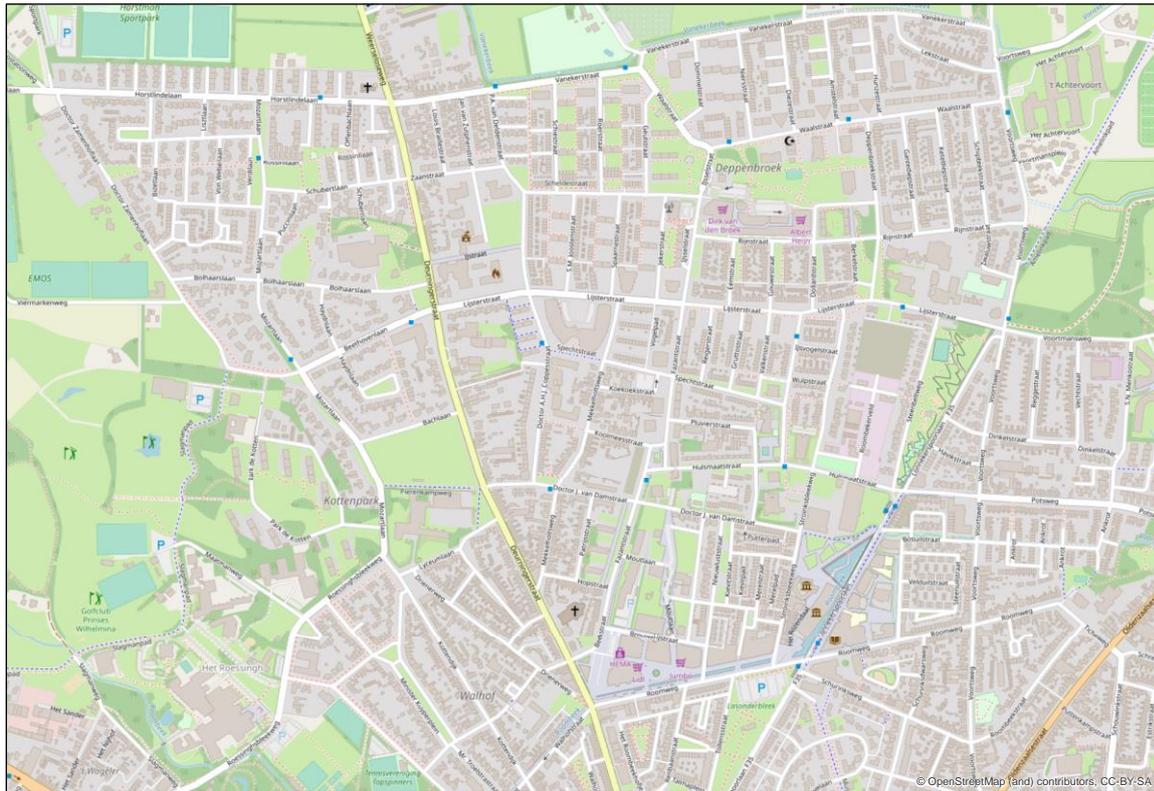
**Closing**

Zou je zeggen dat je je meer verbonden voelt met je buurt of met Enschede als stad, of de regio?

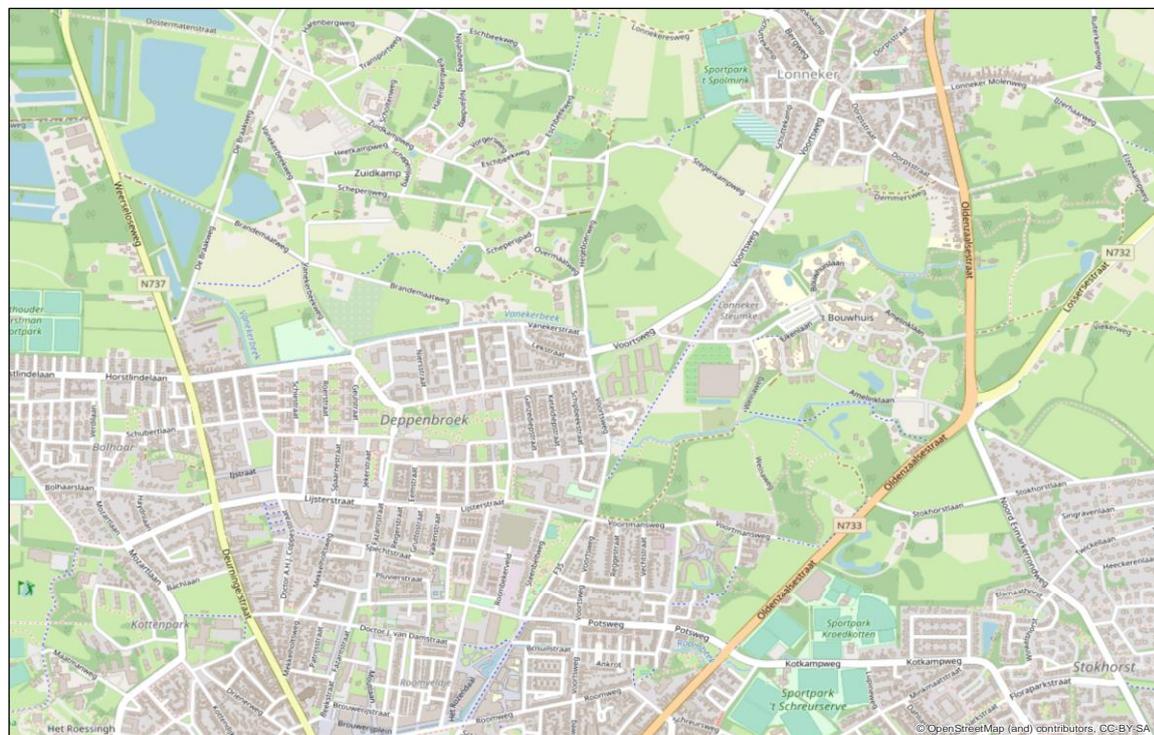
Zijn er nog onderwerpen waar jij het graag over zou willen hebben of denk je dat we nog dingen hebben gemist?

Mag ik nog je leeftijd?

### Appendix 3: base maps used during interviews

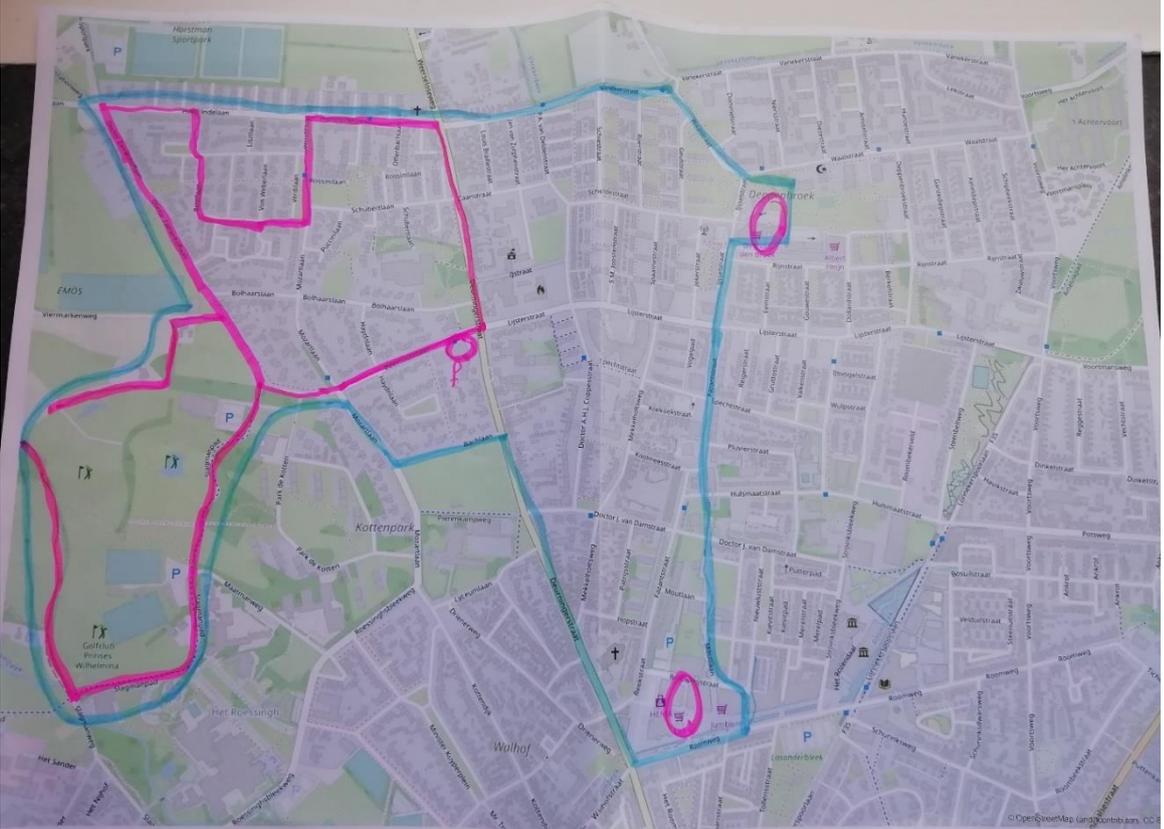
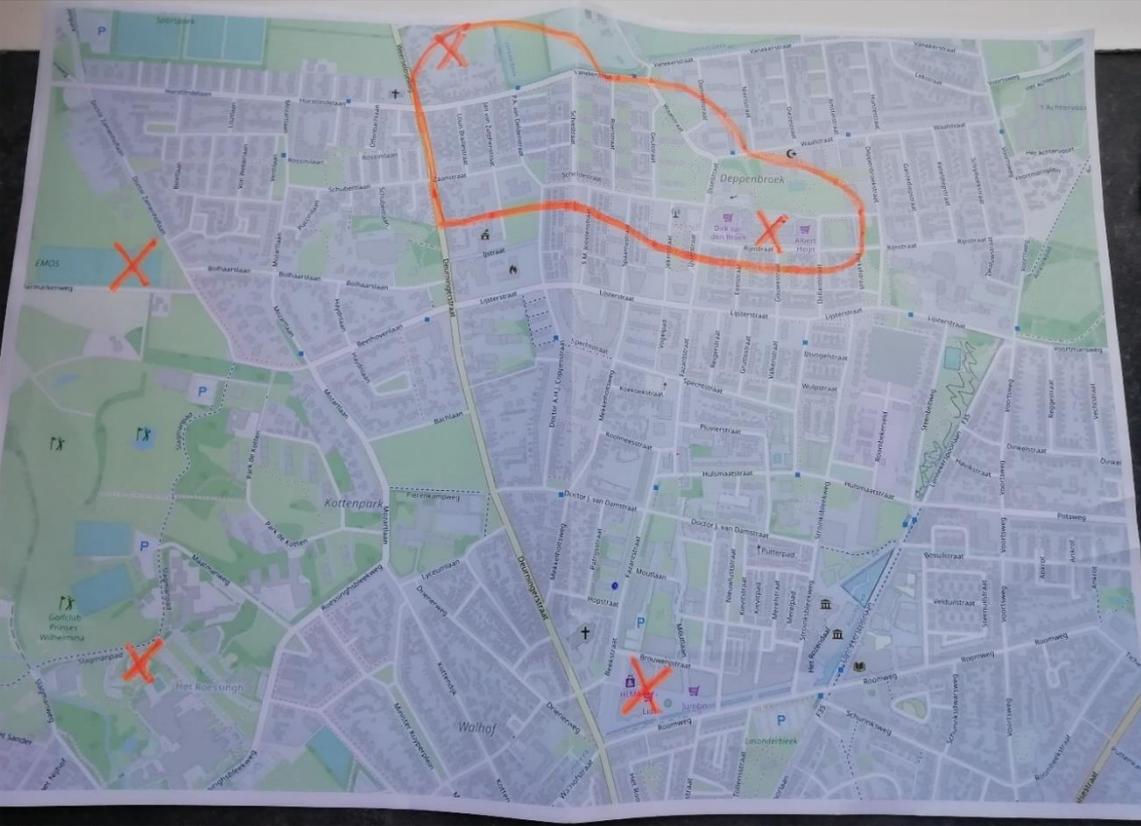


Map used for the interviews with participants from cluster 1, 2 and 3. Printed on A3.



Map used for the interviews with participants from cluster 4. Printed on A3.

Appendix 4: examples of sketch maps



## Appendix 5: poster

# Beste buurtbewoner, doet u mee?



Een groepsgesprek voor bewoners uit Deppenbroek, Mekkelholt, Bolhaar en Lonneker-West over buurten in Enschede.

Onderwerp	Praktische informatie
<p>Ik ben bezig met een onderzoek vanuit de studie Culturele Geografie naar de <u>identiteit en ervaringen</u> van bewoners over hun eigen <u>buurt</u> en over andere buurten in Enschede.</p>	<p>Datum en tijd groepsgesprekken:</p> <p><u>Deppenbroek</u> Dinsdag 2 april, 19:00u</p> <p><u>Mekkelholt</u> Woensdag 3 april, 19:00u</p> <p><u>Bolhaar</u> Donderdag 4 april, 19:00u</p> <p><u>Buurtschap Lonneker-West</u> Woensdag 10 april, 19:00 u</p>
<p>Hiervoor heb ik per buurt 4 tot 6 personen nodig die het leuk vinden om hun ervaringen te delen in een <u>groepsgesprek</u>.</p>	<p>Locatie: volgt</p> <p>Duur: ongeveer 1 tot 1,5 uur</p> <p>Voor koffie, thee en lekkers wordt gezorgd</p>
<p>Lijkt het u <u>leuk</u> om mee te doen en ben u beschikbaar op de genoemde datum van uw buurt? Dan kunt u <u>contact</u> opnemen door te bellen, whatsappen, smsen of te mailen.</p> <p><b>0612076275</b> <b>Rosa_vos@hotmail.com</b></p>	

P.S. Er is ook ruimte voor individuele gesprekken

www.wijk.nl