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Local residents at home in an increasingly global city

How does the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influence the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark?

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Preface

Before you lies the Master's thesis "Local residents at home in an increasingly global city", a study which is based upon twenty-one in-depth interviews with residents of Amsterdam Westerpark. The main theme with which this study is concerned is the potential influence of the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population (i.e. the growing share of foreign residents) on the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents. This thesis is written in order to graduate the Human Geography Master's programme (with a specialisation in Urban Geography) at Utrecht University, for which it forms the final test. I have been working on this thesis from January 2020 to August 2020.

As the skills and knowledge that were required for finalising this thesis were obtained during the various courses in the Human Geography Master, I would sincerely like to thank the master's programme and its staff for the past year. I would especially like to thank my thesis supervisor, Kirsten Visser, for the pleasant, clear and helpful guidance during the past months. Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I have always been able to count on very good and friendly advice. I would also like to thank Irina van Aalst for guiding me in the first stages of the process, and Hannah Roberts as second reader of this thesis.

Furthermore, I wish to thank all of the respondents that contributed to this study by taking part in the in-depth interviews that constitute the empirical part of this study. Finally, I would like to say thanks to my parents, my sister and (especially) my girlfriend Louisa for thinking along and supporting me throughout the past months.

I hope you will enjoy reading this thesis.

Thijs Huiberts
Amsterdam, August 6, 2020

Abstract

Amsterdam is home to a growing population of international residents that live in the city for a limited period of time – such as expats, international students and other groups of (mostly Western) temporary migrants. Although this contemporary population development is rather significant and (local) media outlets frequently report on it, there is a lack of scientific research on how this trend is perceived by the Dutch population of the city. To investigate how long-term Dutch residents perceive possible influences of the growing share of temporary foreign residents on the city and on the way they feel at place, this study poses the following research question: *How does the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influence the place attachment of long-term (>10 years) Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark on both the neighbourhood level and the city level?* In order to answer this question, a comprehensive literature study is executed and 21 in-depth interviews with long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark are conducted. The most important finding of this study is that the increasing internationalisation of the Amsterdam population does not substantially influence the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents of Westerpark. There are, however, large individual differences in how this population trend is perceived among Dutch residents – whereas some love it, others resent it. The vast majority of the Westerpark residents fosters moderately positive opinions towards this trend, as they generally welcome international influences as an added value to the city. However, the same majority of the residents also voices critical notes on several aspects of the internationalisation development – which indicates a certain ambivalence among a large share of the Amsterdammers. Especially the proliferation of the English language, the effects on the housing market, and the rather limited and superficial social contacts with temporary foreign residents are mentioned frequently as downsides of this development that are not appreciated. Overall, however, the majority of the Westerpark residents is all right with the current presence of temporary foreign residents in the city and the neighbourhood. Above all, it does not negatively affect their overarching place attachment or sense of home – with the exception of small share of the residents that is predominantly critical about the development. Finally, this study advices to take the sentiments and opinions of long-term Dutch residents into account when developing policies aimed at attracting (highly skilled) foreign residents to Amsterdam – something which hitherto is largely overlooked.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research topic and context

Amsterdam is flourishing in the globalised era. The city is generally seen as an important global city with an interesting economic climate, and therefore attracts plenty of international companies and highly skilled foreign workers (A.T. Kearney, 2018; Beckers & Boschman, 2019; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). Furthermore, Amsterdam is deemed one of the most attractive cities to live in for Millennials worldwide (Nestpick, 2017). As a result of these favourable developments, Amsterdam is welcoming annually increasing amounts of foreign residents among its inhabitants. In 2017, 38.000 (mostly Western) migrants moved to Amsterdam, and in 2018 this number grew to 43.000 – a trend that is likely to continue (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). Resulting from this development, the share of Western immigrants in Amsterdam's population is increasing from 14,9% in 2010 to 23,0% in 2050 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). A rather large share of this incoming group of migrants can generally be considered as 'expats', international students or other temporary migrants that do not necessarily settle permanently in the city (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). Generally, these incoming foreign residents arrive from 'developed' countries, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, India and France (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). They flock to Amsterdam because of its job opportunities, international atmosphere and attractiveness as a place to live, work or study (Couzy, 2018a; Mercer, 2019; Van Winden, Van Den Berg & Pol, 2007). This present study is particularly interested in the increase in *temporary* migrants in the city, that move to Amsterdam for a limited period of time with various motivations and backgrounds (Brown, 2015; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014).

Amsterdam can thus be considered a 'magnet for highly skilled foreigners', as immigration towards the city (mainly from 'traditional expat countries') is reaching record heights year after year (Couzy, 2018a, 2019a). The arrival of foreign residents benefits the city of Amsterdam in myriad ways. Attracting highly skilled foreign workers is fundamental in fostering and sustaining the knowledge economy and generating wealth (Shachar, 2006; Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016). Furthermore, the increase in (Western) immigrants in Amsterdam ensures population growth (as the Dutch population is declining), boosts the local economy and makes the city more diverse (Couzy, 2018b). For these reasons, a local city councillor argues that "expats are an asset", and several scholars state that Amsterdam should welcome expats as they are beneficial to the city and its economy (AT5, 2017a, 2017b). The attraction of highly skilled foreigners is also actively pursued by governmental policies, as this strengthens the competitive position of Amsterdam and the Netherlands in the global knowledge economy (Groot, Van Gessel & Raspe, 2013; Shachar, 2006). The municipality of Amsterdam is 'rolling out the red carpet' for skilled internationals (Van Weezel, 2019), and not without success: in an international competition for highly skilled workers between cities, Amsterdam seems to be one of the winners.

The increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population is not merely surrounded with positive reporting. Local news station *AT5* notices that while expats arrive in the city, families are leaving (AT5, 2019a). Alderman Ivens recognises this trend and is critical of the 'enormously growing' group of expats and states that "the balance is heading in the wrong direction" (AT5, 2017c). A local scholar observes a 'replacement of the population', causing more diversity in terms of cultural backgrounds but less in terms of socio-economic status – as departing Dutch residents are largely replaced by highly skilled internationals (Couzy, 2019a; Sterling, 2017). One local resident states that he increasingly 'feels like a visitor' in his own neighbourhood (Sterling, 2017), and another local

resident is concerned about the disappearing 'identity' of Amsterdam: "before you know it we are an international city where only the buildings represent the own 'identity'" (Verhoeven, 2019). A recurring concern regarding the internationalisation trend is the expansion of the English language, especially in local shops, bars and restaurants (Emmer, 2018; RTL, 2019; Jensen & Jensen, 2019; Wolthuizen, 2018). Hart van Nederland (2019) describes that "in many Amsterdam stores you will be addressed in English", and AT5 states that in contemporary Amsterdam "you will have to get used to ordering your coffee in English" (2019b). Despite the generally high English proficiency among Dutch residents (Education First, 2019), the anglicisation leads to discontent and confusion among some inhabitants as "not everyone feels comfortable ordering coffee in English" (Couzy, 2019b). Another recurring topic in media outlets is the price-boosting influence of foreign residents on Amsterdam's housing market, which is ought to make it more difficult for 'local' residents to find accommodation in the city (Telegraaf, 2019; AT5, 2017d; NU.nl, 2019).

The current and expected increasing internationalisation of the population of Amsterdam thus elicits a wide range of responses. Whereas many residents welcome this development as it brings cultural diversity and economic welfare (Kneefel, 2019), others – like this local resident in an interview with Reuters – are more critical: "expats go home and leave the city to us" (Sterling, 2017). The context chapter (*page 35*) provides more information on local sentiments surrounding this development. Certainly, there is great difference in how this trend is perceived among local residents and politicians. Also, there are significant differences within the group of temporary foreign residents that arrive in Amsterdam when it comes to income, education, age, occupation, background, duration of stay, motivations and sociocultural integration within the Dutch society – it is a diverse and diffuse population. Despite this diversity on both sides, this present research attempts to shed light on how the internationalisation of the population in general affects the way in which local Dutch residents experience the city and feel at place in it. For this effort, 21 in-depth interviews are conducted with long-term residents of Westerpark, a residential area within Amsterdam.

1.2 Research focus

This present research focuses on the possible influences of the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents (e.g. expats and international students) on the way long-term Dutch inhabitants of Amsterdam experience the city and feel at place in it – in their 'place attachment'. The overview above shows some of the sentiments that live among long-term Dutch residents with regard to the internationalisation of the Amsterdam population. Although many sentiments are positive or neutral, there are also sentiments that reflect concern about the course of this development and the consequences for feeling at place in the city. This indicates that for some residents, the economic advantages of attracting (temporary) foreign residents to the city might be at the expense of the way they feel at place in their city – for instance because of a changing social or linguistic landscape. Although this development might (latently) concern some local inhabitants, the theme is not extensively researched by scholars and policy makers.

The growing group of 'internationals' in Amsterdam consists for a large part of highly skilled Western migrants, such as expats or international students (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). These groups are associated with the 'mobile' class: people who move to a different country for a period of time for purposes of work, education or lifestyle. As they often live in the city impermanently, these residents might not engage thoroughly with getting to know the local culture and manners, learning the Dutch language, or connecting with the local Dutch population – although it should be noted that

this is highly different for different individuals (Fechter, 2007; Nijman, 2007; Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). This is not necessarily problematic, as there are regularly little cultural differences between the Dutch population and the (mostly Western or even European) immigrants. Also, Amsterdam is an internationally oriented city by tradition and the majority of the local population speaks English properly (Kuiken, 2009). However, as the population share of (temporary) foreign residents is increasing and the share of Dutch residents is declining, it is worthwhile to look into the ways in which Dutch residents potentially perceive changes in their living environment, social encounters and in the city's culture, manners and 'identity'.

Amsterdam, just like other cities, has a locally rooted identity and culture which is shaped over the years and is constituted by, among other things, local norms, traditions, amenities, values, language and history (Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011). An outflux of long-term residents and an influx of new residents who are not (yet) familiar with the local culture, might have implications for this Amsterdam culture or identity that some inhabitants are attached to – potentially resulting in a sense of loss among some residents (Altman & Low, 1992). Furthermore, as many foreign residents are staying for a limited period of time and the local population generally speaks English very well, not all foreign residents familiarise themselves with the Dutch language (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). Although many Dutch residents do not bother speaking in English on some occasions, others might have a problem with the reported increasing presence of the English language on the streets, in shops and in restaurants – for instance inhabitants that do not speak English (Kuiken, 2009; Couzy, 2019b). Another sphere in which local residents might notice the growing presence of temporary foreign residents is their social lives. Some studies show that there is often little interaction between native residents and temporary foreign residents, as a result of a language barrier and a defensive attitude from both groups to let each other into their lives (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018; Fechter, 2007). This might influence the social cohesion or social contacts in a building, a neighbourhood or a city. All these dynamics might be reinforced by the temporary nature of the residence of foreign residents that are staying for a limited period of time, as they will not always familiarise themselves perfectly with the local culture, language and population – although it should be emphasised that the degree of sociocultural integration is highly individually different among temporary foreign residents (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015).

Whereas some long-term Amsterdam residents might perceive the internationalisation of the city as a positive development that makes them feel more proud of or at place in the city, others might feel that the city changes in a direction that they do not appreciate. Altogether, it seems that there are several ways in which this development might have (positive or negative) effects on the ways in which Dutch residents perceive their city and feel at place in it. It is relevant to investigate the sentiments among the local Dutch population around this rather significant contemporary population development in a scientific manner. This study investigates how the absolute and relative increase of the (temporary) foreign population in Amsterdam effects the *place attachment* of long-term Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark towards both their neighbourhood and their city.

1.3 Societal relevance

It is socially relevant to know how local residents perceive the current changes in the population composition, something that has been receiving little attention from scientists and policymakers – certainly in the specific case of Amsterdam. Governmental policy generally stimulates the arrival of highly skilled foreign workers, international students and members of the 'creative class', as they are

vital for the creative knowledge economy and for keeping up on the global economic stage (Groot et al., 2013; Shachar, 2006). Some municipal or national policies that focus on attracting and retaining highly skilled foreigners are, for instance, to attract international companies and organisations, to create an 'international milieu' in the city (e.g. in public space or through amenities), to create attractive housing options for highly skilled foreign workers, or to create an attractive taxation or healthcare regime (Hercog, 2008; Musterd, 2004). For instance, Amsterdam decided to attract the European Medicine Agency to the city, which ensures an additional few hundred highly educated internationals in the city (Couzy, 2019c). Furthermore, the global context of increasing mobility has stimulated (temporary) migration between developed countries. This contemporary migration differs in nature, numbers, duration and motivations from 'classic' migration patterns – for instance because of free movement within the European Union (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018). In light of these contemporary developments, it is relevant to investigate how the internationalisation of the population in Amsterdam is perceived by long-term Dutch residents and how this potentially affects their place attachment. If, possibly, local residents perceive the increasing internationalisation as a negative development, policymakers might want to reconsider current policy stances. Alternatively, if local residents judge this development as unaffecting or positively affecting their place attachment, this would be a stamp of approval for current policies.

If influences of internationalisation are experienced negatively (for instance among people that do not speak English), it is socially relevant to think about how Amsterdam can remain a city where everyone feels at place. Furthermore, to ascertain possible changes in the city's culture is a socially relevant finding on its own, as it partially 'defines' the city. Inhabitants shape the city, so when the population changes, this potentially alters cultural elements that are typical for and commonplace in Amsterdam. Finally, it is socially relevant to investigate how the nature of social contacts between native Dutch residents and (temporary) foreign residents might affect the local social cohesion – again, either positively or negatively.

1.4 Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this study is largely derived from the notable lack of research concerning the effects of increases in foreign resident populations on the place attachment of (long-term) local residents in contemporary cities. The consequences of an internationalising population for native inhabitants have been largely overlooked in scientific research. Also, there is little of such research concerned with the specific Amsterdam context. Although there is quite a broad field of research concerning the settlement of expats and highly skilled foreigners, this research is predominantly focused on the experiences of these groups instead of experiences among the local population (Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock, 2012; Fechter, 2016; Fechter, 2007; Farrer, 2010; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015; Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018; Polson, 2015; Moore, 2004; Seah, 2016; Tung, 1998; Van Bakel, Oudenhoven & Gerritsen, 2017; Norum, 2013; Torkington, 2012; Butcher, 2010). Also, this research predominantly concerns the settlement of Western foreigners in Asian or Arabic countries. There is also a wealth of research on settlement patterns, residential choices and preferences of highly skilled foreigners, both in general and for the specific Dutch context (Beckers & Boschman, 2019; Bontje, Pethe & Rühmann, 2008; Brown, 2015; Hercog, 2008; Lawton, Murphy & Redmond, 2013; Martin-Brelot et al., Musterd, 2004, Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014; Pethe et al., 2009; Pareja-Eastaway, Bontje & d'Ovidio, 2010; Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016; Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016). However, the lack of research on place attachment among local residents in the context of an

increasingly internationalising population can be defined as a research gap, especially in the European context. At the same time, the topic seems to receive increasing attention in (local) media outlets, indicating that it is relevant to look into further.

The subject of this study shows similarities with other societal dynamics and adjacent research fields, some of which are studied extensively. This present study 'borrows' some findings of these adjacent areas in its theoretical foundation, to which it might contribute in a similar indirect manner. For instance, this study shows similarities with research on processes of gentrification and displacement, as it also focuses on neighbourhood change and possible senses of displacement as a consequence of the influx of new (especially wealthy and highly educated) residents. By combining insights from various research fields and engaging empirically with the research question, this study contributes to the overall theme of the possible influences of (temporary) foreign populations on the place attachment of local populations in contemporary Western cities. Finally, this research contributes to the comprehensive research field around the concept of 'place attachment' – which is subject to growing scientific debate and scrutiny (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013).

1.5 Research questions and objectives

To investigate if the trend of an internationalising population influences how long-term Amsterdam residents experience the city and the way that they feel at place, this study poses the following central research question:

How does the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influence the place attachment of long-term (>10 years) Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark on both the neighbourhood level and the city level?

The main research question is divided in four sub-questions that each are necessary in order to address the overarching central question of this study:

- Sub-question 1: *How are long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark emotionally, socially, culturally and physically attached to their city and neighbourhood?*
- Sub-question 2: *To what extent and in what ways do long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark notice the internationalisation of the population in both the city and the neighbourhood?*
- Sub-question 3: *How does the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influence the four dimensions of place attachment (emotional, social, cultural and physical) of long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark?*
- Sub-question 4: *What do long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark generally think of the current and future presence of (temporary) foreign residents in the city?*

The first sub-question covers the ways in which long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark are attached to their city and neighbourhood in the first place – besides possible influences of an internationalising population. As such, this question is relevant in order to establish a 'baseline measurement' of the place attachment of these residents. The second sub-question captures the way in which long-term residents notice the trend of an internationalising population in both the city and the neighbourhood. It is relevant and interesting to establish whether these residents actually experience the statistically substantiated population trend in their daily lives. Furthermore, the third

sub-question engages with the core essence of this study, as it focuses on the way in which the perceived internationalisation of the population affects the various dimensions of place attachment that long-term residents have towards both the city and the neighbourhood. Finally, the fourth sub-question addresses the overall opinions and sentiments that long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark have towards the internationalisation of the population, both regarding the current situation as well as future scenarios.

The four sub-questions all contribute to answering the overarching research question, and they each address interesting aspects of the overall theme that this study is concerned with. As the sub-questions build up to answering the central research question, the structure of the results section (*page 48*) is based on subsequently addressing the four sub-questions. A short elaboration on the most essential elements of the research questions follows below.

First of all, the central concept in this research is 'place attachment'. Place attachment refers to the affective bonding of people to environmental settings (e.g. a neighbourhood or city) in a rather broad sense (Altman & Low, 2012). Individuals develop attachments and feelings of belonging for places that are important in their lives – based on the physical, social, cultural and emotional dimensions that are associated with that place. To study possible influences on place attachment, thus means to study changes in how individuals feel at place in and are attached to these places. Therefore, this concept is suited to capture the essence of this study's main focus. A more elaborate interpretation of (the dimensions of) place attachment is to be found in the operationalisation chapter (*page 41*), as well as the conceptual model that reflects the conceptual train of thought upon which this study is structured. The theoretical framework (*page 12*) also extensively covers the central concept of place attachment, as well as other scientific concepts and theories that are relevant to this study.

Furthermore, this study looks into the effects of 'increasing internationalisation' on place attachment of local residents, referring to the internationalisation of the Amsterdam population. Past years have seen an increase of (Western) foreign residents in Amsterdam, especially from countries such as the UK, the USA and Germany. This development will continue in the coming decades (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). Simultaneously, the number of Dutch residents in Amsterdam is decreasing, resulting in an absolute as well as relative increase of foreign residents in Amsterdam – in other words an 'increasingly international' population.

The international residents of special interest to this study are referred to as 'temporary foreign residents'. Oftentimes, the term 'expat' is used to describe foreigners that stay in the city for a limited period of time for purposes of work, study or lifestyle and have the financial and political resources to do so – making them different from more 'classic' images of migrants. However, the term 'expats' is rather narrow as it excludes lifestyle migrants, international students and other groups of temporary migrants. Therefore, this present research uses the term 'temporary foreign residents' to refer to (largely Western) migrants who are living in Amsterdam for a limited period of time. The *temporary* nature of the residence of these foreign migrants is essential here. People who stay in the city for a limited period of time might integrate differently in the city than permanent or long-term migrants, and thus might be perceived differently by long-term Dutch residents.

Furthermore, this study looks into the place attachment of 'long-term Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark'. The research group is delimited to 'long-term' residents who live in the city (and preferably the neighbourhood) for over ten years, as this allows to capture *changes in* and *influences on* the place attachment as a result of increasing internationalisation. Furthermore, this research focuses in particular on residents of Amsterdam Westerpark, a residential and gentrifying

area with increasing shares of Western foreign residents (see *Figure 1*). This area is preferred above areas with higher percentages of internationals residents, such as the city centre or the Amsterdam-Zuid, as these are internationally oriented 'by nature' (because of respectively mass tourism and business centres). The context chapter provides more information on the Westerpark area.

Finally, this research is interested in the experienced influence of the increasing presence of foreign residents on the place attachment of local residents on both the neighbourhood level and the city level. Since place attachment is often differently experienced on different spatial levels, it is relevant to take this possible difference into account in this research (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Researching place attachment on neighbourhood and city level allows to look for slightly different influences, and to draw conclusions on both levels. There might, for instance, be different forces at play for the local neighbourhood level and the overarching city level (including the city centre).

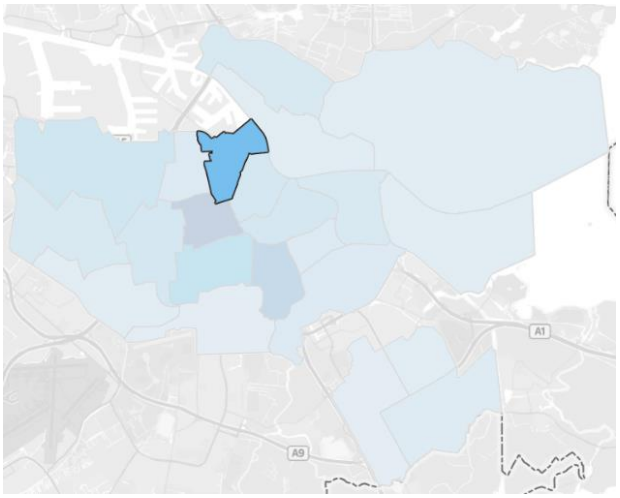

Figure 1: Location of Westerpark area within Amsterdam (Westerpark highlighted, Amsterdam in blue) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020)

1.6 Thesis structure

This document is structured as follows. The next section presents a comprehensive theoretical framework which serves as the theoretical substantiation for this research. Here, relevant concepts and theories are discussed on the basis of scientific literature. The theoretical framework consists of two chapters, focused on the broad themes of respectively 'place attachment' and 'temporary foreign residents'. Thereafter, a context chapter follows in which the specific research context of Amsterdam is elaborated upon through an evaluation of policy documents and media sources. After this, the conceptual model and the interpretation of the central concepts are presented in the operationalisation chapter. Subsequently, the methodology chapter discusses the research design, research method, research instrument, data analysis and ethical considerations. Thereafter, the results chapter discusses the outcomes of the 21 in-depth interviews that are conducted with long-term residents of the Amsterdam Westerpark area. This is followed by a conclusion and a discussion, in which respectively the most important findings and several relevant considerations are presented.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Place attachment

The first chapter covers literature around the central concept of 'place attachment' and consists of four subchapters. The first subchapter discusses the central concept of 'place attachment' and the broad research area around it, as well as a handful other relevant concepts that concern people-place relationships. The second subchapter discusses more specifically how elements like culture, community and language play a central role in constituting place attachment. The third subchapter discusses how people are attached to local places in an era of increasing globalisation and covers different views on local orientation, especially localism and cosmopolitanism. The fourth subchapter discusses the relevant processes of neighbourhood change, displacement and gentrification.

2.1.1 Place attachment and related concepts

Place and place related concepts

The concept of 'place' is one of the most essential yet complex geographical concepts (Harvey, 2012). The most common interpretation of place is that it "refers to space that has been given meaning through personal, group, or cultural processes" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 5), or more simply put "a geographic area that has meaning to people" (Trentelman, 2009, p. 192). Place differs from 'space' as it does not only describe physical aspects, but also the meanings and emotions associated with locations by individuals and groups (Devine-Wright, p. 427; Knox & Pinch, 2010). The concept of place thus stresses a certain emotional relationship between people and spaces, which can occur on multiple scales (e.g. a house, a city, a nation or the planet). Although this relationship between people and places is frequently deemed under pressure as a result of processes related to globalisation, the attachment of people to physical places remains persistent (Pollini, 2005).

The unique emotional bonding between people and places has been receiving increasing scientific attention in recent decades, from multiple disciplines – e.g. environmental psychology, human geography and sociology (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010). The multidisciplinary nature of the bond between people and places might partially explain the lack of scientific consensus around one concept to grasp people-place relations (Trentelman, 2009). A wide range of concepts that concern the bond between people and places have been getting scientific attention, such as 'topophilia' (Brown & Perkins, 1992), 'sense of place' (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001), 'place identity' (Proshansky, 1978), 'place dependence' (McCool & Martin, 1994), 'community attachment' (Trentelman, 2009) and 'place attachment' (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Of all the concepts that are in circulation, recent decades have seen a stabilisation around the concept of 'place attachment'. This broad and complex concept also has multiple interpretations, but there is consensus around "the idea that place attachment is an affective bond that people develop in relation to specific places" (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013, p. 168). In the concept of place attachment "the word 'attachment' emphasizes affect; the word 'place' focuses on the environmental settings to which people are emotionally and culturally attached" (Altman & Low, p. 5). In imitation of multiple scholars concerned with people-places relations, this present research uses place attachment as its central concept (Altman & Low, 1992; Bernardo & Palma-Oliviera, 2013; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Bailey, Kearns & Livingston, 2012; Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace & Hess, 2007).

Place attachment

Place attachment has been defined in multiple ways, but the core meaning of the concept is that it concerns an affective bond between people and specific places; usually places of residence in which

people feel comfortable and where they prefer to remain (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Hernandez et al., 2007). Other phrasings of the concept are, among many others, "a bond between an individual or group and a [meaningful] place" (Scannell & Gifford, 2010, p. 5), "the feelings we develop towards places that are highly familiar to us [and where] we belong to" (Hauge, 2007, p. 44), and "a positive emotional connection with familiar locations such as the home or neighbourhood" (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 427).These definitions all describe a process in which individuals or groups develop an affective relationship with a specific place. Place attachment generally develops towards places that are important and familiar for people, such as the residential environment. As such, it comes with "familiarity and ease, with the assurance of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells, of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time" (Tuan, as cited in Trentelman, 2009, p. 200). The notion of affect, emotion and feeling is a central element of place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992; Özkul, 2014). This can encompass a wide range of experiences, such as feelings of satisfaction, stability, happiness, security, esteem, belonging or embeddedness towards places. The features of places that people can be attached to (and that 'feed' place attachment) are multiple, for instance the social dimension (e.g. the local community), cultural dimension (e.g. values, symbols or rituals) and the physical dimension (e.g. architecture) of places can contribute to place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992). Section 2.1.2 focuses specifically on these dimensions of place attachment.

Development and functions of place attachment

Altman & Low (1992) identify biological, environmental, psychological and sociocultural processes that contribute to the development of place attachment. The sociocultural process of forming place attachment, for instance, runs along group mechanisms like shared social norms, meanings or symbols that are attached to places. Low (1992) distinguishes several processes of culturally based place attachments, such as a shared history, economic ties, and spiritual or religious bonding – applying to both individuals and groups. Finally, the biological process of attachment is the 'physiological' adaptation of people to places; a basic kind of people-place linkage as people attach to places 'by nature'. Lengen and Kistemann (2012) also contribute to the biological explanation for place attachment with neuroscientific evidence that "place constitutes a distinct dimension in neuronal processing" (p. 1162). Morgan (2010) coins a 'developmental theory' for place attachment, arguing that it is a natural process to develop place attachment from childhood experiences.

Place attachment serves multiple purposes and functions for individuals and groups. Altman and Low (1992) and Scannell and Gifford (2010) argue that place attachment provides a sense of security, control, continuity, stability, embeddedness and predictability. Furthermore, place attachment may bond people with other people (a social function), and it may link people to cultures or nations through abstract symbols that are affiliated with places. In this sense, it is not necessarily a bond between people and the physical place, but the place serves as a milieu which embeds certain affective attachments to people, cultures and meanings (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 10). Furthermore, place attachment is psychologically instrumental as it contributes to the formation of a distinctive identity for both individuals and groups that provides self-esteem and self-efficacy (Altman & Low, 1992; Visser, Bolt & Van Kempen, 2015) According to Bailey et al. (2012), place attachment enriches the lives of individuals with meaning, value and significance.

Generally, place attachment contributes to the well-being and (mental) health of people by providing continuity, social identity and self-esteem (Pellow, 1992; Bailey et al., 2012). Rollero and De Piccoli (2010) found that place attachment globally affects all dimensions of social well-being, and is

thus of 'great importance' for individuals. They state that "the clear influence of place attachment on social well-being confirms that a place is not only a physical area" (p. 237). The important functions of place attachment leads some scholars to think of place attachment as a 'fundamental human need' (Bailey et al., 2012). Not only people thrive through place attachment, also communities and neighbourhoods benefit from high levels of attachment. Citizens are more likely to invest and exercise 'voice' in places to which they are attached, communities are more likely to be 'organised', and anti-social behaviour is less likely to occur (Bailey et al., 2012).

Place attachment on different spatial scales

The degree of place attachment is not universal for all spatial scale levels. Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) researched which scale levels are most relevant for place attachment. Whereas research on place attachment used to focus exclusively on the neighbourhood level, there were indications that place attachment is more relevant on other spatial levels. Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) confirmed this by concluding that the neighbourhood level is actually the least relevant spatial level for place attachment: it is usually stronger on both the smaller scale (home) and the larger scale (city). The finding that attachment to the neighbourhood is generally the weakest does not mean that people are not attached to their neighbourhood. It does mean, however, that attachment is usually stronger on the home-level and the city-level.

This 'U-shaped curve' for the relation between place attachment and spatial levels is also found in several follow-up studies. Hernandez et al. (2007) have found the "confirmation that neighbourhood arouses a weaker bond than city" (p. 318), and Lewicka (2010) also confirms the U-shaped curve. The neighbourhood generally seems to evoke less emotions than the home or the city. Possible explanations for lower levels of attachment on the neighbourhood level than on the city level are that "neighbourhoods lack symbolism, while the city is heavily charged with content and relevant meaning" (Hernandez et al., 2007, p. 318), or the fact that neighbourhoods are often more ambiguous and hard to delimit and define (Lewicka, 2010). Moreover, Lewicka (2010) found that the U-shaped curve is especially relevant for highly attractive cities.

However, places can be experienced variously in different contexts and on different moments. Bernardo and Palma-Oliveira (2013) researched "whether the intensity of the neighbourhood bonds would increase if the neighbourhood became more relevant" (p. 170). They found that specific circumstances or changes can make certain places (or spatial scales) more relevant for people – or more 'salient'. They found that people can 'activate' different social identities and therefore can vary in their place attachment. Neighbourhood attachment may for instance be more relevant at moments when there is context to stimulate this (e.g. neighbourhood change). The foremost conclusion should be that place attachment is highly context dependent.

Place attachment and socio-demographic characteristics

Together with characteristics of places, the socio-demographic characteristics of people define the intensity and nature of place attachments. The most important individual predictor for place attachment is the length of residence (Lewicka, 2010; Lewicka, 2011; Bailey et al., 2012; Gu & Ryan, 2008; McCool & Martin, 1994). This is in line with the mechanism of "progressive embedding of people within their residential location through the development of a reassuring sense of familiarity, and of functional and social connections" (Bailey et al, 2012, p. 228). The length of residency thus also serves as an indirect predictor, because longer residency often implies deeper connections. Another, quite similar, predictor for place attachment is the permanency of residence: people who

plan to remain in the same place are inclined to develop greater bonds than temporary residents (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013). This is also discernible from the finding that home ownership implies stronger forms of place attachment (Lewicka, 2010). Also, natives seem to establish more intense links than non-natives (Hernandez et al., 2007). Finally, people who have a more 'mobile' lifestyle have been found to develop less intense or different kinds of place attachments (Lewicka, 2010; Lewicka, 2011; Gieling, Vermeij & Haartsen, 2017).

Furthermore, it is presumed that place attachment increases with age (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Bailey et al., 2012). Older people often have stronger senses of place attachment than younger people – although young people have been found to connect more with the city-level (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Gender is another individual predictor for place attachment, as it is found that women tend to have greater place attachments than men (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Bailey et al., 2012). The extent to which socioeconomic status influences place attachment is somewhat uncertain. Some research points to stronger place attachment for highly educated people (Woolever, 1992), and other research finds a *different form* of place attachment – 'ideological' attachment for highly educated people and 'everyday' attachment for lower educated people (Lewicka, 2010). Furthermore, research often finds that average income does not affect place attachment (Lewicka, 2010), even though place attachment sometimes is seen as a 'characteristic feature' of poor communities (Fried, 2000). Finally, place attachment tends to vary for individuals with different cultural, ideological, religious and ethnic backgrounds, as people with distinct 'lifeworlds' will assess environmental interactions differently (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Fried, 2000; Kianacka, Buhecker, Hunziker & Müller-Böker, 2006). Likewise, personal preferences are an important factor in predicting place attachment. For instance, people with an 'urbanophile' attitude (i.e. loving the city) tend the have a stronger attachment to their urban place of residence than people with an 'urbanophobic' attitude (i.e. loathing the city) (Felonneau, 2004).

Relevant related concept: place identity

As mentioned earlier, there are multiple concepts in circulation that concern the bond between people and place. Although this research works with 'place attachment' as its central concept, it is worthwhile to shortly address place identity as a relevant adjacent concept – as they it is conceptually close to place attachment and widens the view on people-places relations. Also, this study adopts certain aspects of place identity as elements of place attachment. There is scientific debate around how place attachment relates to the largely overlapping concepts of 'place identity' and 'sense of place' (Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Hauge, 2007). Some scholars argue that either place identity or sense of place should be seen as the central concept in the context of people-place relations (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). Others, however, argue that place attachment encompasses both place identity and sense of place (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). According to Altman and Low (1992), place attachment 'subsumes or is subsumed by' analogous concepts that are concerned with bonds between people and places.

Many researchers have written specifically about the relation between place attachment and place identity (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013, p. 168). Strong similarities between the two concepts are found in multiple studies, although they do not *always* go together: "place attachment and place identity are distinguishable yet interrelated bonds" (Hernandez et al., 2007, p. 317). Place identity itself has been defined as "a process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place" (Hernandez et al., 2007, p. 310), or as the way in which places "contribute to an individual's sense of self or identity" (Devine-Wright, 2009,

p. 428). Place identity can be seen as going 'one step further' than place attachment, as people may develop place attachments without incorporating that place in their personal identity (Hauge, 2007). Place identity can thus be seen as a strong form of place attachment, when individuals or groups adopt the place as being part of their identity and see themselves in terms of *belonging to* that place. Hernandez et al. (2007) found evidence that supports the statement that place attachment develops before place identity. Hauge (2007) would agree with this idea, but states that there is considerable difficulty in "deciding exactly when place attachment becomes strong enough to be defined as […] 'place-identity'" (Hauge, 2007, p. 44). Yet, other authors use place identity as a constituent of the overarching concept of place attachment, indicating that place attachment encompasses place identity (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Trentelman, 2009). This present study follows this reasoning, and also uses place identity as a component of to place attachment.

2.1.2 Dimensions of place attachment

Place features and place attachment

Place attachment develops when people create an affective bond with a specific place and all the various meanings that are connected to that place. But what specific characteristics contribute to the meaning of a place? This section looks into the dimensions that give substance to place attachment. As place attachment is an 'integrating concept', it incorporates many features, properties and 'dimensions' of places (Altman & Low, 1992). For instance, the social (e.g. people and networks), physical (e.g. landscape and architecture) and cultural dimension (e.g. rituals and values) of a place all entail specific features that are typical for 'that place' (Altman & Low, 1992). Which dimensions of places are relevant for developing place attachment is contextual: "some people feel attached to a place because of the close ties they have in the neighbourhood […] or strong religious symbolism of the place, that is, because of social factors; others may feel attached to the physical assets of places, such as beautiful nature […] or physically stimulating environment" (Lewicka, 2011, p. 213).

Generally, place attachment is a cumulation of different (physical, social, cultural and spiritual) dimensions of a place that all contribute to the overarching sense of attachment (Marzano, 2015; Kianacka et al., 2006; Stedman, 2003; Enache & Craciun, 2013). It is important to have a clear picture of these dimensions to be able to 'measure' place attachment – something which is often done in a quantitative manner (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Which dimension contributes the most to place attachment is subject of scientific debate (Trentelman, 2009). The following paragraphs discuss the different dimensions that contribute to place attachment in more detail.

Physical dimension of place attachment

Although the social and cultural dimension of place attachment typically have been receiving more attention than the physical dimension, several scholars emphasise the importance of physical features in predicting place attachment (Lewicka, 2011; Stedman, 2003). Some scholars argue that the physical dimension only has meaning as a social construct, but several others state that these two dimensions 'are worth distinguishing as they play different roles in attachment processes' (Lewicka, 2011, p. 213). The significant contribution of the physical dimension on its own to place meanings and place attachment has been concluded by several scholars (Kianacka et al., 2006; Stedman, 2003). Furthermore, physical elements can play an important role in influencing community culture (Stedman, 2003). The physical dimension of place is also referred to as the

spatial, environmental or landscape dimension. Specific features that give substance to the physical dimension of place and influence place attachment are, among others: architecture, amenities, built heritage, maintenance, street scenes, density, natural elements, urban landscapes, green areas, housing quality, design, landmarks and scenery (Lewicka 2010; Lewicka, 2011; Hauge, 2007; Stedman, 2003; Enache & Craciun, 2013; Woolever, 1992; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Marzano, 2015). Thus, for instance the amenities that a certain neighbourhood or city has to offer could contribute to an individual's place attachment to that area. An important aspect of physical characteristics in influencing place attachment is spatial continuity (Enache & Craciun, 2013, p. 313), as this enhances a sense of familiarity among residents. Gieling et al. (2017) distinguish between 'environmental attachment', which is the emotional bond with the environment, and 'functional attachment': "the importance of a place in providing features and conditions that support specific goals or desired activities" (p. 239). Functional attachment is concerned with the 'goal facilitating aspects' of places – which can for example be determined by functional or recreational amenities and services (Lewicka, 2011).

Social dimension of place attachment

In place attachment research, the social dimension of place (affective feelings, interactions and attachment between residents) tends to receive the most attention (Stedman, 2003; Alawadi, 2017). Social ties are frequently implied to be the most significant predictor for place attachment (Lewicka, 2010). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001), for instance, conclude that "social attachment is greater than physical attachment in all cases" (p. 279). The social dimension of place is shaped by factors like social ties within the place, sense of community, social cohesion, local social capital, daily encounters, community participation, and mutual support, trust and care (Altman & Low, 1992; Lewicka, 2010; Bailey et al., 2012; Alawadi, 2017; Gieling et al., 2017; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Kianacka et al., 2006; Pollini, 2005). The social predictor that is most often used in place attachment research is the 'local social capital', the "strength and extensiveness of neighbourhood ties and involvement in informal social activities in the neighbourhood" (Lewicka, 2011, p. 217).

The social dimension of places is ought to be of such relevance that some authors almost equate place attachment to social attachment. Altman and Low (1992) argue that "the social relations that a place signifies may be equally or more important to the attachment process than the place qua place" (p. 7). People are thus ought to be attached to social relationships instead of to 'physical entities', which mainly serve as 'repositories and contexts' for interpersonal relationships (Riley, 1992; Altman & Low, 1992). Lower levels of social cohesion are generally associated with significantly lower levels of place attachment (Bailey et al., 2012). This is why place attachment is frequently compared to concepts that focus on social attachments, such as 'community attachment' – a concept which is "typically used as […] an indicator of one's rootedness to one's community" (Trentelman, 2009, p. 201; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; McCool & Martin, 1994). Finally, place attachment is a highly social phenomenon as it often develops collectively: "Families, community members, and even whole cultures often […] collectively share attachments to places" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 6).

Cultural dimension of place attachment

The third dimension that is regularly distinguished is the (socio-)cultural dimension of place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992). The importance of culture in shaping place attachment is increasingly more acknowledged (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Place attachments "involve culturally shared affective meanings and activities associated with place that derive from socio-political,

historical, and cultural sources" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 9). Local cultural elements influence place meanings and help strengthening the attachment to place (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Enache & Craciun, 2013). Some authors specifically focus on these cultural contributions to place meanings, and deem localities (e.g. neighbourhoods) as mere 'physical containers of cultural institutions' (Wang, 2019). The local cultural environment thus contributes significantly to place meanings and the development of affective bonds with places. Elements that could give substance to local cultures are rituals (e.g. annual events), symbols (e.g. flags), language, social norms, ideologies, values, traditions, myths, memories, customs, shared histories and religion (Altman & Low, 1992; Gu & Ryan, 2008; Gieling et al., 2017; Alawadi, 2017; Kianacka et al., 2006; Enache & Craciun, 2013). For instance, some authors emphasise the "importance of rituals in establishing and maintaining place attachment", while others point out that "cultural processes of place attachment are systems of social reproduction and social norms" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 9). Although distinct cultural elements may be less or more relevant in specific contexts, it is generally understood that the constellation of local cultural meanings (or 'intangible heritage') is multidimensional (Smith & Akigawa, 2008). Together, the local cultural elements contribute to the 'lifeworld' of the local population, which is an 'integral part of the individual and societal daily life' (Kianacka et al., 2006, p. 60).

Many scholars refer to the 'socio-cultural' dimension of place attachment, as cultural elements and place meanings are often both individually and collectively relevant: "cultural identity often involves shared and consensual meanings among individuals" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 11). Place attachment is thus a social process by nature as it entails *shared* cultural meanings and it involves 'consensus' between locals (Alawadi, 2017; Pollini, 2005). The 'we-feeling' that follows from local cultural elements is based on the understanding of the local cultural identity as distinct: locals are aware of their unique cultural identity that contributes to the 'local character' of the place (Kianacka et al., 2006; Enache & Craciun, 2013; Hummon, 1992; Altman & Low, 1992). These local identities where residents are attached to can be 'relationally articulated against the non-local' (Wang, 2019) and can 'demarcate boundaries' between communities (Gieling et al., 2017, p. 239).

Language and place attachment

One of the most important components of culture is language (Kim, 2003). The specific role of language in place attachment is highlighted here due to its expected importance in this present research. Language plays an important role in constructing places and (place) identities, and in communicating place meaning between people (Kim, 2003; Devine-Wright, 2009; Tuan, 1991; Smith & Akagawa, 2009). Language and vocabulary may contribute to place meaning, for instance, by being associated strongly with localities – which is the case, for example, with local dialects.

Places often know specific dialects or vocabularies, for instance as variants of the overarching (national) language (Driessen, 2015). Locals can be greatly attached to place-related dialects or lingo, which can contribute heavily to place-related meanings, emotions and identities – for instance in the case of Catalonia or Friesland (Duff, 2015). This leads Pennycook (2010) to state that language is a 'local practice', as language and locality are firmly related to each other. Local languages are the result of the interpretation of places to which we are attached, and "the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of place" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2). The fact that people are attached to local languages also comes to the fore in inter-group conflicts and demarcating mechanisms of distinguishing 'this place' from 'other places' (Marácz, 2014)

Places as containers of identity and imagery

As discussed above, places consist of several dimensions to which people may become attached.

Together, these dimensions shape the 'identity' or 'soul' of the place. The identity of the place 'transcends' the separate dimensions and becomes an entity on its own – a mixture of physical, social and cultural associations. According to Altman & Low (1992), places become imagined, mythical and idealised entities. This level of association also concerns 'less precise terms', such as the spirit, soul or identity of places (Marzano, 2015, p. 41). The identity of place, construed by its physical and anthropogenic landscape, helps create 'imageability', which is defined as the "high probability of evoking a strong image in a given observer" (Lynch, as cited in Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011, p. 496; Enache & Craciun, 2013). This strongly relates to the idea that people recognise places as having a unique character, as being different from other places. This identity of places can also be called 'authenticity': "the quality of a place being unique, distinctive, and rooted in the locale" (Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011, p. 500). Lalli's (1988) concept of 'urban identity' also entails the ambiguous notion of fundamental uniqueness of one's town, through symbols that are associated with it by its residents and create an abstract but unmistakeable place identity. Finally, another concept for the cohesive complex of place features is 'place entity': "an abstraction from the real world that […] can be seen as a mosaic of physical and social settings, these latter consisting of individual and collective meanings" (Marzano, 2015, p. 45).

Place attachment thus greatly depends upon the authentic 'identity' or 'character' of a place, which is often difficult to define in precise terms as it may entail a rather ambiguous entity based on a myriad of material and immaterial characteristics. It can be concluded that place attachments are context dependent, multidimensional and hard to define precisely, but that this does not make these attachments any less 'real' or relevant for people. To establish the degree and nature of place attachment in this present study, thus involves the various dimensions of place that are covered, as well as an overarching complex of (emotional) associations that people might have with regard to their city and neighbourhood. The next section discusses the manner in which place attachment in general may become less or more relevant in the context of globalisation and an increasing interconnectedness and cultural cross-pollination between places.

2.1.3 Localism, cosmopolitanism and cultural homogenisation

Place attachment in the context of globalisation and global cities

The contemporary process of globalisation has led many scholars to question the meaning of place. Modern transport and communication technologies have made the world significantly 'smaller' (Massey, 2010). This development is frequently ought to diminish the significance of belonging to local communities and to threat cultural forms of place attachment, as people are able to connect with places that go beyond the local environment (Pollini, 2005; Gieling et al., 2017). This has ensured an increased interest in place attachment research, as a reaction to "processes of globalisation […] that endanger unique identities of place" (Lewicka, 2010, p. 35). Globalisation can be seen as potentially undermining place attachment, as people-place bonds have become 'fragile' (Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Bailey et al., 2012). The discussion to what extent localities (e.g. cities) are still important frameworks of place attachment is subject to much research. Globalisation surely has 'stretched the potential targets of identification' beyond the local (Lewicka, 2011; Massey, 2010).

However, there seems to be overwhelming evidence that local place still constitutes an important element of attachment, belonging and identification in times of globalisation. Pollini (2005) finds that traditional forms of socio-territorial belonging and attachment are persistent, Antonsich (2009) argues that national identity is still the predominant identification, and Paasi (2013)

finds that globalisation leads to stronger regional identities. Knox and Pinch (2010) argue that place attachment might be 'more important than ever before' in providing a sense of security, stability, rootedness and uniqueness in a globalising context. Torkington (2012) agrees, and states that "place-bound identities seem to have become more rather than less important" (p. 76). Many others agree that attachment to place is tenacious for the majority of the people – also on neighbourhood and city level (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2004; Wang, 2019; Gieling et al., 2017; Lewicka, 2011).

Global integration and cultural homogenisation

Places become increasingly 'globalised' as a result of global integration, global flows of people and cultural homogenisation. This is especially relevant for 'global cities', which are demographically diverse magnets for 'transnational communities' consisting of global professionals (Sassen, 2002; Roudometof, 2005). The multitude of nationalities in (global) cities lead to labels like 'cosmopolis' or 'world in a city' (McNeill, 1999; Devadason, 2010).

It is frequently assumed that globalisation leads to the 'homogenisation' of culture: a process in which cultures are becoming more similar, standardised and uniform (Torkington, 2012; Daniels et al., 2012; Knox & Pinch, 2010). A broader *global* culture has emerged in recent decades that is distributed through modern technologies and popular culture (Knox & Pinch, 2010). The cultural convergence entails both the widespread diffusion of (Western) cultural traits and a 'hybridisation' of cultures (Daniels et al., 2012). The widespread use of the English language, the language of globalisation, is a concrete example of cultural homogenisation – or the 'McDonaldization of the linguistic landscape' (Heller, 2003; Dewey, 2007; Driessen, 2015; Pennycook, 2010).

Many scholars question if places can retain their unique identities. Some argue that globalisation and homogenisation lead to the 'loss of placeness': a state in which 'authentic' places are replaced by artificial authenticity such as monotonous franchise restaurants (Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011; Kearney, 1995). Cultural globalisation and homogenisation lead to increasingly predictable and standardised cities (McNeill, 1999) and "an increasingly shallow understanding of local cultures and identities" (Nijman, 1999, p. 162). The cultural heritage and uniqueness of cities are essential features that cities must preserve to provide a sense of meaning (Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011). The question is if, despite the 'serious challenges to the meaning of place' that globalisation entails, places are still able to have a distinct local character (Daniels et al., 2012).

Many scholars do think so. Local characteristics can still give cities a distinct and recognisable 'brand' (Gospodini, 2002), which can establish an identity in the context of cultural homogeneity (Enache & Craciun, 2013, p. 309). Furthermore, globalising forces are adopted in various manners in different localities, a process which is called 'glocalisation' and which allows forms of distinction (Torkington, 2012; McNeill, 1999). This way, globalisation can also 'deepen particularity' of places (Nijman, 1999). As places are thus still able to retain a distinct identity, it seems that the cultural dimension of place attachment is still relevant in modern day cities.

The cosmopolitanism-localism continuum

Although local places remain an important framework of place attachment, 'the new reality' of living under globalising conditions still is a relevant context in contemporary cities. Roudometof (2005) coins the term 'transnationalism' to describe this new reality of demographic diversity and cultural hybridity (Olofsson & Ohman, 2007). Transnationalism should be seen as the 'changed reality in which people live in', to which individuals can take on different attitudes: "the public might opt for an open attitude welcoming the new experiences or they might opt for a defensive closed attitude

seeking to limit the extent to which transnational social spaces penetrate their cultural milieu. In the first instance, we speak of cosmopolitans, while in the second we speak of locals" (Roudometof, 2005, p. 127).

People can thus take on a 'localist' or 'cosmopolitan' attitude towards the transnational reality they live in, although some authors suggest that this 'bipolar' view is an oversimplification of reality: not all people fit perfectly in one of these two categories (Colic-Peisker, 2010). To look beyond the dichotomy, Roudometof (2005) conceived of the 'cosmopolitanism-localism continuum', on which "cosmopolitans and locals occupy opposite ends of the same dimension but there is room for individual variation between the two ends" (Olofsson & Ohman, 2007). By looking at the open or closed attitudes of people vis-à-vis the new reality of transnationalism, is it possible to position them on the continuum. The dimensions that define the continuum comprise the degrees of attachment to the locality (neighbourhood, city or country) and to the local culture, as well as the degree of cultural and institutional protectionism (Roudometof, 2005). In a demographically diverse and culturally hybrid city like Amsterdam, different people will have different attitudes towards 'internationalising' developments and therefore take in different positions on the cosmopolitanism-localism continuum.

Localism and cultural protectionism

Localism is the ideological preference for the 'local' vis-à-vis the 'global'. Localists prefer to avoid changes in the local socio-cultural fabric, as they have strong feelings of socio-territorial belonging and attachment to the local community and everyday life (Pollini, 2005). Localists prioritise local culture over changes from 'outside'. In contemporary societies, the majority of the population leans towards localist ideas, albeit in different degrees (Savage et al., 2004; Lewicka, 2011). Localism is oftentimes seen as reactionary; as the "resistance to these global forces through the assertion of local identities" (Knox & Pinch, 2010, p. 33). Localist ideas are frequently expressed in "identity politics that essentializes the local and rejects cultural hybridization" (Wang, 2019, p. 431).

Cultural protectionism is strongly related to localism. According to protectionists, local culture, tradition and authenticity should be preserved through resistance against homogenising effects of globalisation (Pennycook, 2010; Olofsson & Ohman, 2007). Cultural protectionism thus is a defensive response to the influences from outside, in which the own heritage is articulated and sentimentalised (Massey, 2010; Wang, 2019). Protectionists try to retain the bounded place identity and "feel threatened by foreigners and new traditions imported from abroad" (Olofsson & Ohman, 2007, p. 889). As mentioned earlier, localist and protectionist sentiments are generally persistent and largely on the rise: despite growing cosmopolitanism, localist orientations are not declining (Pollini, 2005) and national pride is increasing (Antonsich, 2009). Finally, Olofsson and Ohman (2007) found a trend "towards more protectionist, rather than open, attitudes" (p. 877). However, this rise in localist and protectionist stances amongst certain groups is simultaneous to growing feelings of cosmopolitanism amongst others. Localist beliefs are reportedly more prevalent amongst older and lower educated people, while 'globals' are typically younger and better educated.

Cosmopolitanism and cultural openness

Contrary to localism, the ideal of cosmopolitanism is associated with a sense of universal morality, cultural reflexivity and societal pluralisation (Farrer, 2010; Delanty, 2006). It is a stance of openness and tolerance toward other cultures (Roudometof, 2005). The cosmopolitan mindset embraces the heterogenous cultural environment that is prevalent in many (global) cities (Roudometof, 2005; Farrer, 2010; Devadason, 2010). Furthermore, cosmopolitans are often referred to as 'citizens of the

world' who experience belonging to the wider world beyond the local environment. It is also perceived as a moral view, where individuals are loyal to and experience membership of the universal human community instead of local communities or nations (Delanty, 2006; Pollini, 2005; Olofsson & Ohman, 2007; Purcell, 2003).

Globalisation is frequently associated with a rise of cosmopolitanism (Antonsich, 2009). As people became more mobile, this universal kind of belonging and identification was destined to emerge while local communities would lose significance (Pollini, 2005; Lewicka, 2011). The actual simultaneous rise of localism may indicate a form of polarisation on the cosmopolitanism-localism continuum. While localism is still persistent in the majority of populations, cosmopolitanism seems to be more prevalent amongst elites in contemporary societies (Lewicka, 2011). Historically, cosmopolitan attitudes are associated with the mobile 'global bourgeoisie' who are estranged from 'the people' (Colic-Peisker, 2010). Still, it is "often associated with the privileged position of transnational élites" (Devadason, 2010, p. 2957) and can be carried out through travel.

Cosmopolitanism is also seen as an instrumental mindset of foreigners to adjust easily "as an outsider or 'stranger' within a heterogeneous metropolis" (Farrer, 2010, p. 1212). It is associated with the 'ability to make one's way in other cultures' (Devadason, 2010). The relationship with places of mobile people differ significantly from the majority 'whose lives are rather more entrenched in particular localities' (Devadason, 2010, p. 2957). Instead of belonging to a fixed community, mobile cosmopolitans engage in 'elective belonging', as they see themselves belonging to places without prior ties to it where they feel comfortable (Savage et al., 2004). Among temporary foreign residents, the largest share see themselves as cosmopolitans (Colic-Peisker, 2010). Although temporary foreign residents do not always adapt to the host culture perfectly, the majority lives up to the cosmopolitan values and adjust rather easily to the host society (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). The next and final section of this first theoretical chapter discusses the ways in which local residents perceive processes of neighbourhood change.

2.1.4 Neighbourhood change, place attachment and (indirect) displacement

(Global) gentrification

As this present research is concerned with the possible effects of a population transition, existing literature on the place changing effects of population change is relevant to discuss here – especially since there is little research concerned specifically with place change induced by a growing share of foreign residents. This present study lends certain aspects from literature on gentrification, displacement and neighbourhood change that are in some way applicable to its central theme.

Gentrification originally refers to the replacement of working-class communities by middle- and upper-class incomers in revitalising central urban areas (Daniels et al, 2012; Atkinson, 2000; Zukin, 1987). Nowadays, gentrification is also used to describe the arrival of higher income groups who buy into already gentrified or middle-class neighbourhoods (Bridge, 2007; Butler, 2007). Contemporary gentrification is also often seen in the context of globalisation: "we can no longer discuss contemporary gentrification without also discussing globalization" (Butler & Lees, 2006, p. 484). The modern day gentrifying class is often seen as a hyper-mobile, cosmopolitan and wealthy class performing gentrification in comparable manners all over the world (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016; Bridge, 2007; Atkinson & Bridge, 2004; Rofe, 2003). Wealthy gentrified neighbourhoods are 'familiar landscapes of global cities' – oftentimes also home to 'global gentrifiers' or a 'transnational class' of foreign professionals (Bridge, 2007, p. 33). Some authors relate the concept of 'super-gentrification',

which ‘is superimposed on already gentrified neighbourhoods’, to international residents that work in the global service economy (Butler & Lees, 2006, p. 469). This means that downtown areas are “increasingly occupied by a global elite of the superrich” (Bridge, 2007, p. 45) – oftentimes Western expatriates employed by transnational corporations (Atkinson & Bridge, 2004, p. 3). Still, although gentrification and globalisation are increasingly related, gentrification is still seen as an ‘intensely local’ process in which native gentrifiers are most relevant (Bridge, 2007; Butler & Lees, 2006).

Indirect displacement and gentrification

Gentrification can lead to the displacement of residents that cannot afford to stay in the neighbourhood – possibly resulting in psychological distress, disrupted social relations and destroyed cultural resources (Atkinson, 2004; Slater, 2009). It may, however, also entail forms of displacement ‘other than literal physical expulsion from the neighbourhood’ (Valli, 2015, p. 1192). This process, where an individual stays put but experiences the changes caused by gentrification as ‘losing access or no longer belonging to a neighbourhood’, is called ‘indirect displacement’ (Twigge-Molecey, 2014).

As a result of gentrification, the social characteristics and services in the neighbourhood might change in such a manner that original residents experience a sense of loss of place (Atkinson, 2000; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Davidson, 2008). As Doucet explains, “the local character of the neighbourhood, as determined by demographic composition, amenities, commercial establishments and local institutions could also be lost as gentrification progresses” (2009, p. 303). This form of displacement, where original residents are not financially forced out but lose the desire to stay in the neighbourhood has “potentially as much impact on people as direct and exclusionary displacement; and hence it needs to be taken as seriously” (Valli, 2015, p. 1193).

Indirect displacement is induced especially through the impact of gentrification on social ties and networks (Davidson, 2008), a fracturing of which ‘might cause feelings of loneliness or grief among residents’ (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p. 5). This is a form of community displacement, when someone goes from “knowing others and being ‘known’ in a place, to becoming unknowing and ‘unknown’” (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 328). The second major cause of indirect displacement is changes in local amenities. When services cater to newcomers with a different economic or cultural capital, original residents might experience loss of place (Valli, 2015). Finally, indirect displacement might be experienced through restricted housing market access, and “occurs when areas become inaccessible to low and modest income households” (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p. 6).

A sense of displacement without actually being displaced can thus occur when people become aware of gradual changes in the place and increasingly feel awkward about them. Residents especially become aware of the place change during encounters with newcomers in their ‘former territory’, which trigger ‘emotional and psychological reactions’ among long-time residents. According to Valli (2015), “the fact that this encounter occurs in a place (formerly) experienced as ‘home’ is perceived as a threat to the sense of security and ease associated with that place” (p. 1195). As a reaction, long-time residents may adopt an ‘us versus them’ strategy to disidentify themselves with the newcomers (Valli, 2015).

There might be parallels with the gentrification literature and the increasing share of temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam, as this also entails the influx of ‘new’ residents – many of whom have an above average socioeconomic status (Ooijevaar & Verkooijen, 2015). Other studies also employ gentrification literature to explore the effects of place change with various causes (Pinkster & Boterman, 2015). Even though temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam are not a homogeneous group in terms of socioeconomic status, preferences or behaviours, the concept of

indirect displacement might be relevant as it gives insight in experiences of place change as a result of population changes. The next paragraph focuses on the relation between place change – unrelated to gentrification – and place attachment.

Neighbourhood change and place attachment

Places to which individuals and groups are attached can change in numerous manners, for instance as a result of physical redevelopment, crime, mass tourism or population turnover – possibly resulting in 'disrupted' or 'threated' place attachments (Devine-Wright, 2019; Alawadi, 2017). While place attachments generally develop slowly, they can be disrupted rapidly. People are attached to places when the total balance of experiences is positive and when they feel familiar and comfortable with the place and its features. When places change, this might suddenly lead to negative connections with the place, possibly resulting in detachment, estrangement or alienation, and generally resulting in feelings of dissatisfaction and 'powerlessness' (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Gieling et al., 2017; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). The more attached people are to places, the less they would like to see changes occur that threaten the distinctive nature of the place and the ability of the place to 'meet their needs'. However, when place change is seen as potentially improving the place, strongly attached people are apt to support it (Anton & Lawrence, 2016).

Experiencing loss of place attachment can have psychological repercussions for people. Place attachments are fundamental to the meaning of everyday life, as they give individuals a sense of home and identification with their material and sociocultural environment. These secure attachments are essential in providing stability and in contributing to the self-definitions of people (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017; Brown & Perkins, 1992). When these emotional attachments are disrupted, it can overwhelm people with change, threaten their self-definitions, and cause stress and psychological strain in dealing with the disaggregation of the place (Alawadi, 2017). The difficulty of dealing with disrupted place attachments is "exacerbated by the fact that individuals rarely appreciate the depth and extent of these attachments" (Brown & Perkins, 1992, p. 301). The bonds between people and places are typically 'latent'. Therefore, when there is a threat of losing a place, this might suddenly remind people of their strong attachment (Anton & Lawrence, 2016). The sudden realisation of the depth of place attachments on the brink of place change can result in anxiety, feelings of loss and a sense of displacement, which might even lead to psychiatric trauma (Devine-Wright, 2009). Continuity in the past and expected continuity in the future are essential components of place attachment, the latter of which is under pressure when places change (Milligan, 1998). As place change disrupts the aspect of continuity, it can have serious consequences for the self-regulation, self-esteem and self-identity of individuals and groups (Korpela, 1989).

Population change can be experienced as a form of disruptive place change (Devine-Wright, 2009; Brown & Perkins, 1992). As new or 'other' people enter the neighbourhood, social cohesion is affected and people are less able to trust each other – undermining place attachment (Bailey et al., 2012). This is not to say that social mix necessarily undermines cohesion and trust, as Putnam (2007) argues (Bailey et al., 2012). However, a new population composition may lead to experiencing 'community displacement', as a person's position in the social structure of the neighbourhood might change – potentially leading to a loss of a sense of stability and possibly resulting in declining place attachment (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Woldoff, 2002). The disruption of local social networks can have particularly negative impacts for low-income communities and elderly residents, who might "experience alienation, powerlessness and nostalgia over the lost community" (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017, p. 460; Atkinson, 2000, Devine-Wright, 2009).

When individuals or communities become aware of (potential) place change, they might engage in place-protective action. Devine-Wright (2009) proposed a framework of place change, in which people go from becoming aware to eventually acting on the place change. Following the 'Not In My Backyard' logic, people might attempt to sustain the symbolic and social meaning of the place that is threatened (Devine-Wright, 2009). Generally, communities with highly-attached residents are better organised to protect the physical, cultural and social features of the neighbourhood, as they are more likely to work together (Anton & Lawrence, 2016). Local resistance can thus be rooted in a collective sense of place (Long, 2013). Finally, Alawadi (2017) argues that governments should more often take action in preserving the social features of places, as psychological wellbeing and interpersonal bonds should be 'valid motives for preservation' (p. 2993).

2.2 Temporary foreign residents

The second chapter of this theoretical framework focuses on temporary foreign residents. The first subchapter focuses on who temporary foreign residents are and what characterises them. After this, the second subchapter covers strategies and policies of cities to attract highly skilled foreign workers. The third and final subchapter looks into the integration of foreign residents in host societies.

2.2.1 Temporary foreign residents: who are they?

Expatriates: an ideal typical profile sketch

As this present research is interested in the possible influences of the growing presence of temporary foreign residents on the perceived place attachment of long-term Dutch residents in Amsterdam, it is relevant to paint a picture of who 'temporary foreign residents' are. Provided that temporary foreign residents is a broad and heterogeneous category of people, this section gives a broad 'profile sketch' of the sub-group that is mostly associated with temporary foreign residents: expatriates. As many of the characteristics are relevant not only for 'expats' but also for other temporary foreign residents, there is a certain overlap between this present section and the following section, which focuses on other members of the overarching group of temporary foreign residents.

The past decades, characterised by processes of globalisation and transnational capitalism, have seen an increase in movement of highly skilled workers between countries – a trend that is likely to continue (Kennedy, 2005). This movement is often called 'transnational migration', and is characterised by circularity as transnational migrants are generally moving on to another country or back to their home country after a period of time. This process has contributed to the creation of international communities that are not defined by specific national contexts (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). Transnational migration is a prominent component of our globalising world, particularly for global cities that typically host the largest numbers of (skilled) transnational residents (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018; Findlay, Li, Jowett & Skeldon, 1996). Yet, despite the relevance of this phenomenon, there is a general lack of research on the lives of these highly mobile transnational migrants in the host countries – especially outside in the European context (Beaverstock, 2002; Foote, 2017; Kennedy, 2005; Findlay et al., 1996; Colic-Peisker, 2010; Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018).

Temporary transnational migrants are often referred to as 'expatriates' or 'expats'. Literally translated from Latin, expatriate describes 'a person who lives outside their native country' (Fechter, 2016, p. 1). However, the term expat is generally used to describe a far more specific group of contemporary migrants: highly skilled or talented temporary migrants from developed countries that, as a result of globalisation, are increasingly enabled to move frequently between world cities to take on jobs, especially in knowledge intensive sectors such as finance, accountancy and architecture

(Fechter, 2016; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015; Beaverstock, 2012; Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018). It is difficult to create a meaningful typology of 'expats', as the group is diverse and a wide spectrum of people might be considered expats. However, expats are typically referred to as 'highly skilled migrants', 'skilled professionals', 'business expatriates', 'transnational elites', 'international service sector workers' or 'transnational knowledge workers', suggesting a certain level of professional value (Farrer, 2010; Fechter, 2016; Koser & Salt, 1997; Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018). Furthermore, Colic-Peisker (2010) tries to capture the essential characteristic of mobility and describes transnational knowledge workers as "a diverse group of serially migrating career professionals who have spent extended periods of time in at least three countries, usually following career opportunities" (p. 467).

There are various interpretations of what 'expats' are. In one of the more prominent understandings of the past decades, expatriates are portrayed as 'transnational elites' (Beaverstock, 2002; Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018). They are often associated with being key members of the international financial system. This 'privileged' portraying of expatriates sees transnational elites as "the highly educated, highly-skilled, high-paid, highly mobile and 'translocal' corporate actors/agents of global capital" (Beaverstock, 2002, p. 527). This image of expatriates is especially relevant in developing countries, where Western expatriates may take on the role of transnational elites. Another, rather negative, stereotype image of expats is that of expats being short-term employees that use global cities as 'career elevators' without engaging with local people or cultures (Farrer, 2010; Beaverstock, 2012). In this negative stereotype, they are portrayed as 'egotistical, ignorant and greedy' people who are 'whiling away their days by the pool' and live under corporate-provided comforts (Fechter, 2016, p. 1; Farrer, 2010; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Another well-known stereotype of expatriates, a far more positive one, is that of expats being widely oriented cosmopolitans who are easily able to create social ties with people from different countries and different cultures (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). This image generally sees expats as 'culturally cosmopolitan, locally integrated and economically successful' people (Farrer, 2010, p. 1211), who easily move between global cities and engage in both local and global networks (Beaverstock, 2002). According to Van Bochove and Engbersen (2015), both dominant images of expatriates are not always accurate, as expats often have multi-layered identities.

Expats are always portrayed as being 'hypermobile' (Beaverstock, 2002). An essential feature of their mobility is that they move out of free choice. In this sense, expatriate settlement "is generally considered to be 'clearly very different to the standard migration story'" (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015, p. 296). Furthermore, as immigrants are often expected to settle permanently, and therefore engage in naturalisation and acculturation in de host country, the term 'migration' does not fit perfectly when it comes to expats (Colic-Peisker, 2010). As the movement of highly skilled workers is often temporary and intermittent instead of permanent, many authors prefer the term 'movement' instead of 'migration' to describe the flows of expatriates (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018; Koser & Salt, 1997; Brown, 2015). Another difference between 'migrants' and 'expats' follows from the different valuation of host country governments with regards to these different groups – where migrants are often seen as unwanted and unwelcome, expats are perceived as skilled, wanted and welcome (Sandoz, 2019). Highly skilled foreign workers are 'sought after' movers that rise beyond the dichotomy between immigrants and local citizens (Colic-Peisker, 2010).

Although the expat stereotypes mentioned earlier are rather pervasive, many scholars argue that expats should be seen in a different manner. According to Farrer (2010), contemporary expatriates should not always be seen as 'highly mobile transnational elites', as contemporary highly skilled migration is highly prevalent today (Farrer, 2010; Seah, 2016). As a result of increasing

mobility and favourable geopolitical factors, highly skilled transnational migration is "turned from being a practice related to largely upper-class professionals of the multinational corporations into a 'normal', middle-class activity" (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018, p. 209). Therefore, expats should also be seen as 'ordinary people', without over-glamourizing their supposedly 'elitist' lifestyles (Seah, 2016). Increasingly, 'normal' people are able to move to other countries on short-term basis, instead of committing to permanent residence. Because of the global growth and diversification of expatriates (e.g. in terms of skills and wealth), it is difficult to produce a meaningful typology of 'expats' (Koser & Salt, 1997). Finally, besides the ambiguous definition of 'expats', they are only a sub-category of transnational (highly skilled) migrants, as people might also move abroad temporarily for other motives than career opportunities (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). The next section focuses on other groups of transnational migrants besides the classic 'expats'.

Other groups of temporary foreign residents

As mentioned above, temporary transnational migration has evolved into a 'normal' component of the contemporary globalised world, with an increasing heterogeneity in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds and motivations. This 'middling' group of transnational migrants, that cannot be classified as super-rich global elites, is becoming a more and more significant component of transnational migration flows (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014; Seah, 2016; Brown, 2015). Although members of this middling group are frequently labelled 'expats', they are in reality a heterogeneous group with various socio-economic statuses and motivations for migrating. In fact, expats – people who move abroad for professional reasons – are "only a relatively small sub-category of transnational highly skilled migrants" (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014, p. 11).

As transnational migration is becoming more accessible for people with moderate incomes, people are increasingly moving abroad on their own initiative, with varying personal or professional motivations (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). For instance, there are 'young professionals' who migrate at the start of their career or stay in the country where they graduated, or 'European free movers' that are generally independent, young and childless people that move within the Union temporarily, or 'international bohemians' that are going after certain cultural amenities (Brown, 2015; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). Furthermore, (temporary) migration can be used as a 'route towards distinction', to 'accumulate cultural capital', to 'satisfy the desire for new experiences', to 'boost marketable skills' or to 'enhance knowledge and self-confidence' (Brown, 2015, p. 2340). These motivations differ from the 'classic' stories of either skilled professionals or migrants from developing countries. As some people move abroad permanently, others stay for a limited time and then move to another country or back to their home country. It is, however, difficult to distinguish between 'permanent' and 'temporary' migration, as the intention of temporary migration may result in permanent settlement, and vice versa (Brown, 2015). According to Ryan and Mulholland (2014), young transnational migrants rather think of this as "a continuum of emplacement whereby migrants gradually extend their stay, while at the same time keeping future options open" (p. 587).

One of the frequently used labels for young, transnational migrants is the 'creative class'. According to Florida (2003), there is a highly-mobile global creative class of young creatives (e.g. artists, entertainers, designers and engineers) that are able to 'create new meaningful forms' – and are therefore highly attractive for cities. Florida states that this group is extremely mobile and able to choose where they want to live – a choice that is based on the amenities, diversity, tolerance and vibrancy of cities (Florida, 2003). This assumed hyper-mobility of the creative class is frequently challenged by scholars. Although this group is often attracted to vibrant cities with a high quality of

place, such as London or Amsterdam, it seems that these creatives do not make their residential decisions solely based on amenities, diversity and 'vibrancy'. In fact, they still mostly base their residential choices on 'classic' factors like housing, accessibility and travel-time (Lawton, Murphy & Redmond, 2013; Brown, 2015; Martin-Brelot et al., 2010). Nonetheless, the existence of a certain group of transnational, footloose and talented 'creatives' that is attracted to places cities with a high quality of place is supported by other scholars (Brown, 2015; Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010).

Another contemporary group of (temporary) transnational migrants are 'lifestyle migrants' that enjoy the benefits of mobility to move abroad almost purely out of reasons of leisure. International lifestyle migration is a growing phenomenon, for instance among northern Europeans that are moving abroad in pursuit of a better quality of life (Fechter, 2016; Torkington, 2012). This form of leisure-based migration should "be located within late modern, global, elitist, borderless and highly mobile social practices" (Torkington, 2012, p. 71). Finally, a significant component of the flows of (temporary) transnationals between developed countries is the flow of international students. International student migration is a growing and increasingly relevant phenomenon (Levkovich, Rouwendal & Sa, 2016). Students often stay for longer periods of time than many expatriates – sometimes also after graduation –, and they are possible future transnational migrants. According to Koser and Salt (1997), "the international movement of students represents the internationalisation of knowledge, and is arguably the most effective vehicle for creating a global migratory elite" (p. 294). In their choice of residence, international students look at quality of life indicators of the host city, as well as academic facilities (Levkovich et al., 2010).

2.2.2 The global contest of attracting highly skilled foreign residents

Economic advantages of attracting highly skilled foreign residents

As mentioned in the previous section, highly skilled transnationals as a group differ significantly from the 'classic' image of immigrants. They are oftentimes welcomed with open arms by the receiving country, as the country benefits from their attractive skillsets (Koser & Salt, 1997; Colic-Peisker, 2010). Highly skilled migrants are attractive for host countries because of the significant economic and competitive advantages. They 'generate substantial value and wealth' in their host countries' knowledge economies, which is why developed nations are in growing competition with each other to welcome the skilled migrant's talents and human capital (Shachar, 2006, p. 152).

Highly skilled international migration is an important element in competing on the global economic stage. For world cities that want to become competitive or want to consolidate their position as 'command and control centre', highly skilled international migration is essential (Beaverstock, 2012). With their skillsets and international qualities, foreign knowledge workers play a vital role in complex 'cross-border' knowledge networks in which they are embedded. As 'key flows' in the globalised economy, they personify 'practical' and 'tacit' knowledge and contribute significantly to the wealth creation and global reach of financial centres in global cities (Beaverstock, 2002). This vital role in accumulating capital and knowledge is why the service-based world city economies and transnational corporations have created large demand for skilled, mobile, talented and internationally oriented professionals (Beaverstock, 2012).

Highly educated international workers generally offer significant economic advantages for host countries. As a result of the expansion of creative and knowledge-intensive sectors in developed (urban) economies, there is growing interest in highly-skilled knowledge workers, which is labelled 'the most important class' in the knowledge-based economy (Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010, p. 192;

Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). This is why it has become a priority for creative knowledge cities to attract (international) talent, as it contributes to the economic growth and the position in the global urban hierarchy of cities (Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010). This young and global group of people is found to bring new innovations and employment growth, and to 'power regional economic growth' (Brown, 2015; Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Florida, 2003).

As human capital is one of the drivers of economic growth in skills-intensive economies, the ability to attract highly skilled transnational workers is 'increasingly seen as an important indicator of the growth potential' of cities (Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016, p. 208). According to Beaverstock (2012), the depth of the talent pool of well-qualified people is the most important factor in urban competitiveness – and one of the main incentives for global firms to settle in certain world cities (Findlay et al., 1996). Developed countries, such as the Netherlands, need international workers to survive in the contemporary globalised economy (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). Besides the added value of their skillsets and networks, this group "can fill short-term labour gaps or be used to address long-term skills shortages" (Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016, p. 237). For similar reasons, countries benefit from attracting international students – as they might stay in the host country (Koser & Salt, 1997; Levkovich et al., 2016).

Besides the undeniable benefits of attracting highly skilled foreigners, there also seem to be some potential disadvantages. For instance, "a relatively high proportion of migrants may also crowd out natives from jobs", which "may also result in social tensions between groups, and may generate fear of foreign infiltration among natives" (Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016, p. 208). This may cause a form of intergroup conflict between locals and migrants, based on a 'perceived competition for resources' (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998). Another possible unintended consequence of attracting highly skilled migrants might be "increased spatial inequalities, segregation and socio-economic exclusion of lower skilled host and migrant communities" (Brown, 2015, p. 2352). Finally, according to Attiyah (1996), host country residents might be "alarmed by the erosive effect these expatriates may have on their local culture and identity" (p. 40). It should be noted, however, that skilled migration is generally viewed as a positive development which is highly attractive for host societies and contributes significantly to its economic competitiveness and innovativeness.

Local strategies to attract highly skilled international residents

As there is an increasing imperative for cities to attract human capital, which generates economic value and improves a city's global competitive position, cities are involved in a growing competition to attract highly skilled international knowledge workers (Brown, 2015; Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010). The United States used to be in the best position to receive the 'best and brightest' people from all over the world, but today many other countries and cities have entered this 'race for talent' – partially by designing policy programs specifically aimed to attract this group (Shachar, 2006). Some cities, such as Singapore, consider this as a 'global war for talent', in which they have to compete as this talent is vital to their progress (Seah, 2016; Beaverstock, 2012).

Policymakers and researchers – also in the Netherlands – are developing strategies to create favourable conditions in order to attract and retain highly skilled international workers (Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014; Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016; Groot, Van Gessel & Raspe, 2013; Musterd, 2004; Pethe et al., 2009). Whereas immigration policies in European countries used to be rather restrictive, they made a shift with regard to higher strata of foreign workers, which they now need to fill labour shortages and remain competitive (Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016). According to Shachar (2006), targeted immigration programs "increasingly serve as a tool to retain or gain an advantage in the new global

economy" (p. 148). He states that countries are willing to offer 'talent for citizenship' exchanges.

As there is rather strong competition to attract this mobile group, it is important to know their preferences in order to create attractive places for them to live and work (Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016). Beckers and Boschman (2019) state that "in the international competition for talent, local and national policy makers are keen to better understand the location choices of highly skilled workers in order to design more effective policies geared towards the group's attraction and retention" (p. 760). Therefore, there is a wealth of research focused on finding out the residential preferences of highly skilled international migrants (Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016; Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014). It is found that, for instance, job opportunities, high-income neighbourhoods, historic city centres, accessibility to international schools, a large supply of amenities and the presence of a migrant community are important elements in strengthening the attraction power of cities (Levkovich & Rouwendal, 2016; Beckers & Boschman, 2019).

Similarly, cities are developing policy programs in order to attract members of the 'creative class' (Brown, 2015). The idea is that cities from all sizes could stimulate favourable social and physical factors that are ought to attract this group – such as vibrancy and diversity (Florida, 2003). This is why many cities have launched 'creative city policies', which are generally focused on developing the 'quality of place' to which creative class workers are ought to be attracted (Brown, 2015). However, as mentioned earlier, it is regularly concluded that creative class workers are only attracted to 'soft' factors (i.e. quality of place) to a limited extent. Generally, 'hard' factors (e.g. job opportunities, accessibility and housing costs) are found to be more important in attracting this group (Brown, 2015; Martin-Brelot et al., 2010; Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010; Pethe et al., 2009).

2.2.3 The sociocultural integration of temporary foreign residents

Place attachment and integration of temporary foreign residents in host countries

In the contemporary age of increasing numbers of temporary migrants, it is relevant to look into their incorporation into the host societies – also as this might also contribute to how this group is perceived by host country nationals. Temporary migrants are frequently referred to as 'transnational' migrants. Transnationalism is a way of conceptualising the global space that rises beyond national borders (Colic-Peisker, 2010; Sandoz, 2019). As such, transnational migrants are embedded in more than one country. These mobile communities transcend nation-states, instead of residing 'permanently' in one country (Kearney, 1995). Even if they are (temporarily) settled in one place, they can be integrated in 'transnational social space' because of their involvement in transnational migrant networks. This way, they can be embedded both globally and locally at the same time (Beaverstock, 2002). This leads Moore (2004) to state that we should think in more abstract models which transcend the dichotomy of 'local' and 'global'. Transnational business people, for example, are not disconnected from the local, but they have linkages to both local and global groups. They are "inexorably linked to cities […] and yet detached from them by virtue of their globe-trotting lifestyles" (Moore, 2004, p. 1). In this transnational reality of permanent or semi-permanent mobility, where a group of professionals is 'never completely settled and always ready to go' (Polson, 2015, p. 643), it is more difficult to talk about a geographically based 'identity' of people (Vertovec, 2001; Kearney, 1995). According to Colic-Peisker (2010), the identity-belonging of transnational knowledge workers is to be found mainly in their globally recognised profession, as the transnational reality has repercussions for their geographical identity-belonging.

Oftentimes, transnational migrants are ought to have a cosmopolitan mindset, which allows

them to engage with different environments as an outsider and as a 'citizen of the world' (Farrer, 2010; Colic-Peisker, 2010). They are often viewed as 'nomadic workers' that only stay in one place for a short duration and that 'keep their future options open' (Brown, 2015). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, the concept of 'mobility' is better suited than 'migration' when it comes to highly skilled temporary migrants (Maslova & Chiodelli, 2018). Furthermore, the concept of 'foreigner' seems to fit better than the concept of 'immigrant', as the term immigrant implies "a linear movement from one country to the next, with detachment from the first country leading to assimilation in the new country" (Sandoz, 2019, p. 9). Rather, nomadic workers are often viewed as people with 'frictionless mobility' that live in the host society without engaging in 'meaningful encounters of incorporation' in the country (Brown, 2015, p. 2339). Integration in the host society, meaning that 'a person adapts himself to permanent settlement in a new environment', is irrelevant for temporary migrants that are in continuous mobility – although this is highly individually different (Carmon, 2016, p. 23).

According to Van Bochove and Engbersen (2015), despite the picture of expatriates as extraordinarily mobile people that are 'detached from incorporation' in the host society, many expatriates choose to engage in sociocultural integration in the Netherlands. However, there are significant differences between individual transnational migrants. Next to the temporary migrant that seamlessly integrates in the host society, there is the negative stereotype of the expat that has little local ties and is not rooted in the locality (Farrer, 2010). Although many expatriates do not see themselves as 'separated', they are certainly not always locally integrated to the largest extent – which might be explained by negative consequences of over-adaptation for global lifestyles (Farrer, 2010; Tung, 1998). According to Nijman (2007), a population of 'cosmopolitans' that are 'strangely detached' can have major implications for a city. Nijman sees cosmopolitans as temporary residents that are not fully invested in the locality, and he uses the metaphor of the city as a hotel: "people check in, use the facilities, and check out without investing social capital" (2007, p. 184). He notes that highly mobile cosmopolitans in Miami do not connect with locals, do not have a sense of belonging, and cannot engage in local citizenship due to their cosmopolitan lifestyle. Nijman (2007) sees the case of Miami as applicable to other global cities that are 'overwhelmed by flows' and deal with challenges for its civil society because of a "high and growing spatial mobility and transience of a large part of the population" (p. 185).

The extent to which temporary immigrants integrate in the host society is highly different for different individuals. Farrer (2010) states that many expatriates view themselves as culturally cosmopolitan and locally integrated, and Fechter (2016) mentions examples of highly committed transnational immigrants that care greatly for the country they reside in – besides examples of more detached expatriates. Generally, temporary migrants deal with a complex 'outsider-insider relationship' with the host society, to which they develop complex place attachments (Farrer, 2010; Seah, 2016). Norum (2013) describes how expatriates differ from both locals and tourists, and that to be an expat is "to be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home" (2013, p. 42). Torkington (2012) recognises this ambivalent relationship, in this case of lifestyle migrants: on one hand they remain outsiders in many ways, but on the other hand they also have the urgency to perceive their place of residence as their 'home place'. This is especially pregnant as transnational migrants are currently not embedded in their country of origin, at the same time that they are not perfectly rooted in their place of residence. Therefore, 'an ambiguous identity' emerges (Seah, 2016). Some temporary migrants still remain connected to their home country while overseas, by engaging in "home-making strategies deployed in an attempt […] to re-place home" (Butcher, 2010, p. 33). This can be manifest in engaging in social networks and activities that are related to the country of

origin, while living in a foreign country – prompted by "nostalgia and gentle undertones of homesickness in the face of difference" (Butcher, 2010, p. 33).

Some scholars state that increasing globalisation and mobility "may result in individuals who pursue lives without deep connections to particular places, valuing the freedoms associated with mobility" (Bailey et al., 2012, p. 210). However, there is also evidence suggesting that mobility does not necessarily weaken place attachment (Lewicka, 2011). In fact, residential mobility seems to lead to multiple place attachments and to different types of place attachment – but these are not necessarily weaker than attachments of less mobile residents (Pollini, 2005; Gieling et al., 2017). A possible explanation for this relationship between mobility and place attachment is that mobile people are often fortunate enough to choose the place where they want to attach themselves to (Torkington, 2012). Following the concept of 'elective belonging', people are able to connect deeply with places of their choosing – which does not necessarily has to be preceded by long-term residence (Savage et al., 2004; Bailey et al., 2012).

Social integration of temporary foreign residents

An important element of integration in the host society is the formation of social contacts with host country nationals. As temporary residents will (possibly) leave the country at some moment, the effort they invest in building social networks with locals depends on the preferences of the migrant, the expected length of the stay, and the host country context (e.g. the presence of other temporary transnational migrants). The degree to which individual temporary migrants engage in local network building differs significantly (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Multiple studies have shown the benefits for migrants of forming relationships with host country nationals in the adjustment process, as they can serve as helpful 'socialising agents' (Lineberry, 2012; Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). Furthermore, they can offer social support and induce more local social capital (Van Bakel, Van Oudenhoven & Gerritsen, 2017). Social contact between host country nationals and temporary migrants frequently leads to developing intense personal relationships, also during a rather short stay in the country (Kennedy, 2005). Furthermore, Harvey (2008) and Maslova and Chiodelli (2018) also find that temporary migrants in Western cities do not cluster geographically and do not only form social relations with fellow expatriates. Butcher (2010) also sees that, although there are many expatriates that generally have little contact with locals, there are also expats that 'deliberately avoid the expatriate community' and generate contacts with locals. However, although expatriates are often viewed as cosmopolitans that easily make inter-cultural contacts, they also often have social ties with other expats or people with similar backgrounds (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). This means that, besides individual differences between expats, they regularly have social contacts with both locals and fellow expatriates. According to Van Bochove and Engbersen (2015), however, becoming friends with locals is not that easy in the Netherlands, and social networks with fellow expats that share the same language and experiences can provide a 'comfort zone'.

In some cities, like Zürich and Luxembourg, it appears that locals are reserved, protective and defensive toward temporary foreign residents. In other cities, like Singapore and London, this is less so (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). In the Netherlands, expats often perceive locals as trying to keep them at a distance, as they prefer socialising with other Dutch residents (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Language is an important element in impeding contacts between locals and expats in Luxemburg and the Netherlands. In both countries, the host country nationals easily switch to English during contacts with foreigners. However, this may eventually be a barrier as expatriates "do not get the opportunity to learn Dutch and therefore always remain outsiders" (Van Bochove & Engbersen,

2015, p. 306). The same mechanism is relevant in Luxemburg, where locals speaking the local language is perceived by expats as a mechanism to 'purposely exclude them' – even though this is often not the case. Furthermore, the high English proficiency of locals might lead expats to believe that there is no need to learn the host country's language – which is experienced as 'disdainful indifference' toward the local population by host country nationals (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). In 'assimilative countries' (like Germany and France), expatriates are more apt to learn the language, which makes contact between locals and expats easier. Furthermore, the amount of foreign residents in the city impacts the contacts between locals and foreigners. In highly international cities, many colleagues of expats are fellow expats. As the social life of expats is often linked to the company, this makes that they generally socialise with other expats (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). Multiple other factors influence the degree of social contacts between expats and locals, such as cultural distance, duration of stay and the inclination of other expats to socialise with locals (Harvey, 2008). A lack of social contacts between those groups can have negative repercussions for the social cohesion and the local civil society (Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2010; Noordeloos, 2018).

Van Bochove and Engbersen (2015) conclude that in the Netherlands almost three quarters of the expatriates generally socialises with fellow expatriates, and that a majority primarily has friends with a similar background. As mentioned, this may have to do with the personal networks that revolve around the workplace (Brown, 2015). Furthermore, it is attractive to socialise with people from similar backgrounds. This is explained by the concept of 'homophily', "which describes the extent to which people tend to associate with those who are like themselves" as a result of higher trust and easier communication (Tung, 1998, p. 131). Also, as it is often difficult to make contacts with locals, being a part of the 'international community' serves as "a gateway to a city in which they would otherwise be very much alone" (Polson, 2015, p. 643). Moreover, Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) conclude that many expats in Luxembourg prefer interacting with internationals, and show 'little or no interest' in making contacts with locals. They see little need to interact with host country nationals, as they learn useful local information from their fellow internationals. Similarly, Nijman (2007) notes that 'cosmopolitans' in Miami "are almost by definition not interested in locals" (p. 185). As mentioned, a lack of contact between locals and foreign residents might have unfavourable implication. Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) point out the presence of 'two worlds' in Luxembourg, where foreign residents generally appear disconnected from locals. The authors highlight the "risk of developing an international aristocracy, characterised by the decreasing involvement of international executives in local society and no identification with the local environment" (p. 117). A similar picture is painted by Nijman (2007), who notes that in Miami the cosmopolitan elites form "their own society and constitute symbolically secluded communities, retrenched behind the very material barrier of real estate pricing" (p. 185).

Especially in the Asian context, this notion of 'two worlds' seems to be relevant. Fechter (2007, 2016) notes the pervasive importance for Western expatriates of living within the 'expatriate bubble' or the 'expatriate cocoon'. Here, many expatriates mainly socialise with other Western expatriates, a phenomenon that Beaverstock (2002) recognises in Singapore. He observed that outside of their work life, expatriates were disembedded from the local social context, as they had almost no interactions with the local population. The expatriate bubble is characterised by a 'homogeneous lifestyle' where expatriates live amongst each other in 'a generic anywhere of corporate-provided suburban comforts' (Farrer, 2010, p. 1224) – a negative stereotype that exists besides the more positive stereotype of seeing expats as cosmopolitans (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Beaverstock notes an 'expatriate ambience' in one Singaporean neighbourhood, due to a

critical mass of amenities "that caters almost exclusively for 'foreign talent'" (2012, p. 247). Butcher (2010) also sees expatriate bubbles in Asia, and notes that expats are mainly involved in social activities that 'provide a comfort zone' and where expats generally meet each other.

It is important to note that reports of 'expat bubbles' in scientific literature almost all concern Western expats in Asian countries. There is little research on the sociocultural incorporation of (Western) expats in Western societies. As there might be less cultural distance between expats and locals in Western countries, the underlying mechanism of expat bubbles might very well be less pervasive. Accordingly, the existence of an expat bubble is not recognised in the Netherlands, where there is more interaction between expats and locals – albeit in various degrees and individually different (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Furthermore, there are sources that emphasise the individual agency of expats to get involved in sociocultural integration in the host country – which is something that many expatriates choose to do (Fechter, 2016; Butcher, 2010; Kennedy, 2005).

Cultural integration of temporary foreign residents

The cultural integration of migrants into host societies is a widely covered theme in social sciences. The acculturation theory of Berry (1992) poses that migrants can yield various strategies when it comes to adapting to the host society's culture – depending on individual preferences. Migrants can adjust themselves, by adopting cultural values of the host culture and increasing the 'cultural fit' in society. However, they can also choose for 'withdrawal', which is when someone removes himself from the 'adaptative arena' and does not actively reduce cultural differences with the host society. Furthermore, Berry (1992) distinguishes several outcomes. One of these is 'assimilation', which occurs when "immigrants adopt the cultural norms and lifestyles of the host society in a way that ultimately leads to the disappearance of the newcomers as a separate group" (Carmon, 2016, p. 23). Factors that contribute to assimilation are social contacts with locals, a longer period of residence and the ability to understand the norms of the host culture (Carmon, 2016; Kim, 2017). When the perceived cultural distance between the host culture and the migrants' culture is larger, the adaptation process will generally be less easy (Kim, 2017). Cultural distance is the 'uniqueness of two cultures from one another' – prompted by cultural features like values, manners or food (Lineberry, 2012). According to Van Oudenhoven and Benet-Martinez (2015), contemporary societies often have 'fading majority groups' and larger migrant populations, which supports forms of 'biculturalism' (where a migrant holds on to elements of his or her original culture) instead of assimilation. According to Brown (2015), this cultural diversity can be a 'driver for innovation and growth'. However, it appears that the general position of European governments remains that immigrants should incorporate dominant cultural values and norms (De Leeuw & Van Wichelen, 2012). As the cultural distance between Western countries is rather small, this might be less relevant when it comes to Western temporary migrants.

According to Lineberry (2012), expats either choose a maintenance-focused strategy or an engagement-focused strategy vis-à-vis the host society's culture. Home culture maintenance eventually leads to lower adjustment, while engagement with the host culture is associated with greater professional performance and greater social adjustment (Lineberry, 2012). Generally, transnational knowledge workers are viewed as having less 'obligations' to go through a process of integration than immigrants, as the latter is expected to stay permanently (Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). However, according to Tung (1998), many expatriates seem to choose an 'integration mode' when overseas, "which entails selecting the best from both home and host country cultures" – although 'over-adaptation' to the country of residence may lead to difficulties in

future moves abroad (p. 130).

Temporary foreign residents are often ought to engage with the host country's culture as they prefer to explore new environments, accumulate cultural capital, and 'develop their cosmopolitan credentials' (Colic-Peisker, 2010, p. 483; Brown, 2015). Van Bochove and Engbersen note that many expats in the Netherlands make efforts to engage with the local culture, although it does not come easy because of the relatively 'closed' society. However, other scholars emphasise the lack of cultural integration among expatriates. Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) note that expatriates in Luxembourg are barely interested in the country and its culture, Atiyyah (1996) sees that many Western expats in Arab Gulf countries "make little or no effort to understand the host culture and adjust to it" (p. 39), and Butcher (2010) observes that Australian expatriates in Singapore try to re-create their home culture instead of engaging with the local culture. In Miami, Nijman (2007) even notes that local residents are subordinated to the global culture of transnational residents that 'control and commodify' local spaces (p. 184). From all this, it should be concluded that the degree to which temporary foreign residents engage with the host society's culture, language and population is highly context dependent and individually different, as it varies greatly.

Finally, language is an important element when it comes to sociocultural incorporation in a society. The degree to which temporary migrants engage in learning the local language seems to vary per country. In France and Germany, for instance, "expatriates have to learn the host language in order to adjust", which eases participation in the society and fosters social contacts between locals and expatriates (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018, p. 114). In countries with a high English proficiency, however, expatriates have less incentives to learn the language. Moreover, in many cases they are discouraged to do so because of English speaking locals. This might create barriers for interactions between internationals and locals (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015). Furthermore, since English is the most important corporate language (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018), and the lingua franca among transnationals (Colic-Peisker, 2010), there are seem to be few incentives to learn the local language in countries where the English proficiency is high.

3. Context chapter

It is important to sketch the context of Amsterdam and the Westerpark area, and to highlight the specific dynamics that are going on vis-à-vis the growth of the international population. The three sections in this chapter focus on respectively the local Amsterdam culture, facts and figures around Amsterdam's international population, and sentiments among local residents around the presence of temporary foreign residents. Both scientific and societal sources are used in this chapter. This chapter provides information on the city of Amsterdam as well as the more specific situation of the Westerpark area, which is the neighbourhood-level demarcation in this study. The Westerpark area is one of the three formal areas in the overarching city district of Amsterdam-West. The area consists of six neighbourhoods – of which the Staatsliedenbuurt and the Frederik Hendrikbuurt are most relevant for this study since the respondents are all residing there. The Westerpark area has 37.143 inhabitants, whereas the total city of Amsterdam is home to 862.987 people (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a). It is a residential neighbourhood with a diverse population that has been subject to processes of gentrification in the last decades (Metaal & Teijmant, 2008). *Figure 1* (on page 11) shows the Westerpark area on the city map.

3.1 Local culture and identity of Amsterdam

Just like other cities, Amsterdam can be associated with specific characteristics that make the city somewhat different from other places. This 'identity' of Amsterdam consists of multiple components, such as the physical layout of the city (e.g. the canal belt) and its cultural elements (e.g. the dialect or typical manners). Although this is rather ambiguous, diverse and controversial – as not every inhabitant will look at this the same way – one might say that together with a multitude of other characteristic elements, these form the overarching 'place entity' of Amsterdam: "an abstraction from the real world that can be uniquely identified and represented" (Marzano, 2015, p. 45).

The collective meanings that are given to a locality are often derived from typical norms or values that are associated with that locality. In the case of Amsterdam, there is a history of 'typical' values that characterise the city. Historically, Amsterdam has an image of a trading city, which was flourishing globally in the Dutch Golden Age. Despite this success, Amsterdam used to be a more 'sober' décor than cities like Paris or London, as showing grandeur did not match the prevailing Calvinistic mentality. In line with this mentality, Amsterdam focused almost entirely on commercial interests and acted with "with an appreciation of the ordinary and a distaste for extravagance" (Nijman, 1999, p. 153). Following the ideals of Calvinism and commercialism, Amsterdam used to embrace a tolerant attitude and welcomed (otherwise repressed) foreign populations in the city: "diversity of religion or ethnicity was simply irrelevant" (Nijman, 1999, p. 153; Shorto, 2013). Another (historic) element of Amsterdam's urban culture is 'egalitarianism', which is derived from the rather 'leftist' political and ideological movements in the city – especially in the 1960s (Nijman, 1999).

The anti-establishment elements and the idea of tolerance are still visible in the global image of Amsterdam as a place for sex, drugs and moral pervasiveness – albeit rather commercialised under influence of global tourism (Nijman, 1999). The image of Amsterdam as a free and tolerant city is also pervasive in more widely supported profiles of the city. In a recent speech, the mayor of Amsterdam emphasised the 'free and quirky' identity of Amsterdam (Het Parool, 2020). Furthermore, the annual Gay Pride indicates the free and tolerant character of Amsterdam – the 'gay capital' of Europe (Derbali, 2018). Another characteristic feature of Amsterdam is its multicultural and diverse population: among its population Amsterdam counts 175 different nationalities (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b; Brand, 2018). Besides the rather broad values of freedom and tolerance, the Amsterdam culture also includes some more 'folklore' cultural features, like the local dialect, the harsh humour, and local food and drink specialities (Van Der Lans, 2006; Genootschap Onze Taal, 1997). In contemporary Amsterdam, these folklore-like cultural elements are slowly losing ground as many 'original' Amsterdam residents have left the city (Duin, 2017; Nijman, 1999). Nevertheless, "there can be little question that many inhabitants identify with Amsterdam as *their* city, a reflection of the importance of place-identity at the urban level" (Nijman, 1999, p. 155). This urban identity certainly still entails some authentic 'folklore' elements, although it encompasses much more than that. Giving a complete overview of the 'Amsterdam identity' is nearly impossible, especially within the limits of this research, as it is a diffuse and diverse place entity that is a coalescence of the associations with the city of almost a million different Amsterdam residents. However, some of the elements of the Amsterdam identity that are mentioned in this section might be essential features to which local residents are attached.

Finally, the Westerpark area also has a specific history and a related 'identity'. The Staatsliedenbuurt, one of the neighbourhoods within Westerpark, has a history as an anti-establishment neighbourhood where many squatters were residing in the 1980's (Van Vuuren, 2013). Then, the neighbourhood was often referred to as a 'run down'. Today, the neighbourhood has an

entirely different character, as Westerpark has been subject to revitalising and gentrification (Metaal & Teijmant, 2008). Nowadays, Westerpark is a 'hip' area with major cultural events which is home to many middle and higher-income households. Nevertheless, the Staatsliedenbuurt is still regarded as a rather creative neighbourhood, where the former squatter movement still has some relevance.

3.2 Amsterdam as an international city

In the international competition to attract talent to cities and regions, Amsterdam seems to be one of the top contenders (Beckers & Boschman, 2019). The Netherlands is actively developing policy to attract and retain highly skilled foreigners – for example through tax reimbursements (CBS, 2018). As formulated in several policy documents from multiple ministries, the aim is to be a competitive economy and to offer an 'excellent environment' for international and native knowledge workers (Groot et al., 2013). Some possible policy measures that help attract highly skilled foreigners are, among others, attracting international companies, creating attractive housing options, creating an 'international milieu', offering possibilities for permanent settlement, and creating tax or healthcare benefits – which are also in the toolbox of the Dutch government (Hercog, 2008; Musterd, 2004). Hosting international students is also part of the governmental policy to attract talent (Groot et al., 2013). Rather successfully, the Netherlands retains international talent after they graduated: 35% of the international students who graduated in 2010 were living in the Netherlands in 2014 (CBS, 2018).

Amsterdam already seems to be one of the most suitable places for a knowledge economy and for attracting the necessary flow of international talent. Van Winden et al. (2007) point out that Amsterdam is a 'natural magnet' for knowledge economy activities, as it 'scores highly on virtually all indicators' (e.g. an innovative milieu, well-connected to the world and a metropolitan ambiance). Musterd (2004) also recognises that with a high score on diversity and tolerance criteria, an inviting labour market, and attractive amenities, Amsterdam has the right qualities to compete in the creative knowledge era – besides having a strained housing market. Finally, the arrival of (highly skilled) immigrants is not only 'essential to the creative, cultural knowledge city': in 2017 over 35.000 foreign people moved to Amsterdam, without whom the city would be shrinking instead of growing (Couzy, 2018b; Musterd, 2004). This is in line with the general trend of an increasingly international population in Amsterdam.

In 2014, 22.800 people from other countries settled in Amsterdam – almost twice as much as in 2000 (11.600) – primarily from America (1.362), Great Britain (1.205) and Germany (1.119) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). This group is generally referred to as 'expats' in media outlets: temporary and highly qualified residents from a foreign country, often working at an internationally oriented firm and earning more than average, who have no intention of settling permanently and hardly identify themselves with The Netherlands (Ooijevaar & Verkooijen, 2015). Although many newcomers in Amsterdam could be considered expats (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016; Sleutjes & Boterman, 2014), the city's statistics office prefers to work with other, less ambiguous terms: 'Western immigrants' and 'other non-Western immigrants'. A Western immigrant is someone from Europe, North America, Oceania, Indonesia or Japan. An 'other non-Western immigrant' is someone from a non-Western country that is not Morocco, Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles – Brazil, India and China are highly represented among this group (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016; CBS, 2020). Therefore, it is justified to look at the number of Western immigrants and other non-Western immigrants as an indication for the settlement of expats in Amsterdam (Musterd, 2004).

In recent years, Amsterdam is growing primarily because of foreign immigration. In 2018, for

instance, 43.000 immigrants moved to Amsterdam while 27.000 left the city – a balance of 16.000 new foreign residents, while this was 9.000 in 2016 and 1.800 in 2013 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). At the same time, the Dutch population of the city is decreasing both absolutely and relatively, partially because of the affordability of Amsterdam (see *Table 1*). In 1992, 62% of the population was native Dutch, which is expected to be 44% in 2026 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). According to the municipality, a growing population of internationals 'that often still have strong bonds with their home country and in many cases do not learn Dutch' is an important reason for this increasing diversity (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016, p. 3). Among this group are expats and international students, although it is difficult to ascertain the exact numbers of expats in Amsterdam: estimates vary from 11.700 in 2011 to 77.000 in 2015 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016; Sterling, 2017). For this reason, as mentioned earlier, the municipality looks at 'Western immigrants' and 'other non-Western immigrants' to measure this group. Both groups have been growing steadily in recent years: in 2017 over 38.000 migrants moved to Amsterdam, and in 2018 this was over 43.000 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). The largest proportion of new residents in 2018 were immigrants from the United Kingdom (3.700), the United States (3.000), India (3.000) and Germany (2.500) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). Other important immigration countries are France, China, Poland, Turkey, Brazil and Australia. The most noticeable trend has been the sharp increase in the number of migrants from the United Kingdom: Since 2008, Amsterdam has welcomed the most immigrants from this country every year (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). Otherwise noticeable is the increase in Indian migrants: in 2018 the number of Indian migrants was almost five times as large as in 2008. For Brazil, the number multiplied with three in the same period (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). *Table 1* shows the population trends of different migrant groups for the past years.

Table 1: Population trend 2015-2019 for different migration backgrounds (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b)

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	822.272	834.713	844.952	854.316	862.987
Dutch	402.732	403.476	401.687	398.113	393.185
Western	134.124	140.431	146.581	153.905	160.566

The municipality of Amsterdam also expects that in the future the largest groups of immigrants will come from India, the United States and the United Kingdom. The most recent prognosis is that foreign immigration specifically will lead to 104.000 additional residents in the city in 2030 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). The population dynamics will lead to an increasingly diverse population. *Table 2* shows the shares of Western migrants, other non-Western migrants and Dutch natives of the population of Amsterdam for the past, present and future.

Table 2: Shares of the total population of Amsterdam. Information for 2007 and 2010 is derived from Gemeente Amsterdam (2010a). Information for 2020 – 2050 is derived from Gemeente Amsterdam (2020b)

	2007	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Western	14,1%	14,9%	19,3%	20,5%	21,7%	23,0%
Other non-Western	9,6%	10,1%	13,5%	17,6%	19,8%	21,2%
Dutch	51,4%	50,1%	44,5%	41,9%	40,6%	39,4%

Generally, foreign knowledge workers in the Netherlands tend to live in one of the cities in the

Randstad and in Eindhoven (CBS, 2018; Groot et al., 2013). Amsterdam has the largest concentration: 22% of all foreign knowledge workers in the Netherlands lived in Amsterdam in 2013 (Groot et al., 2013). Many highly skilled foreigners tend to settle in inner city and higher income neighbourhoods with relatively large shares of Western migrants and an 'urban vibe' (Beckers & Boschman, 2019; Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016) – *Figure 2* shows the spatial distribution of Western immigrants in Amsterdam.

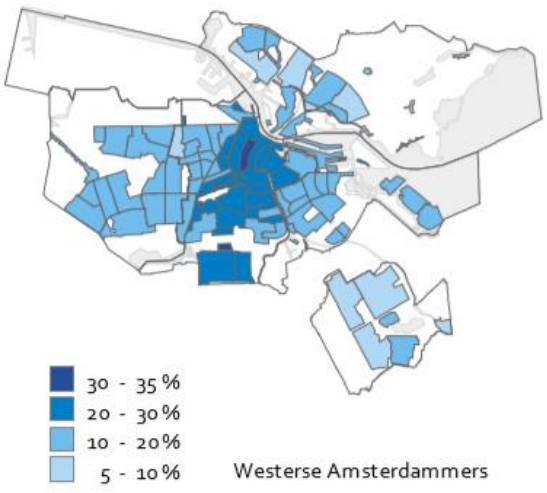

Figure 2: Spatial distribution and concentrations of Western immigrants in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016)

Although Westerpark is not home to one of the highest concentrations in the city, this residential area hosts increasingly larger shares of Western immigrants over the past years (see *Table 3*). Among the total of 37.143 residents, Westerpark houses 7.939 Western immigrants and 19.611 native Dutch residents (see *Table 4*). The most common Western nationalities in Westerpark are British, Italian, German, French, American and Spanish (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a). In 2018, 4.249 native Dutch people, 4.326 Western immigrants, and 2.144 other non-Western migrants settled in the overarching city district of Amsterdam-West – a higher influx of people from 'expat countries' than native Dutch (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a).

Table 3: Shares of Western immigrant residents for the Westerpark area and Amsterdam from 2010-2020 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020a)

	Westerpark	Amsterdam
2020	22,5%	19,3%
2016	19,5%	16,8%
2014	18,6%	15,9%
2010	17,6%	14,8%

Table 4: Western and Dutch residents in the Westerpark area (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a)

	Western	Dutch	Total
Westerpark	7.939	19.611	37.143

3.3 Sentiments around the presence of temporary foreign residents

Besides the statistical growth of the number of expats in Amsterdam, their increased presence is also noticed by local residents – for instance visually by seeing more people with bicycle helmets (Kruyswijk, 2018). As mentioned earlier, Amsterdam benefits from the arrival of international residents in multiple ways. This leads a city councillor to state that 'expats are an asset' for the city – an opinion that is shared by multiple scholars (AT5, 2017a, 2017b). Also, expats stimulate the local economy by spending money on local coffee shops and restaurants (Couzy, 2018b). Historically, Amsterdam has always been an 'open' city that attracted foreigners – both because of a tolerant attitude and the awareness of the economic benefits (Shorto, 2013).

As mentioned in the introduction of this research, however, the internationalisation trend is also received with criticism in some (local) media outlets. AT5 stated that "expats are conquering the city" (AT5, 2017d), and local alderman Ivens thinks that 'the balance is heading in the wrong direction' (AT5, 2017c). As Dutch residents are leaving the city and (temporary) Western immigrants are arriving, *Het Parool* states that Amsterdam is diversifying in terms of cultural backgrounds, but is becoming less diverse in terms of socio-economic status: departing Dutch residents are generally replaced by relatively wealthy and highly educated immigrants (Couzy, 2019a). This residents is critical of this development: "families are leaving the city and make place for highly educated expats", and "before you know it we are an international city where only the buildings represent the own 'identity'" (Verhoeven, 2019). Another resident reveals that he sometimes 'feels like a visitor in his own neighbourhood' (Sterling, 2017). Finally, the sentiment of another local resident is clear: "expats go home and leave the city to us" (Sterling, 2017). It should be emphasised strongly that the temporary foreign residents in the city are a greatly diverse group with different levels of education, incomes, motivations and ways of engaging with the local culture, language and residents. However, as this present research is interested in how the development of an increasing international population is perceived by long-term local residents and possibly influences their place attachment, it is relevant to reflect the sentiments in local media outlets – which is frankly largely critical.

Although there is little available information concerning the social lives of expatriates in Amsterdam, it appears that there is at least some contact between expats among each other. According to Van Der Beek (2018), "expats look for each other by definition". He states that The Amsterdam Expat Meetup Group, that organises events where expats can meet each other, has almost 20.000 members. Furthermore, Spaans (2018) notices that that are several Amsterdam football teams that primarily consist of expats. Although this does not necessarily mean a lack of contact between expats and locals, it might be an indication that it is hard for those groups to get into contact – potentially because of a reserved attitude among locals (Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). In line with this latter statement, Westbeek (2019) argues that international students in Amsterdam have difficulties in adjusting to the city and the language, partially because of a lack of contact with Dutch students – while most of them would like to have these contacts.

One of the recurring topics in media reports surrounding temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam, is the increasing presence of the English language in the city. In Amsterdam, there is little need to learn the Dutch language: the Netherlands is ranked number one in the global English proficiency index (Education First, 2019). As people in Amsterdam 'love to speak English' and do not mind being addressed and answering in English, it is 'difficult for foreigners to practice their Dutch' (Kuiken, 2009, p. 129). Many media outlets report that people are being addressed in English more often when visiting shops, cafes or restaurants in Amsterdam – partially because of international staff that does not speak Dutch (RTL, 2019; Jensen & Jensen, 2019; Wolthuizen, 2018; Emmer, 2018).

AT5 (2019b) sharply states that in contemporary Amsterdam "you will have to get used to ordering your coffee in English". Although many Dutch citizens speak English properly, there are also people that do not (Van Houten, 2014). Among some people, the trend of anglicisation in Amsterdam leads to 'discontent' and 'confusion', according to *Het Parool* (Couzy, 2019b).

Another recurring topic surrounding the growing numbers of temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam is the housing market situation. Amsterdam has a tight housing market, as it is a popular city to live in with a limited housing stock. The increasing numbers of (temporary) migrants 'leads to extra shortages on the Amsterdam housing market' (NU.nl, 2019). The growing number of expats that enter the city via large international firms or organisations all need houses to live in (Spaans, 2018). According to a research by ING, the influx of international students and migrants is almost three times as large as the increase of suitable dwellings (NU.nl, 2019). This research also concludes that 'migrants with a large salary and students from foreign countries have a price-boosting effect on the Amsterdam housing market'. On average, expats have rather high salaries, and they are usually in a hurry to find a dwelling – which leads to higher housing prices (NU.nl, 2019; Telegraaf, 2019). Musterd (2004) also recognises the 'invasion and succession processes' on the Amsterdam housing market: "the strongest households will push weaker households aside, as can be shown for the immigrants from Western countries. These households tend to have higher incomes, are educated to a higher level, and are able to buy or rent in the most desirable areas" (p. 231). However, Spaans (2018) notes that also expats suffer from the tight housing market, as many expats do not necessarily earn more money than the average Amsterdam residents. This is also recognised by Sleutjes and Boterman (2014), who state that the tight housing market situation will eventually be a push-factor for highly skilled foreigners to move to Amsterdam.

Lastly, after discussing these sentiments and local media reports, it is important to emphasise individual differences among both temporary foreign residents and local residents. The group of temporary foreign residents that moves to Amsterdam is diverse and diffuse, and will integrate in the city to various degrees. For instance, whereas some do not learn the Dutch language, others do. Furthermore, native Dutch residents will perceive the presence of temporary foreign residents in various ways. Some people might judge this as a negative influence, while others see it as a positive addition to the city. This present study will scientifically investigate the sentiments around this development among long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark, as well as the way in which this influences their place attachment to their city and their neighbourhood.

4. Operationalisation

4.1 Conceptual model

This study focuses on how the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population possibly influences the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark on both the neighbourhood level and the city level. The relevant concepts and processes concerned with the subject of this study are elaborated upon extensively in the theoretical framework and the context chapter. From the review of scientific and societal sources, some general expectations on the possible influences of an internationalising population on the place attachment of local residents can be visualised. The central concepts and processes, as well as the supposed relations between them, are shown in the schematic conceptual model below (*Figure 3*). It should be emphasised that the conceptual model visualises possible relations between concepts and processes, instead of a

visualisation of the reality. Together with the theoretical framework, the conceptual model allows to make the central concepts and processes clear and 'measurable' – which is worked out more elaborately in the next section. These interpretations of the matter with which this research is concerned eventually fed the research instrument – the topic list – which was used to conduct the interviews. The results of the interviews do not necessarily correspond with the conceptual model that has been developed prior to the analysis of the interview data. Furthermore, as this present research uses a qualitative and inductive research strategy (see the *Methodology* section), it is not the purpose to reject or accept the conceptual model. The conceptual model merely serves as a tool to visualise the possible relation between several relevant concepts, mechanisms and processes.

The conceptual model shows the schematic possible influence of the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population on the (cultural, social, physical and emotional) place attachment of long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark on both the neighbourhood level and the city level. As visualised below, the increasing internationalisation of the population is influenced by several processes, such as an increase in (temporary) foreign residents, a decrease in native Dutch residents, the existence of motivations and policies to attract highly skilled foreigners, and overarching processes of global integration and increasing mobility. Altogether, the actual increasing internationalisation of the Amsterdam population is a development that might influence the place attachment of local residents through various 'mediating' mechanisms. The internationalisation possibly entails consequences that might influence the place attachment of locals, instead of this development itself influencing the place attachment of locals. An increasingly international population might, for instance, lead to: a higher presence of foreign residents in the city (in public space and in the 'street scene'), a spread or increase in the usage of the English language in the city, changing amenities that match the preferences of international residents, changing cultural elements (e.g. norms, values and manners) that are supported by international residents, and a changing nature of social relations and social cohesion within residential zones (for instance because of the temporary nature of the residence or because of language barriers). These possible consequences might in turn affect the place attachment of local residents, but it might do so in fairly different manners. While one local resident might perceive these developments as a positive influence on his or her place attachment, another one might perceive it as a negative influence. The relation between these developments and locals' place attachment might thus be 'moderated' by important factors regarding both the local residents involved and the experiences that the local resident has with the foreign residents that he or she encounters. These relevant factors might be, for instance, the socioeconomic status of local residents, the English proficiency of local residents, the ideological stance toward foreign cultures (i.e. cosmopolitanism or localism) of local residents, the attachment to and perception of the 'authentic' local Amsterdam culture by local residents, and the amount and nature of the social contacts that local residents have with foreign residents (e.g. in their personal networks). These factors might lead to different interpretations and appreciations of the internationalisation of the population among local residents, and as such this development might have various kinds of (positive or negative) influences on their place attachment. Finally, the conceptual model shows the parallel processes of gentrification and tourism. These processes are relevant to the Amsterdam context, where neighbourhood upgrading, domestic immigration, rising housing prices and mass tourism are developments that might influence the perception of the influences of the internationalisation of the population among local residents. In the following section, an operationalisation of the central concept of place attachment follows.

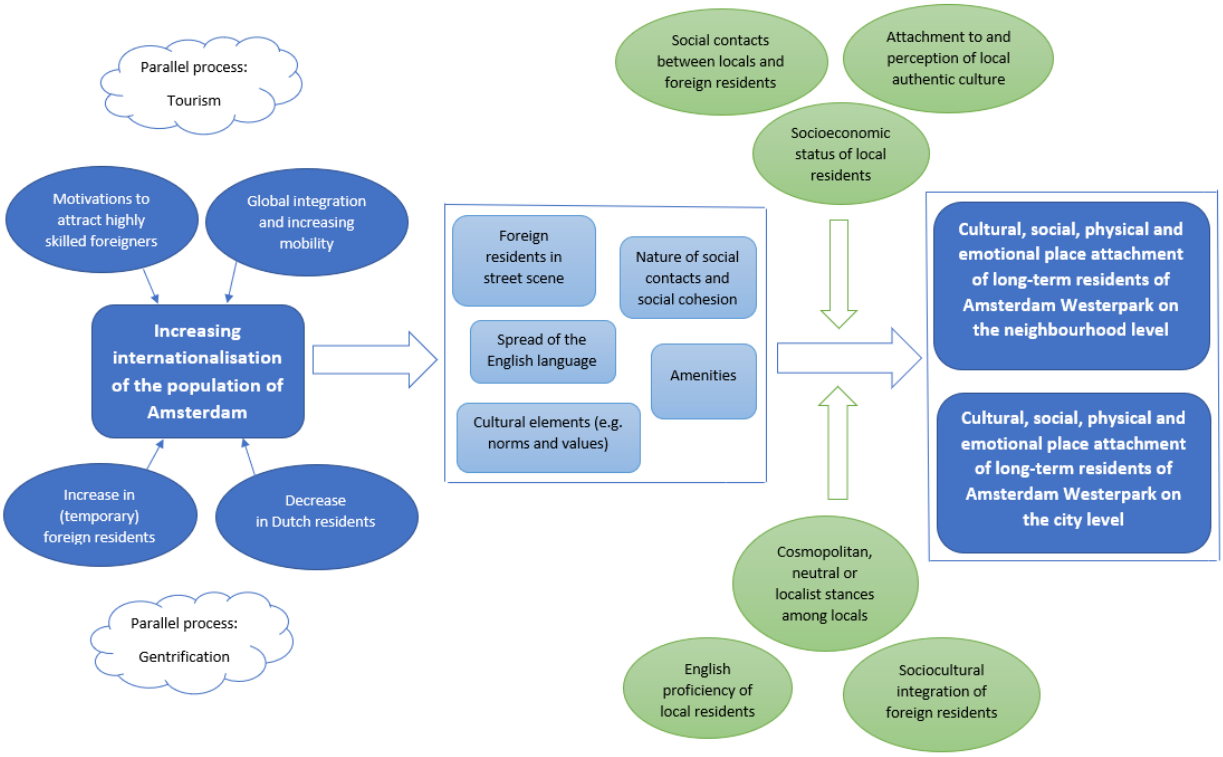

Figure 3: Schematic conceptual model

4.2 Operationalisation: interpretation of place attachment

In order to engage empirically with the research question that is central to this present study, it is necessary to operationalise the central concept of 'place attachment' – to make it measurable. As established in the first chapter of the theoretical framework, place attachment is a rather complex and multidimensional concept (Altman & Low, 1992). Overall, place attachment captures the bond between people and certain places to which they are attached – such as their city or neighbourhood. However, to thoroughly analyse the place attachment of people, it is necessary to somewhat 'dissect' the concept and to look at the attachments to the different dimensions of that place. It is, for instance, relevant to know if someone is particularly attached to the physical layout of a place, the cultural elements that are associated with that place, or rather to the social ties that he or she has in that place – or a combination of these dimensions. Therefore, this present study – in imitation of others – chooses to subdivide place attachment into multiple 'measurable' dimensions. This exercise is necessary in order to tell more specifically how the increasing internationalisation of the Amsterdam population influences which features of the place attachment of long-term residents.

This study subdivides place attachment into four dimensions: a social, physical, cultural and emotional dimension. Firstly, the social dimension of place attachment – often dubbed the most elemental dimension – captures the attachment of individuals to the social contacts, ties, communities and networks that are associated to that place. This dimension of place attachment could be measured by looking at, for instance, the number of social contacts, the strength of social contacts, or the existence of a community and social support within the place (such as a neighbourhood). The Operationalisation Scheme (*Appendix 1*) covers the specific indicators that are

used to measure the four respective dimensions of place attachment. The second dimension of place attachment is the physical dimension. This involves the attachment to physical features of places, for instance public space, architecture or greenery. Furthermore, this study also includes the different kinds of amenities under the physical dimension of place, as well as the encounters that people have in public spaces. Both amenities and encounters could also be placed under another dimension of place, but as these are both phenomena that can be physically experienced, they are captured under the physical dimension of place. As such, examples of indicators to measure the physical dimension of place attachment in this study are the satisfaction with local amenities, the sentiments and opinions around the (sort of) people that are encountered in public spaces, and the opinions about the physical beauty of the city and neighbourhood. Furthermore, the third dimension of place attachment is the cultural dimension of place. As places, such as cities or neighbourhood, oftentimes have particular cultural elements that are associated with that space (such as dialects, food specialties or manners), these are place-related features to which individuals or group can become attached. In the case of Amsterdam and the Westerpark area, it might for instance be that people are attached to the cultural elements that are elaborated upon in the third chapter of the theoretical framework – which might possibly be influenced to a certain extent by the internationalisation development. Examples of indicators that measure this dimension of place attachment are attachment to dialects, values and typical social manners that are related to Amsterdam or Westerpark.

Finally, the fourth dimension of place attachment that this study distinguishes, the emotional dimension, is somewhat different from the previous three dimensions. This dimension captures the attachments that people have to places that are less identifiable or explainable. It concerns the way in which people feel *at place* and *at home* in the city and the neighbourhood. It is both made up by the other three dimensions of place attachment and transcends it. This dimension of place attachment is largely related to the adjacent concepts of place identity and sense of place, as it concerns the broad way at which someone feels at place somewhere, as well as what this place in its totality means to the individual. Furthermore, it covers feelings of 'pride' and identifications with the place. For instance, to state that 'I am an Amsterdammer', would be an indication for a form of emotional place attachment. Despite its ambiguity, this dimension actually is the most important dimension of place attachment, as it captures the overall sentiment of feeling pleasant in the place and having a sense of belonging. Indicators that measure this dimension of place attachment are, for instance, pride in being associated with 'belonging to' the city or the neighbourhood, an overall feeling of home, and the feeling to be 'at place' somewhere.

5. Methodology

5.1 Research strategy and research design

5.1.1 Research strategy

This research wields a qualitative research strategy. The subject of this study, emotions and attitudes of individuals towards place, is better grasped in words rather than in quantitative data. In trying to understand how residents from Amsterdam Westerpark are attached to their city and neighbourhood in the context of an internationalising population, this research analyses the phrases and word choices of the respondents. Because of this emphasis on words and the desire to get an in-depth understanding of the place attachment of these residents, a qualitative research strategy suits this research particularly well (Bryman, 2012; Van Liempt, 2019).

Consistent with a qualitative research strategy, this research can be considered to have an interpretivist epistemology towards knowledge. This epistemological perspective supports understanding instead of explaining the diversity in human behaviour (Bryman, 2012). As this research is concerned with understanding how individual Amsterdam residents perceive their living environment and how they are attached to it in the context of an internationalising population, an interpretivist epistemology is appropriate. The ontological position of this study is in line with constructionism. A constructionist view sees social phenomena as being actively and continually shaped by actions and perceptions of social actors (e.g. humans), instead of seeing them as a pre-given and objective social entities that are not influenced by human behaviour (Bryman, 2012). For instance, this study sees place attachment as a social construction that is individually different and subject to social influences and change.

Finally, this research has an inductive approach toward the relationship between theory and research. This research analyses from in-depth interviews how residents of Amsterdam Westerpark are attached to both their neighbourhood and their city, and how this place attachment is possibly influenced by an increasing international population. This analysis leads to formulating overarching theoretical stances on how an increasing foreign population influences place attachment among locals in general, and Amsterdam residents in particular. This sequence of starting with observations and working towards a theory is typically inductive – which is common for a qualitative research strategy (Bryman, 2012; Bolt, 2019).

5.1.2 Research design

The research design that captures the essence of this study the best, is a case study. As a research design "provides a framework for the collection and analysis of the data" (Bryman, 2012, p. 46), this study can be considered to use a case study design. This research focuses on the experiences and emotions of a geographically defined group of Amsterdam residents. The interviews are conducted within this specific group of residents, about their specific experiences as residents of this particular area in Amsterdam. This is characteristic of a case study design, which "entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case" (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). Although the findings in this research are also ought to be quite representative for other residential areas in Amsterdam, as well as in similar contexts in other Western cities, the manner in which data is collected and analysed typically is consistent with a case study design. In this sense, the type of case study can be considered a 'representative' or 'exemplifying' case, as it "exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member" and as the case is chosen because it provides "a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered" (Bryman, 2012, p. 70). According to Flyvbjerg (2006), case studies are essential in discovering the depth of a social scientific topic. However, it should be noted that a case study design does not score highly on the research criterion of external validity, as it is not its intention nor its power to generalise findings to other cases – in this case to other cities (Bryman, 2012). In turn, the case study design does score high on the criterion of ecological validity, as the findings are applicable to the everyday social settings in the lives of the respondents and other residents of Amsterdam – particularly of other residents of the Westerpark area (Bryman, 2012).

5.2 Data collection: Sampling and respondents

Twenty-one semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in the context of this study. The respondents are all residents of Amsterdam in general, and of the Westerpark area in particular. Besides this geographic demarcation, some other criteria were used in selecting the respondents for

this study. The respondents all needed to be adults (eighteen years or older). Furthermore, as this research is interested in noticing changes and influences over time, they needed to be long-term residents of Amsterdam, and preferably long-term residents of the Westerpark area. To meet this criterion, respondents were selected that lived in the city of Amsterdam for a minimum of ten years and in the Westerpark area for a minimum of five years.

The respondents that participated in this study were all living in the Westerpark area. Residents of this neighbourhood were contacted through various neighbourhood networks, specifically via a Westerpark Facebook group (3.900 members), a Facebook group from a group of residential buildings (together with 204 apartments), and an email group from another residential building with 72 apartments. The specific circumstances at the time of contacting possible respondents for this study were largely defined by the corona crisis in the spring of 2020. As a consequence of this pandemic, it was difficult to reach out to respondents face-to-face (e.g. in public places) and to apply snowball sampling, which was initially the plan to sample respondents. Because of the corona measures of keeping distance and minimising social circles, it became necessary to reach out to possible respondents digitally. Despite the corona crisis, over 25 people were interested in participating in this research. Eventually, 21 interview appointments were made in the period from May 18 to June 5 in 2020 (see *Appendix 2* for the interview schedule). The majority of the interviews (19) were face-to-face interviews with regard for the social distancing measures, conducted at various locations. The other two interviews were conducted through Skype.

Despite efforts to create a heterogeneous sample of Westerpark residents, the sample turned out to be rather homogeneous when it comes to the socioeconomic status of the respondents. As many of the respondents live in either one of the two large apartment buildings, they generally have middle to high incomes and education levels. Although there was variation within the sample, there is a general lack of lower educated respondents and only a small number of lower income residents. Due to the limitations in sampling as a result of the importunate corona crisis, the options to create a more diverse sample were limited. The positive side is that this present research can draw representative conclusions for middle and higher income and higher educated residents of the Westerpark area. The age of the respondents ranges from 35 to 70 years. Around two thirds of the sample are female respondents, and a third of the respondents are male.

5.3 Data collection: research method and research instrument

5.3.1 Research method

To empirically answer the central research question, this study conducted 21 semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents of the Amsterdam Westerpark area. This qualitative manner of interviewing is characterised by the rather flexible manner of interviewing vis-à-vis structured interviewing – in terms of the form of the interview and the sequence of topics. There is room for elaboration on certain topics that are relevant to discuss more extensively, with the purpose of getting to know the interviewee's point of view (Bryman, 2012; Van Liempt, 2019). Furthermore, the sequence of the topics might somewhat vary per interview, as sometimes a topic is brought up organically during the conversation. However, the semi-structured interviews are structured in the sense that they all cover the same topics and use the same way of questioning. These questions are formulated on the topic list that is used during all the interviews in the context of this study.

5.3.2 Research instrument

The topic list that is used during the interviews is the main research instrument in this study. This topic list is included as *Appendix 3*. The topics and questions on this list are derived from the operationalisation of the concepts that are relevant for this study. The scientific theories and concepts that are discussed in the theoretical framework are translated into several dimensions and indicators (see operationalisation on page 41). These are used to define the topics and questions that were relevant to discuss during the interviews. Furthermore, the topic list was revised after a pilot interview that was held prior to the actual interviews with the purpose of testing and finetuning the topic list. Although there is slight variation in the sequence of the topics and the formulation of the questions during the interviews, the topic list is generally used in the same manner in all 21 interviews within the context of this present study.

5.4 Data analysis

All interviews were recorded, with permission from the respondents. The interviews were transcribed verbatim shortly after the interviews were conducted. When all interviews were transcribed, the texts were analysed by means of coding. This process of coding allows raw data to be raised to the conceptual level (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The first phase of the coding process consisted of interacting with and exploring the interview data, in which the interviews were analysed and compared globally. During this phase, sections of the interviews were labelled through 'open coding', in which notions and keywords about the texts were defined on first sight (Crang & Cook, 2007). Thereafter, the interviews were coded thematically, which was convenient because there were various themes and topics that were discussed during the interviews that could be distinguished (Bryman, 2012). During the coding process, continuous comparing and critical engagement with the data led to improvements in the coding scheme, which was finetuned during this iterative process. The definitive version of the coding scheme is to be found in *Appendix 4*. This coding scheme was used to designate certain sections of the interviews to certain overarching and recurring topics and themes, which enabled an effective process of deriving results from the organised data. The coding of the interviews eases the process of drawing conclusion from the data, as the data is organised on themes and topics that are of interest to this study. This study used the program Microsoft Word to code the interviews. Specifically, sections of the interviews were labelled with comments that consisted of codes and remarks.

5.5 Ethical considerations

This study adheres to the ethical principles of social research that Bryman (2012) and Hay (2010) determined. Firstly, the respondents did not suffer any physical, mental, social or emotional harm as a result of participating in this study. To guarantee this, respondents were informed that they had the right at all times to withdraw from the research. Secondly, the ethical principle of informed consent is adhered to. The respondent were informed on the subject and purpose of the research, and the interview appointments were made in accordance to the preferences of the respondents. Furthermore, explicit permission was asked before starting and recording the interviews. The third ethical principle of safeguarding the privacy and anonymity of the respondents was also complied upon. The interview data and personal information of the respondents are handled confidentially. The interviews are anonymised completely – only the age, gender and length of residence in the

Westerpark area are mentioned in this study. The names that are used in the results section are pseudonyms. Fourth, the ethical principle of preventing deception is adhered to. The respondents were aware of the true intentions of the research. Finally, the final version of the study will be shared with the respondents. Besides the compliance with the ethical principles mentioned above, this study attempted to be neutral and avoid prejudices during the interviews.

6. Results

The central aim of this study is to investigate the possible influences of the internationalisation of the Amsterdam population on the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents. This section presents the various results that are distilled from the empirical part of the research – the 21 in-depth interviews that are conducted with long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark. As the interviews covered a wide range of subjects, there are multiple results that are worth discussing here. This results section is structured upon the four sub-questions that this present study works with (as formulated on page 9). The first subchapter (6.1) discusses the general attachment of long-term residents towards their city and neighbourhood. This chapter engages with the first sub-question, and establishes a 'baseline measurement' of the emotional, social, cultural and physical dimensions of place attachment that these residents have towards Amsterdam and the Westerpark area. Thereafter, the second subchapter (6.2) focuses on how and to what extent long-term Dutch residents experience the population of the neighbourhood and the city as becoming more international – if they notice the statistical development in their daily experiences in the city. The third subchapter (6.3) addresses the perceived influence of the internationalisation of the population on the place attachment of long-term residents – the core focus of this study. This subchapter covers the influence on the social, cultural, physical and emotional dimension of place attachment. The influence on the emotional dimension of place attachment is discussed last, as this can be seen as partially resulting from the perceived influence on the other three dimensions of place attachment (see the operationalisation on page 41). Finally, the fourth subchapter (6.4) discusses the general opinions and sentiments of the Westerpark residents around the current and future effects of the internationalisation trend on the city.

6.1 Attachment to the emotional, social, cultural and physical dimension of place

6.1.1 Emotional place attachment

In order to investigate the influence of an internationalising population on the place attachment of long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark, it is necessary to have a general sense of how these residents are attached to the city in the first place. The emotional place attachment – feelings of belonging, home, pride and identification with the city – towards the city was discussed early in the interviews. The majority of the respondents see themselves as 'true Amsterdammers', for whom living in Amsterdam can be seen as a genuine part of the individual's identity. Furthermore, most of the respondents indicate that they are rooted in Amsterdam and feel a strong bond with the city. For instance, Isabel states "*I love Amsterdam, it is dear to me*" and several others refer to Amsterdam as 'my city'. About a third of the respondents mention that, although they unanimously see themselves as 'Amsterdammers', they still have important ties with their birthplace outside of Amsterdam – which seems to make them feel less powerful ties to Amsterdam. When it comes to having a sense of belonging towards Amsterdam, the great majority of the respondents indicate that they feel at home in the city and that they see themselves fitting in the city. Many residents declare that Amsterdam

has everything they look for in a city, and that the city is the only place where they would want to reside – a city that they would not ever want to leave. Aafje states that "*I belong here*", and Olivia mentions that "*it is truly home to me*". When it comes to being proud of Amsterdam, most respondents – with a few exceptions – have (strong) feelings of pride: "*I am really proud of Amsterdam, I think it is a very special city*", says Astrid. Finally, almost all respondents mention to feel pride in referring to themselves as 'Amsterdammers'.

When it comes to the neighbourhood scale level, all respondents unanimously declare that Westerpark is a highly pleasant neighbourhood to live in. Also, every respondent mentioned that they feel at home in Westerpark – which is 'typical' for the Westerpark area, according to Jacob. Aafje, for instance, states that "*it is delightful, it is my neighbourhood, it is amazing*". Some of the positive characteristics that were mentioned by respondents are the amenities, serenity, diverse population, central location, village-like community, progressive character and greenery. Some respondents are more pragmatic in their neighbourhood attachment, as they are mainly attached through daily routines and activities. Many respondents declared that they would rather not leave the Westerpark area, although about a fourth of the respondents state that they would not have problems with moving to another neighbourhood within the city – some still felt strong connections to neighbourhoods where they have lived before. The Westerpark area seems to provoke less sense of identity than the city of Amsterdam does. About half of the respondents reported that they saw themselves as 'Westerparker'. For some, Westerpark truly is part of the individual identity. For instance, Jacob is 'very strongly' connected to Westerpark, and states that "*Westerpark is part of my identity*". Isabel would agree, as she says "*I feel strongly connected with this neighbourhood*". However, this is not the case with all respondents, despite the unanimous satisfaction about the neighbourhood. Klaas phrases that although he thinks it is 'a very nice neighbourhood', this does not mean that he sees himself as 'Westerparker'.

Within place attachment literature, there is debate around the degree to which people attach themselves to various spatial scale levels. Specifically, there is uncertainty around whether people generally foster deeper connections with either their city of their neighbourhood. This present study generally indicates slightly stronger attachment to Amsterdam as a whole than to the Westerpark area. However, it should be noted that it differs strongly per individual. A tight majority states that Amsterdam is the most important identification, rather than Westerpark. Els explains that identification with Westerpark is not as 'essential' as the identification with Amsterdam. Vera agrees, as she has lived pleasantly in several other neighbourhoods within the city. Alfred expresses it most strongly: "*the most important bond is the bond with the city*", and it does not really matter where you live, as long as you live close to the city centre. However, other respondents express rather different sentiments: almost half of the respondents reveal that Westerpark is a more relevant unit of attachment and identification than Amsterdam. According to Eline and Naomi, the bond with the neighbourhood is becoming more important as you get older: "*nowadays I feel part of the neighbourhood rather than the city*", says Naomi. Furthermore, Maria feels more affinity with Westerpark than with Amsterdam, and Isabel appreciates the free-thinking character of the Westerpark area. Jacob is clear about his strong connection with Westerpark: "*this is the village in which I feel at home*". Finally, many respondents are quite nuanced in their statements. Several indicated that their emotional attachment to Amsterdam is more significant, but that they would rather not move to another neighbourhood within the city. Astrid mentions the bond with Westerpark, where everything is familiar, but she does not feel the same pride with being a 'Westerparker' than with being an 'Amsterdammer'.

6.1.2 Social ties and the social dimension of place attachment

An important dimension and indicator of place attachment is the social ties that people foster within the place – especially within the neighbourhood. In the Westerpark area, many respondents have mentioned the 'village-like character'. Maria, for instance, recognises a 'friendly neighbourhood' with strong social cohesion where people greet each other. The village-like character of Westerpark is expressed through elements like knowing other residents, running into familiar people, making small talk, neighbourhoods drinks and dinners, lending out things, helping each other when necessary and greeting each other. The majority of the respondents recognises at least parts of this image in the neighbourhood, although some state that contacts between residents are actually superficial and that not everyone contributes to the neighbourhood. However, the respondents almost unanimously noticed a strong sense of community within their residential buildings. This study interviewed the residents of five different residential buildings. The social life and social cohesion seems to be especially present within the building blocks where everyone knows each other, and only to a lesser extent in the surrounding neighbourhood. Alfred, Vera, Michelle and Astrid notice, for instance, that the building is an important basis for social contacts with rather strong social cohesion. They add to this that the balance is good, as there is no social control and people give each other space: "*that is why I live in the city instead of in a village*", says Astrid. Outside of the residential buildings, some respondents notice that there is a general lack of social contact. However, slightly more respondents state that people do greet each other when they recognise someone. Important elements in recognising each other seem to be the local fitness centre, the elementary schools and various shops and amenities. It is individually different how people perceive and participate in the social life within the neighbourhood – having a dog or participating in neighbourhood initiatives seem to be indicators for social contact outside of the buildings.

Some residents that recognise a sense of community in the neighbourhood argue that this is typical for the Westerpark area, and think that this is better than in other city districts. Activities within the neighbourhood and the buildings, such as occasional drinks and parties, contribute to this sense of community. About this, Marleen says: "*where else do you see that in the big city?*". Several respondents point out the importance of Facebook and WhatsApp groups in creating a sense of community, especially within the buildings and also in the surrounding neighbourhood. For a few respondents, the neighbourhood is an important basis for social networks in which they are strongly rooted. When it comes to noticing a sense of community that also entails bonds of trust, support and friendship, a majority of the respondents notices that this exists in the Westerpark area. According to Maria, who is very positive about the neighbourhood community, this sense of community is derived from the traditional 'working class' image of the neighbourhood. Marleen also praises the tightness of the neighbourhood community, where 'people look after each other' – for instance when people are medically impeded. She also mentions that many residents make use of a neighbourhood networks and support local entrepreneurs. The Westerpark neighbourhood seems to have plenty neighbourhood initiatives and activities that create and support a neighbourhood related community. Especially the neighbourhood initiative 'Stadsdorp', which is concerned with social bonding, support, activities and involvement in the neighbourhood, is mentioned frequently. Altogether, it seems that social life in the neighbourhood is important to various degrees for individuals when it comes to *attachment* to the neighbourhood. The social dimension of place attachment seems to be especially relevant for about half of the residents that praised the neighbourhood community and the social contacts. Residents with a largely neighbourhood related social network, might feel more strongly attached to the Westerpark area than residents with social

networks around the city. The social dimension of place attachment is especially relevant on the neighbourhood level. The large majority of the respondents reported that they did not feel a sense of community or social bonding on a city level, possibly derived from the idea of everyone being 'Amsterdammers': the city is too large and anonymous. However, some respondents indicated that Amsterdam is 'a large village' where, according to Jacob, everyone is just one handshake away.

The respondents were asked early in the interviews whether they perceived differences in the local social life in the past years – as this gives the opportunity to organically bring up influences of internationalisation. Many respondents reported that they did not notice any differences in this sphere in recent years. In fact, the majority of the respondents reported that if there are changes to be noticed in recent years in social bonding in the neighbourhood, it is a positive changes where the sense of community has increased. Respondents notice that neighbourhood activities, initiatives and social media groups have contributed to a growing sense of community in recent years. Still, there are some respondents that do seem to notice some 'negative' changes. Aafje and Vera notice that they see more unfamiliar faces in the building and the neighbourhood than before, and Johanna notices that new residents are less involved in the social life of the neighbourhood. Mark thinks that the sense of community is affected by changes in the population, especially related to gentrification – which several other residents also mention. However, it should be emphasised that the social cohesion in the Westerpark area is perceived by the majority of the respondents as being similar or even stronger than a few years ago. The internationalisation of the population is barely mentioned organically as an influence on the local community. The specific influence of the internationalisation pattern on the social life is discussed in section 6.3.1.

6.1.3 Local cultural elements and the cultural dimension of place attachment

Attachment to cultural elements that are related to places forms another dimension of place attachment. In the context of this present study, residents might be attached to specific cultural elements that they relate to either the city of Amsterdam or the Westerpark neighbourhood, such as norms, values, language, manners or symbols. In order to find out whether this is influenced by the internationalisation of the population, it is important to first ascertain the degree to which they are attached to this local culture in the first place – and what elements constitute this culture. All respondents think that Amsterdam has a somewhat authentic and unique cultural identity. The way people define this culture, however, varies individually. The cultural characteristics that are most often mentioned as being 'characteristic' for Amsterdam are related to freedom, tolerance, open-mindedness, inclusivity and emancipation. Somewhat related to this, some relate leftist, progressive and conscious ideas to Amsterdam. The multiculturality and diversity of the population is also mentioned quite regularly, as well as creativity and open-mindedness towards sexuality.

Furthermore, many respondents recognise manners that they relate to being authentic to Amsterdam, such as the relatively easy nature of interactions with strangers: "*suddenly you realise that this is different here*", says Els. Many respondents mention the conviviality, joviality and humour in Amsterdam. Respondents think of Amsterdam residents as being typically spontaneous, loose, open people that blurt out all kinds of things and that impose themselves on everyone. Also, Amsterdammers are oftentimes ought to be stubborn, straightforward, cheeky and mouthy. Several respondents indicate that this is not their favourite characteristic, as this is frequently perceived as rude, antisocial and arrogant. Therefore, not everyone necessarily seems to be attached to local cultural elements or manners, as Claudia, Jacob and Maria indicate that they do not appreciate these

characteristics. Maria, for example, mentions the tendency to among Amsterdam residents to 'complain about everything'. However, the vast majority of the respondents is rather positive about Amsterdam's distinctive culture and manners. Aafje states that "*these are actually all the reasons why I came to live here*", and Olivia declares that 'she loves it'. Many respondents also indicate that they appreciate the local culture and are attached to it to. It should be noted here, that it is difficult to speak of 'one Amsterdam culture', as this is diffuse, changing, and not always necessarily unique. However, within this study it is most relevant to know in what ways people are attached to cultural elements that they relate to Amsterdam, and how they potentially notice changes in these elements – potentially under the influence of an internationalising population.

When it comes to recent changes in the Amsterdam culture, many respondents mention that some typical cultural elements have been fading and are less applicable to the city than several years ago. Interestingly, many respondents explain these cultural changes through changes in the population. Especially cultural elements that are typically related to the folksy Amsterdam culture, mostly related to the city district De Jordaan, have been diminishing. These cultural elements mostly concern the straightforwardness, brutality, humour and bravado that are associated with the 'original' Amsterdam culture. About half of the respondents mentioned the outmigration of 'original' Amsterdam residents that represent this culture, mostly to other Dutch cities like Almere, Purmerend and Lelystad. This has led to 'severe changes' in the Amsterdam culture, according to Olivia – especially because of the diminishing presence of the 'Jordanese' culture and mentality. Eric and Johanna also state that the Jordaan and its folklore culture barely exists anymore as its residents have been replaced. Claudia agrees, and states that many original residents that represented some characteristic cultural elements cannot afford to live in the city anymore. Additionally, several respondents mention the cultural elements that 'new' residents bring with them. Isabel mentions that this are mostly young people: "*that are often just import people, that do not attach themselves*". Michelle also notices that the number of younger people with a higher socioeconomic status has been increasing in recent years – mostly people that embrace the progressive cultural elements that are characteristic for Amsterdam. Finally, many respondents notice various cultural changes in recent years, such as the hardening of manners and an increase in polarisation. In general, the majority of the respondents does not seem enthusiastic about the cultural changes, but they also do not seem to be bothered by it too much – with a few exceptions. Several respondents notice that it is healthy for cultures to change over time. Teunis only notices positive changes: people have become friendlier. The reasons behind the cultural changes in Amsterdam that are mentioned most are changes in the population, such as outmigration and gentrification. One respondent organically mentions the influences of an internationalising population, but otherwise this theme does not seem to emerge automatically when discussing the topic of changes in the Amsterdam culture.

When it comes to the Westerpark area, about half of the respondents notices cultural characteristics that they specifically relate to the Westerpark area, whereas the other half does not. The most frequently mentioned distinctive feature of Westerpark is its history as a 'squatters-neighbourhood' or a 'squatters-stronghold'. This is related to an identity of anarchism, autonomy, resistance and socialist ideas. According to some respondents, this past is still to be seen in the diverse and harmonic mix of residents and amenities, and in the open-minded, conscious, leftist and progressive attitude that is still applicable to the neighbourhood. The cultural attachment to Westerpark is not as strong as to Amsterdam as a whole, but there are still some residents that are attached to the cultural elements that are related to the neighbourhood – especially to its history as an edgy squatters-neighbourhood. There are, however, certainly changes to be noticed in the

Westerpark culture, especially because the neighbourhood gradually loses its image as an edgy, anarchistic squatters neighbourhood. In recent years, the Westerpark area has been subject to noticeable processes of upgrading, gentrification and population change – which is mentioned by almost all respondents. The next section discusses the physical dimension of place attachment and will also focus specifically on the gentrification in Westerpark.

6.1.4 Physical dimension of place attachment and gentrification in Westerpark

Another relevant dimension of place that people can be attached to is the physical dimension. This present study interprets the physical dimension of place rather broadly, as it includes the physical layout, the amenities, and the encounters with people in public space. Especially the encounters and amenities might potentially be influenced by an internationalising population – as the physical layout is not likely to change. It is, however, interesting to first ascertain the degree of attachment to the physical layout of the city among residents as an indication of their overall place attachment. Many respondents mention to appreciate the beauty of Amsterdam – for example the canal belt or the city's architecture. For instance, Aafje mentions to 'love' walking through the city, and Jacob states that "*Amsterdam is of course a very beautiful city, I really enjoy that*". Besides praises, some people critically point out the crowdedness – especially in the city centre. This is significantly different for the Westerpark area, where many respondents appreciate the peace and quiet. Furthermore, Westerpark is seen as a pleasant residential area because of its central location, greenery, child friendliness, architecture, vibrancy, and public art. The respondents are unanimous in their positive attitude towards the physical characteristics of the Westerpark area. The physical characteristics of both the city and the neighbourhood thus seem to nourish a sense of place attachment.

As mentioned, another important element for the physical dimension of place attachment is the appreciation of local amenities – for instance the shops, bars, restaurants, services and cultural activities. The vast majority of the respondents is satisfied with the amenities that are present in the city. Several have pointed out the large number of amenities: "*there is a lot that does not appeal to me, but there is also a number of things that I really love*", says Els. Likewise, several respondents praise the wide offer of cultural activities in the city: "*whatever interests you may have, you can do it in Amsterdam*", says Mark. Many respondents report that the amenities that they can appreciate are generally located outside of the city centre, as this area is largely perceived as being too crowded and touristic: "*that is not Amsterdam to me*", says Olivia. The amenities in the Westerpark area are generally appreciated, but the majority of the respondents uses amenities throughout the city.

Interestingly, the largest share of the respondents mentions that they have observed recent changes in the nature of the amenities in both the city and the neighbourhood. For instance, they notice that small entrepreneurs are disappearing and that amenities in the city centre are becoming 'more of the same' and aimed at tourists: "*I find that truly horrible*", says Jacob. Another noteworthy observation is that around a quarter of the respondents mentions a noticeable increase in coffee places: "*they appear from nowhere*", says Vera. Also, respondents report that they observe increasing numbers of new, biological and good looking shops and restaurants, primarily aimed at a younger public. Generally, there seems to be an increase in bars and restaurants in the city, although this development is simultaneous to the decrease in 'old fashioned' cafes. Alfred notices that 'hip and happening' bars take up the place of the 'brown cafes' that left. Some respondents do not appreciate the changing nature of amenities, although the general sentiment is that this is a natural process which is barely impacting the life of the respondents. When it comes to the Westerpark area,

several residents notice that services like the butcher and the baker are being replaced by coffee places. Also, many respondents notice an increasing number of (high-end) shops, cafes and restaurants – something that some people seem to enjoy and others less.

When it comes to bodily encounters with other residents, all respondents indicate feeling comfortable with the people they encounter in the city on a daily basis. Many respondents point out the diversity of people in Amsterdam. This increasing diversity of both Western and non-Western foreign populations is something which the majority of the respondents appreciate. A more recent change in encounters that several respondents notice is the increasing encounters with young people – called 'hipsters' by Naomi. Also, quite some respondents 'organically' mentioned increasing encounters with (young) people that do not speak Dutch. The specific subject of encounters with foreign residents and the opinions of the respondents on this topic will be discussed exclusively from the next section onwards. Finally, a few respondents indicate that they do not really perceive differences in the people they encounter in the city in recent years.

In the Westerpark area, the perceived social mix of residents is mentioned frequently as a positive feature. However, some residents notice that this has been changing in the past years: "*it has become quite white*", says Jacob. Isabel also mentions that "*the composition of the population has changed a lot*". Almost all respondents indicate that Westerpark has been subject to considerable processes of gentrification in recent years. They notice more younger residents and people with higher incomes – often called 'yuppies'. Westerpark has upgraded significantly and is 'fancier' than it used to be: "*the social status of the neighbourhood has increased enormously*", says Marleen. Michelle states that people in their thirties with good jobs have taken over the neighbourhood, and Klaas says that "*nowadays it is really a neighbourhood for yuppies*". Jacob and Eric both state that the gentrification was initially seen as a positive development, but that nowadays there are also some apparent downsides. Jacob states that there is some friction between different population groups, and Isabel says: "*the neighbourhood conforms to the new residents, instead of the residents conforming to the neighbourhood*". Astrid recognises this pattern and states that "*yuppies come in and take over everything*". The gentrification process does seem to affect the number and nature of amenities in the neighbourhood. Isabel does not appreciate this 'increasing number of shops aimed at yuppies', like pricy wine shops. However, the majority of the respondents are not bothered by the influences of gentrification. Some respondents report that the changes related to gentrification match their personal preferences: "*I am a part of it as well*", says Alfred. Most of the respondents are rather neutral about the gentrification process: "*that's the dynamism of the city, that's just part of it*", says Klaas. Interestingly, the perceived changes in amenities and encounters do not seem to influence the place attachment of the respondents very much. A few do not appreciate these changes, some do, and the majority is rather neutral. Some respondents relate the process of gentrification partially to the internationalisation of the population, although the majority does not make this connection in the first place. From the next section onwards, the sentiments and opinions around the internationalisation of the population among the respondents are discussed extensively.

6.2 The internationalisation of Amsterdam's population

6.2.1 Perceived internationalisation of the city's population

This section specifically focuses at the 'neutral' experience of the internationalisation of the city's population: if and how people notice this development in their daily lives. The large majority of the respondents notices the increasing presence of foreign residents in the city, especially from Western

countries – oftentimes dubbed 'expats'. Irene mentions that she encounters increasing numbers of people in their thirties that do not speak Dutch, and Vera reports seeing 'many people with strollers that speak English, Spanish or Italian'. Aafje, Els, Astrid, Klaas, Gaia, Isabel and Johanna also see more expats than before, as well as international students. Many – almost all – respondents report similar experiences of noticing a recent growth in the international population in Amsterdam. Eric puts it rather explicitly, and reports being 'confronted' with this development everywhere he goes in the city. Interestingly, several respondents refer to the corona crisis in the spring of 2020, when there were barely any tourists in Amsterdam. The absence of tourists in the city made the presence of foreign residents more noticeable: "*now I actually find out that I think 'oh no they are all expats who just live here'*", says Michelle. About half of the respondents brought up the development of an internationalising population earlier in the interview, others recognised this trend later on when they were explicitly asked about it. Still, there are also a few respondents that do not necessarily notice an increased presence of foreign residents in the city. One of these respondents is Olivia, who mentions that she 'just does not notices it'.

Besides noticing an increased presence of foreign residents based on daily experiences and encounters, some respondents indicated that they are aware of the (growing) presence of internationals based on 'knowing' that this is happening – for instance through media outlets. Claudia says that she reads in the papers that many international companies and residents are settling in Amsterdam. Klaas, Jacob, Astrid and Michelle are aware of the attractive location that Amsterdam is for companies and expats, because of the image of the city and the policy to attract international companies and organisations – such as the European Medicine Agency. The majority of the respondents understands the internationalisation trend as a logical development to occur in an internationally oriented city like Amsterdam. Jacob says that 'here we are in the middle of the international world', and Michelle states that "*it is just an international city, it is one of the world cities*". Furthermore, Eline understands why international residents flock to Amsterdam: "*it's a nice city to live in, I think that is why many of those expats come here*". Multiple respondents also point out the broader development of globalisation. Mark, for instance, sees the population development as a "*consequence of a much larger mechanism, of that whole globalisation*". Likewise, Vera states that the world is increasingly 'open' and that many people choose to settle overseas for a couple of years. For Olivia, the arrival of foreign residents therefore is "*a normal part of being a major international city*". Furthermore, the majority of the respondents think that the presence of international residents fits in well with the specific character and history of Amsterdam. Marleen mentions that "*traditionally we are an international city*", and Els states that Amsterdam 'is more open-minded than other cities'.

When it comes to noticing the (increased) presence of foreign residents in the city, one of the most important elements in perceiving residents as being 'foreigners' or 'expats' is that they do not speak Dutch, but English, Spanish, Italian or another (Western) language. Almost all respondents indicated that hearing people speak a foreign language is an important indication that they are foreign residents – some mention that language is the only way of assessing people as being foreign. Vera, for instance, mentions that whenever she hears people speak English or Spanish, she thinks 'oh, there is another one'. It can be decisively established that hearing foreign languages (primarily English and Spanish) is the most important mechanism through which people notice the presence of foreign residents. Hearing and being addressed in foreign languages evokes a wide range of reactions and emotions among the respondents, which is exclusively and extensively discussed in section 6.3.3.

There are different places and situations where the respondents notice the presence of

foreign residents. First of all, many respondents notice the presence of foreign residents on the streets and other (semi-)public spaces, such as allotment parks and rooftop terraces. Public transport is also mentioned several times as a situation in which people cross international residents. Claudia recalls seeing international people in the subway that are on their way to work and Teunis reports seeing many internationals every morning on the ferry to the north side of the city. Restaurants, cafes, concerts and other cultural or leisure activities are also mentioned frequently by respondents as places where they see an international public. For instance, Mark notices internationals 'that clearly live here' at concerts, and Teunis mentions that he often sees the menu in the neighbourhood cafe being explained in English. Also, several respondents bring up that they frequently encounter English speaking staff in shops, cafes and restaurants. Another frequently mentioned occasion where the respondents come across international residents is the workplace. Several respondents indicate working with international colleagues, or mention that people in their personal network work at places with many international employees. Astrid, who used to work for an international company, thinks that nowadays much more companies have international employees. Another way of becoming aware of the presence of international residents is through stories of their acquaintances, for instance about having expats as neighbours. Finally, some respondents mention specific situations in which they (increasingly) encounter foreign residents in the city. Irene and Naomi observe growing numbers of internationals at their fitness centres, where according to Irene "*almost a minority speaks Dutch*". Furthermore, Teunis and Maria notice that some schools have more international children than several years ago. Other notable situations in which people encounter international residents are the dating market and the university.

The majority of the respondents indicates that they have noticed a recent increase in the encounters with international residents in the city. Many respondents indicate that they did barely encounter any international residents several years or decades ago: "*you just didn't come across them*", says Eric. When asked when this development started or accelerated, many respondents state that this is something from the past decades. The majority indicates that this is accelerated in the past 10 years. Irene, who represents several other respondents with her observation, thinks that it goes back around ten years but that "*it's been more noticeable to me for the past five years or so*". Gaia agrees, and states: "*it has become extreme in the past five years*".

6.2.2 Perceived internationalisation of the neighbourhood's population

Besides noticing an overall increase of international residents in the city of Amsterdam, the majority of the respondents also observes an increasing number of internationals in the Westerpark area as well. Several respondents report encountering foreign residents in the neighbourhood (way) more than some years ago, for instance on the streets, in the supermarket, in the neighbourhood café, and while walking the dog. Eric states that he oftentimes notices foreign residents when looking out of his window, and Gaia reports hearing French and English 'a lot' when sitting in her garden. Michelle frequently notices Italian and Spanish residents on balconies and rooftop terraces: "*there are a lot of foreigners, yes*". Teunis saw that there are quite some international residents living in Westerpark when he went to a local wine tasting: "*I was really surprised how much English was spoken there*". Furthermore, Astrid describes that there are quite a few international or bi-lingual children going to the school where her children go. It should be mentioned that there are also a handful of respondents that do not necessarily remark an increasing number of foreign residents in the neighbourhood. Alfred, for instance, reports that for years already he is used to having neighbours

from various countries.

One of the most elemental ways of noticing an increase in the number of foreign residents that live in the Westerpark area is having them as neighbours in the residential building. Residents from five different residential buildings (almost unanimously) report that there are more international residents living in the building than several years ago. Aafje says about this that she is 'confronted more directly' with the internationalisation of the Amsterdam population, as multiple expats have moved into the building: "*the expats used to live in the South side or something, but now they just live all over the city*". Others have also noticed the presence of expat residents in the building. For instance, Gaia notices that 'neighbours suddenly become English speaking' and that "*even here in the stairwell I have two families who are expats*". Likewise, Maria also notices the internationalisation of the city within the building: "*I notice this very, very clearly in this building. Because a lot of expats live here*". The respondents report having neighbours from a wide range of (Western) countries, among others, Australia, Spain, Russia, America, Ukraine, England, Hungary and France. It is thought that many international residents are subletting from the owners, although a handful of foreign residents have bought a dwelling. The communication with the international residents is primarily in English, although the buyers of the apartments communicate in Dutch. Mark reveals that nowadays when he sends emails to the entire building, he formulates them both in Dutch and English – according to him to the dismay of some residents. Section 6.3 discusses the nature of social contacts with international residents within the buildings more elaborately.

6.2.3 Tourism as an noticeable international influence

While discussing international influences in the city of Amsterdam, many respondents spontaneously brought up the subject of tourism. It seems that the nature of both developments – tourism and the internationalisation of the population – are perceived similar to such an extent that the respondents frequently bring up tourism while discussing international influences. Furthermore, some indicate that they also 'confuse' international residents for tourists during everyday life – as mentioned earlier. In general, the respondents are quite critical on the impacts of the high number of tourists that visit Amsterdam throughout the entire year – the majority thinks that there are too many tourists in the city. Vera states that "*tourism has of course been bursting at the seams in recent years, and everyone is complaining about it*". Many other respondents, the vast majority, make similar remarks. The negative impacts of tourism are especially experienced in the city centre, which is 'taken over' according to several respondents: "*the tourism plague is of course in the city centre, which is a no go area for me*", says Jacob. Likewise, Aafje and Marleen state that they avoid the city centre for this reason. Mark refers to Amsterdam as an 'open air museum for tourists', Johanna calls it a theme park for tourists, and Michelle thinks of the city centre as 'Disney world'. Many respondents also report the perceived deteriorating influences of mass tourism on local amenities, such as local stores, markets and restaurants. It should however also be emphasised that a few respondents were less critical on the tourism development. Olivia, for instance, states that it is wonderful that so many people want to visit the city.

Finally, several respondents spontaneously brought up tourism during the interviews as a development which is 'more problematic' than the increase in international residents. For instance, Alfred and Michelle state that tourism is a more urgent topic among Amsterdammers than the presence of expats, and Klaas says: "*it is only the large influx of tourists that I think is a pity*". Irene also argues that tourism has a 'very different' impact than the internationalisation of the population,

as the former 'really affects the city'. In conclusion, Amsterdam residents apparently have strong opinions on tourism in the city – which would be interesting to investigate in another study. Interestingly, the development of tourism and the development of an internationalising population are somewhat 'conceptually confused' among the respondents – for instance as hearing foreign languages can indicate either one of those developments. However, many residents seem to have a much more 'negative' attitude towards tourism than towards the presence of foreign residents.

6.3 Perceived influence of the increasing internationalisation of the population on the social, cultural, physical and emotional dimensions of place

6.3.1 Perceived influence on the social dimension of place

As described in section 6.1, the respondents generally foster significant social bonds and experience quite a large sense of community within the Westerpark area – especially within their residential buildings. Therefore, one could conclude that the majority of the respondents is to a certain extent attached to the social dimension of place. The manner in which this social dimension of place attachment is influenced by the increased number of foreign residents in the city and the neighbourhood, is discussed in this present section. Although the opinions among the respondents are rather divided when it comes to the particular effects of the internationalising population on the social contacts and social cohesion, the majority seems to at least notice a (potential) influence on the overarching social dimension of place.

The majority of the residents indicate that the social contacts with international residents in their residential buildings – which all have approximately the same percentages of foreign residents – are different or less profound than contacts with Dutch residents. Vera states that "*with the foreign people that live here, we do not have any contacts, zero*". Aafje and Claudia also mention that they know there are some (temporary) international residents living in the building, but that 'you don't know them' or 'you don't see them' – despite the rather tight social communities within their buildings. Klaas also notices that the contacts with foreign residents are 'different' and 'superficial' because you need to communicate in English. Many other respondents indicate that the foreign residents in their buildings are less prone to make contacts or to engage in the social community. Mark states that the 'renters' in the building – which are especially expats – 'have no bonds at all': "*I have the impression that these people have hardly any contact with the neighbours*". According to Marleen and Naomi – residents of two different buildings – the expats that are living in the building are generally not enrolled in the building's WhatsApp groups. Marleen states that "*they don't participate in the community-like things we usually do*", and Naomi also notices that there are more 'barriers' in social contacts: "*they are more on their own*". Gaia also mentions that, whereas she used to have drinks with some former neighbours, 'with expats this does not really take place'. She reports feeling a certain distance towards international neighbours, although she states that she 'cannot really say if that is because of me or because of them'. Naomi also wonders about this, as she says: "*perhaps because you have the idea that 'they will leave anyway', that you also invest a little less*".

Many respondents point out the elevator as the place where they generally run into their international neighbours. Klaas states that "*it is possible to be standing in the elevator with your new neighbour for an entire year without knowing he lives here […]. And that's the thing with those expats, it's a bit distant you know, they are less likely to get in touch with the people with which they live* ". Vera also mentions the elevator as meeting spot, and she reports finding it unfortunate that some (foreign) residents do not say hello or make small talk in the elevator, something which long-

term residents are 'used to do'. Furthermore, Eric also states that "*there are people that I meet in the elevator every time, tenants that I don't know and that have never introduced themselves and who live here for two years and speak to you in English*". The subject of 'not introducing yourself' is returning several times during the interviews. Naomi says that "*if I am going to live somewhere, I would invite the neighbours over to have a cup of coffee*", and Klaas states that, while Dutch new residents are inclined to send a note or come by, expats usually do not do this. Despite these rather critical notes on the nature of social contacts with foreign residents, several respondents also voice some more positive opinions. Claudia states that she had expat neighbours that 'were really nice people' and 'were good neighbours' with whom she occasionally had dinner. Klaas also notes that he sometimes dines with his direct neighbours, who are from Ukraine: "*they are very open to it*". Furthermore, Els and Marleen state that they have friendly contacts with expat residents, which is not necessarily more superficial than other contacts, according to Els. Claudia and Els emphasise that it is very much individually dependent, as people differ from each other. Finally, Mark and Michelle note an expat household in one of the residential buildings that has owner occupied an apartment, instead of subletting it – which makes it 'more equal', according to Michelle. They both notice that these residents are much more involved with the community.

The extent to which the increased presence of international residents in the residential buildings influences or undermines the overarching social cohesion within these buildings is variously interpreted by the respondents. More than half of the respondents reports that the social cohesion is not diminishing as a result of the presence of international residents. Although the majority generally does notice *some* influences, they think that there is a critical mass of residents that are supporting the social cohesion in the neighbourhood and the buildings. Naomi and Klaas, for instance, state that the increase in international residents in the building 'do not bother' them because they make contacts easily and there are still enough other residents. Marleen, who lives in another building, agrees and states that the social cohesion is not affected by the presence of foreign residents 'because it is not yet predominant'. Interestingly, Vera expresses to share this point of view but does already point out some 'worrying' developments: "*there are still enough people with whom we do have a bond, but that makes it all the more noticeable that they* [foreign residents] *are different. That they are not willing to participate in the social cohesion of the city*". She also mentions that she understands that people that live in the building for only one or two years are less inclined to 'invest in their surroundings', but that "*if it has to be so anonymous, so to speak, then I don't like that*". According to her, international residents tend to show up less to neighbourhood drinks and events than Dutch residents, something which Gaia also observes: "*not only because people do not feel like going there, but especially because people are… Yeah volatile, they come live here for a while and then they are gone again, so they don't really bond with the neighbourhood*".

Eric surely does notice a negative influence of the increase in international residents on the social cohesion in the building, as some of these residents are subletting apartments and are not actively engaged in the Owners Association: "*they are of no use*", he says. Jacob and Isabel also state to notice a decreasing social cohesion and participation, but they only partially link this to an increase in international residents – and mostly to an overarching process of gentrification. Furthermore, several residents point out that, according to them, the local social cohesion is affected much more in other areas in the city. Eline says that the cohesion in her building and neighbourhood is not affected by the increase in foreign residents, in contrast to Amsterdam South, where many of her friends are living: "*they are bothered by it. They don't like it*". Vera also points out South as being different than the Westerpark area: "*[there] it probably happens that people are living on anonymous*

islands. But here I don't experience that". Marleen makes a similar observation about a the city centre where 'people do not look after each other': "*you would not have that here*". In conclusion, it can be stated that the increasing presence of (temporary) foreign residents does not significantly affects the respondents' social experiences and related living pleasure in the neighbourhood and in the residential buildings. For the majority of the respondents, the social dimension of place attachment of the respondents is also not affected by this development. However, it should be concluded that several respondents observe some (potential) influences and effects of temporary foreign residents on the social dimension of place that might eventually have repercussions for the social dimension of place attachment among the respondents.

Besides focusing on the social contacts within the residential environment, it is interesting to investigate the nature of social contacts between local Dutch residents and (temporary) foreign residents in general and throughout the city. Many respondents indicate to think that social contacts between temporary foreign residents and local Dutch residents are rather limited. Mark, for instance, wonders out loud 'if expats blend into the social life' and states that he has the impression that foreign residents that come to Amsterdam primarily for work reasons 'do not really mix with the Amsterdammers': "*these are groups that, I have the impression, live alongside each other*". Likewise, Alfred also sees 'little mixing' between expats and locals, and states that expats constitute a somewhat 'separate part of the population'. The reasons and mechanisms behind the limited social mixing between locals and expats that is observed by rather many respondents are varied.

Some respondents seem to attribute the limited social contacts to the agency of (temporary) foreign residents. Eric, who is rather critical, states: "*I never actually noticed that they took initiative to contact me. I think the communication structure is that they talk to their people, to their circle of friends, and pretend I'm not there*" – although he also states that he holds of contacts himself. Other respondents also recognise that expats mostly socialise with other expats. Maria states that: "*I would suspect that they have an own […] circuit, those expats. That they look for each other, and less for Dutch people*". Furthermore, Alfred states that 'expats might bind more with the city than with the residents', and Eline thinks that expats are often young people that are busy with their careers: "*they live in their own world, and don't really integrate*". One of the underlying reasons for the perceived limited contact with locals is that expats often stay in the city temporarily, which makes it difficult to create a social network outside of the workplace. Furthermore, Eline, Isabel and Eric mention that it is understandable that expats (allegedly) mainly socialise with other expats, because of the sociopsychological explanation that 'everyone is looking for their own kind'. Eline explains that she understands that 'they seek each other out', since it is convenient to be in a similar position, speak the same language and be around the same age.

Several others put forward other explanations for the generally little social contact between locals and expats. Olivia, for instance, states that 'in general it is quite hard for expats to blend in' – partially because locals already have existing social networks. Naomi recognises this, and says that although expats generally put effort in meeting other people, it is 'really difficult to become friends with Amsterdammers'. She concludes that 'both sides should put in more effort to make contacts'. Mark also sees mechanisms that make it difficult for expats to build friendships with local people. He states that 'the tribe protects itself', and that locals often are hesitant to letting foreign people into their lives. He states that, although he would like more international friends, he also recognises this pattern within himself: "*and of course also from the expats, that have the same tribal behaviour*". One of the elements that, according to him, impede the building of social contacts between locals and expats is the need to speak English, which makes 'deep, personal conversations difficult as you

cannot make the necessary nuances'. However, Olivia and Els do not necessarily agree that the language barrier makes it more difficult to get in touch. Olivia states that she 'actually enjoys it' and Els says: "*if they are nice people, then the language doesn't really matter*".

In general, several respondents are rather critical on the limited social contact between locals and expats – regardless of the underlying cause. Eline states that because of the limited social contacts between locals and expats "*too many expats would not be good for the social cohesion in the city*". She explains that she is 'afraid of fragmentation in the city, especially since people only stay for a limited period of time'. Isabel agrees, as she finds it unfavourable that 'you would get different islands within society'. Eric is rather outspoken when it comes to the influences on the social cohesion in the city. He states that 'expats contribute nothing to the city' and that: "*I have never noticed that they did something which is promoting social cohesion*". It should be mentioned that his opinion is rather strong, and that other respondents are more nuanced. Mark, for instance, sees that an increasing number of expats might potentially create 'walls' within society, but that we already have those walls. Furthermore, he states that 'Dutch people with money that shut themselves off from society pose far more severe threat'. Alfred also nuances the effects of expats on the overall social cohesion in the city, as he mentions that these are insignificant because of their rather small share in the population: "*and if it's a bit scattered around the city, you won't notice it*". Finally, Teunis is highly positive about the influence of an increasing international population on the social cohesion, as he perceives this as contributing to the social cohesion on a global scale.

When asked if the respondents have expats as friends or acquaintances in their personal social network, a tight majority indicates that this is not the case. Mark formulates this as follows: "*if I look at my circle of friends and acquaintances […], I see that there are surprisingly few expats among them*". Several other respondents indicate that they do not have social contacts with expats – although they often are reportedly open to it. Aafje states that she finds it 'interesting' that she does not have any expat friends, especially as she is keen to meet people from other countries. Several other respondents indicate that they have some international colleagues or neighbours that they would consider to be 'in their network'. Furthermore, some respondents report that they do have some international friends in their personal networks, although these are oftentimes settled permanently in Amsterdam. Naomi and Astrid are the only respondents that seem to have *temporary* foreign residents in their personal network. Whereas Naomi especially knows them through squashing together, Astrid says: "*I was married to an expat, and I also worked for a company where a lot of expats work*". She continues: "*so I have a very large group of friends, or actually had, it's less now because the thing with expat friendships is… eventually people leave again*".

6.3.2 Perceived influence on the cultural and physical dimensions of place

As established earlier, the respondents are generally satisfied with the amenities in the city and the neighbourhood. Also, many respondents notice recent changes in the nature of the amenities in both Amsterdam and Westerpark, partially due to processes of gentrification. The extent to which the increasing presence of (temporary) foreign residents influences the offer of amenities in the city and the neighbourhood is generally perceived as limited among the respondents: the majority of the respondents does not see (significant) changes in amenities that they attribute to the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population. Els, for instance, notices that although announcements and menus are increasingly in English, cafes and bars will not necessarily change when they host more expats: "*I think it will stay that way, you will keep the Dutch element in that*".

However, Jacob does thinks that an increasing number of expats in Amsterdam might influence the kind of amenities and the *lifestyle* that is common in the city, for instance when it comes to the flourishing of gyms and coffee to go's – a 'kind of international lifestyle of wealthy people that we all appreciate and enjoy'. He says: "*I think they are somewhat setting a trend, which may make it easier for locals to do this*". Teunis, who is also quite positive, states that expats in the neighbourhood support the local wine shop by 'easily buying bottles for 40 euros'. Only Eric sees rather negative impacts of the presence of expats on the city's amenities, as 'they use the city different': "*they make use of the city, but do not contribute anything to the city. It is just consuming the facilities that we have, without contributing themselves to everything which makes a city pleasant*". Finally, Irene makes a remark about the perceived influence of expats on the local fitness centre. Especially because expats are mainly rather young people, she thinks that this influences the offer of fitness courses: "*there is a connection there, because many of the young people that use the gym are expats*". Altogether, it can be concluded that the respondents generally barely perceive influences of the increased presence of foreign residents on the amenities in the city, as they mostly attribute the changing (neighbourhood) amenities to various other causes.

Another potential influence of an increasing share of temporary foreign residents might be on the local culture: the norms, manners and values that are commonplace in the city. The majority of the respondents indicated that they do not perceive changes or influences in the Amsterdam culture as a result of an increasing international population. Mark wonders out loud to what extent local ideas like the tolerant mentality are 'violated by expats', to which he comes to the conclusion that they are not. According to Mark, many foreigners that move to Amsterdam already embrace similar 'urban and liberal values' when they arrive. Irene shares this opinion, as she states that many foreign people move to Amsterdam especially because of the fact that they are attracted to the mentality and ideology of freedom that is associated with the city. Jacob also sees this, as he states that the LGBTQ-community in the city will only become stronger because of the arrival of foreign residents and expats, because they are attracted to an open urban climate. Furthermore, although Eric is critical on the manners of Americans ("*I find Americans very disturbing, they talk too loud*") and on the humour of English people ("*I don't like the so-called intellectual English humour*"), he concludes that (temporary) foreign residents do not influence the overall local culture in Amsterdam.

Some respondents, however, do indicate that they perceive changes in manners that are somewhat relatable to the internationalisation of the population. For instance, Isabel mentions a growing mentality of 'other people have to adapt to me' without having interests in the local population – although she mostly seems to relate this to an overall process of gentrification. A cultural influence that she actually attributes to an increase in foreign residents is the growing use of the English language, something which Gaia also sees: "*of course that is often due to expats*". As this is a highly noticeable 'cultural' influence which the large majority recognises and has an opinion about, this subject is exclusively discussed in the next section (6.3.3). Another cultural change that Gaia notices is the fading standard of greeting people on the streets. She mentions that 'you greet people less easily because you don't know if someone speaks another language'. Also, she states that 'the distance between people is growing' and that 'people are more concerned with themselves'. However, she is not entirely sure if this is due to an increasing number of international residents: "*whether that is the generation or expats, I find that difficult to say*". Furthermore, Vera and Michelle both mention that they see changing cultural elements in the city, but that this is mostly due to overarching global processes. Michelle emphasises that cultural elements around the world are increasingly comparable: "*life in the cities, and especially among the middle class, is very much*

becoming similar". As a result, urban cultures – also in Amsterdam – are losing a sense of authenticity, a process that is not only driven by increasing numbers of foreign residents, but also by globalisation, tourism, social media and internet. In conclusion, although some respondents perceive some cultural changes in recent years, they generally do not ascribe these to the growing presence of (temporary) foreign residents. Els concludes that "*the Amsterdam culture is a changing entity, which is continually subject to change*", and that "*even if there would not be foreign influences, the culture would still change*". The most important drivers for cultural change in Amsterdam that respondents mention are domestic migration and processes of gentrification. The increasing internationalisation of the population barely has any influences on the culture, norms, values and manners that are common in the city – with the fundamental exception of the language.

The respondents have varying opinions on the perceived extent to which temporary foreign residents attach themselves to the city, its culture and the residents. Quite some respondents indicate to think that (temporary) foreign residents generally integrate well in Amsterdam. Els, for instance, states that she sees that foreign residents generally 'settle' in Amsterdam and participate in the social life in the city. Also, she thinks that foreign residents will 'copy' the behaviour and manners of locals, in order to fit in. Olivia and Johanna also seem to think that foreign residents generally integrate well within the local culture and society, although Irene mentions that in some cases she would like to see more mutual interests in each other. Alfred emphasises that integrating in and attaching to Amsterdam is rather 'fluid' and individually different among foreign residents. He shares examples of both foreigners that intended to permanently migrate to Amsterdam but left after a period of time, and about neighbours that came to the city temporarily but eventually stayed permanently. Finally, some respondents think that temporary foreign residents do not attach themselves to Amsterdam in the same manner as permanent residents would do. Eline states: "*when you stay somewhere temporarily, you don't put effort in integrating*", and Marleen says that 'the idea of temporality makes it different': "*the point is that you sometimes think 'never mind because I will be gone in a few years anyway'*".

Finally, it is relevant and interesting to know whether the respondents lean to a cosmopolitan and open mindset, or if they embrace a more closed, localistic view – as this might influence the overall way they perceive and appreciate foreign (cultural) influences. The respondents almost unanimously hinted at having rather cosmopolitan beliefs and ideas. Olivia, for instance, refers to herself as a world citizen and European: "*I think it's truly wonderful to work towards one Europe*", and Claudia states that cultures 'can learn from each other'. Furthermore, Michelle thinks of foreign cultural influences as an added value: "*I love a little mixing* [of cultures], *that's healthy*". Irene agrees and states that mixing of cultures is a good thing, as it 'broadens your view'. Furthermore, almost all respondents principally have positive stances towards the internationalisation of the local population and the arrival of people from different backgrounds and cultures. Of all the respondents, Astrid has the most positive view. She states that she 'loves diversity', and that increasing diversity is an outright positive development: "*I really love it. The more international it is, the better*". She continues: "*I don't feel like 'Amsterdam belongs to the Dutch', or to the Amsterdammers or something, I think… Yeah, I am not like that*". Many other respondents indicate that they like the idea of foreign residents coming to live in Amsterdam. For instance, Els states that she loves travelling to other places, and that "*when those other places come here, than their norms and values and cultures also come here, and that only broadens your view and makes life more fun*". Klaas, Aafje, Teunis and Irene also enjoy the fact that other cultures come to Amsterdam, and that this 'enriches' your world without even needing to leave the city. Altogether, the respondents rather unanimously enjoy and

support foreign influences and the arrival of (temporary) foreign residents in Amsterdam – as they look at it from a cosmopolitan perspective.

This mindset fits well with the fact that the vast majority of the respondents in this study embrace leftist political ideologies. For instance, Aafje states that she does not understand why people have concerns about immigration: "*then I always think 'guys, we have always done that', that is just how it is, what are we even bothered about?*". However, later Aafje also indicates that she also sees some (potential) implications of the internationalisation of the local population that she finds less favourable. This ambivalence in opinions is something that other respondents are explicitly mentioning during the interviews. For instance, Vera stated that "*I am quite open and tolerant, but…*" and Gaia reports to embrace the ideals of multiculturality and being 'one Europe', "*but I have some trouble with the current extent to which it develops*". Likewise, Eric reports being supportive of certain forms of immigration, except for the current increase in temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam – which is 'different', according to him. In conclusion, it can be stated that the majority of the respondents embraces a cosmopolitan ideology towards foreign cultural influences. However, for many respondents this does not necessarily mean that they do not see negative aspects of the particular nature of the current internationalisation development in Amsterdam – one which particularly involves foreign residents from Western countries that in many cases stay in the city temporarily. One of the aspects that receives criticism is the fact that the English language is becoming increasingly ubiquitous in Amsterdam – which is discussed exclusively in the next section.

6.3.3 The increasing use of the English language as an important cultural influence

The respondents almost unanimously indicate that they have noticed an increasing presence of the English language in Amsterdam in recent years – both when it comes to hearing it around them and being addressed in English. As mentioned earlier, hearing foreign languages seems to be the most important indication that there are (increasing numbers of) foreign residents living in the city, the neighbourhood and the residential building. Furthermore, hearing and being addressed in foreign languages (in this case particularly the English language) brings about certain feelings and opinions among long-term Dutch residents. Some residents enjoy the increasing use of the English language in the city as an interesting change, while others are annoyed or feel less at place. In short, the march of the English language might influence the place attachment among residents (in various manners). This present section is specifically dedicated to the increasing use of the English language and the opinions among the respondents surrounding this development – as this is a particularly relevant element of the overarching cultural dimension of place attachment.

The vast majority of the respondents mention English as the foreign language that is heard most often in Amsterdam. Eline says that "*every now and then you think you are in London*". Likewise, Eric mentions "*English is everywhere around me*", and Klaas notes that "*everything is English*". Jacob finds it 'remarkable' that "*English is of course becoming the second main language in Amsterdam*". According to Vera and Michelle, the noticeable increase in hearing and using English in the city is something of the past five to ten years. Gaia agrees and notes that since then it has become 'extreme'. Johanna also notes the increasing use of English, but she nuances it by stating that this is mostly in the city centre. Michelle also mentions the city centre as a 'hotspot' for English: "*it is quite extreme. I mean, when you are in the city centre English has pretty much become the main language*". However, the majority of the respondents emphasise that the growth in English is also to be noticed in the Westerpark area. For instance, Gaia reports hearing English a lot while sitting in her

garden, and Teunis finds it "*really striking how much English you hear*" in Westerpark. Claudia notes that in a nearby residential neighbourhood 'you barely hear Dutch anymore', which she sees as a significant change in comparison to several years ago. One of the specific occasions that a few residents mention when it comes to hearing more English is the fitness centre. According to Jacob, English is the 'main language' there, as more than half of the users speaks English – something which Irene and Naomi confirm. Other occasions that are mentioned are, for instance, the supermarket, public transport, public spaces, shops, seminars, festivals, concerts and cafes in Amsterdam: "*there is just a lot of English being spoken, more perhaps than Dutch*", says Astrid.

Restaurants, shops and cafes are (by far) most frequently mentioned as places where the English language is increasingly present, particularly because the respondents indicate that these are places where they are quite often being addressed in English by the personnel. For many respondents, being addressed in English more and more often while visiting local amenities makes the increasing presence of the English language especially noticeable. Many respondents report that they are rather frequently assisted by English speaking personnel in shops: "*because they speak English, or they just are English*", says Vera. Marleen points out the anglicisation in shops in the city centre and the central station: "*while you used to be able to speak Dutch at Dutch stations, haha*". Many respondents refer to English menu's and English speaking staff in cafes and restaurants. Eline states that there is 'much English personnel' and Aafje states that being addressed in English in restaurants 'is quite common'. According to Mark, 'you just need to speak English' when making use of many cultural or culinary amenities in Amsterdam: "*and that has changed at a fairly fast pace*". The majority of the respondents agree about the recent nature of this development. Olivia states that 'this is really something of the past few years' and Jacob states that 'the ease with which everyone switches to English' has become really strong in the past five years. In general, the respondents think of this development as something of the past five to ten years. It should, of course, be emphasised that the English language has (by far) not replaced the Dutch language in Amsterdam. Marleen for instance points out that although her daughter sometimes needs to speak English during her work in a local restaurant, most of the communication still happens in Dutch. However, the respondents surely notice a significant change relative to several years ago, and they seem to indicate a *development* in which English is increasingly being used as a language of communication in Amsterdam – partially because of a growing international population.

The emotions and opinions surrounding this development of anglicisation, which seems to strongly correlate with an increasing international population in the city, are rather diverse. A minority of the respondents associates hearing English with negative emotions, just like it evokes outspoken positive emotions among another minority of the respondents. The vast majority of the respondents seems to be rather ambivalent – they have both positive and negative associations with the increasing use of English in the city. Firstly, among the people that refer to the increasing use of English as a negative thing, the emotions run quite high. Eric declares having an 'incredible dislike' towards being addressed in English in shops and restaurants in the city. He says "*those people just assume you will speak English to them*", and although he indicates speaking English 'perfectly', he states: "*I don't like this in my own city, that this is how it happens*". He especially dislikes the attitude that it is 'self-evident' to speak English: "*they are not even embarrassed for speaking English*". Furthermore, he states that 'they' are asserting 'a certain dominance' in the city – something which Isabel would agree upon. She mentions that some shops 'won't even help you when you don't speak English': "*I find it outrageous*". Several other respondents are less 'angry' about the development, but still do perceive it rather negatively. Gaia states about being addressed in English in shops and

restaurants: "*I just find that really annoying*". She reports 'being stoic' and answering in Dutch to English speaking staff, something which she says others in her personal environment also do. Several respondents notice people in their personal network that are also critical on the anglicisation. Furthermore, Klaas thinks that (especially elderly) people that do not speak English might be confused when they are addressed in English in local shops and restaurants. He says that his mother would be likely to wonder if she is in a foreign country. He also indicates, however, that he himself does not really mind when he is addressed in English – a rather ambivalent attitude that is widely represented among the respondents.

Several respondents explicitly state being ambivalent or having 'mixed feelings' about the anglicisation in Amsterdam. Els, for instance, mentions that it 'annoys' her when staff members 'do not even try to speak Dutch', but that she also finds it rather fun to speak English: "*I like to practice my English, but on the other hand I sometimes think 'but why can't we just do it in Dutch'*". Mark also emphasises his ambivalence. He states that when he is addressed in English: "*there is something really deep within me that thinks 'excuse me, should I adapt to you?'*", but he also says "*on the other hand I find it interesting and enriching*". Many other respondents indicate that they do not necessarily mind the anglicisation, despite being surprised and sometimes annoyed by being addressed in English. Aafje states 'being surprised' and 'feeling resistance': "*I have a moment that I think 'why in my own city? In my own country?', why should I have to speak another language?*". At the same time, she mentions that she often chooses to speak English during her work. Likewise, Vera reports thinking 'that is crazy, I live here, I am Dutch', but that after having 'a moment of wonder' she thinks it is 'fine' to speak English. Michelle also mentions that she does not really mind speaking English, but that she thinks "*it is actually a bit crazy that you are not addressed in your own language, in your own city*". As mentioned, this ambivalent opinion of both minding and not minding being addressed in English is recognised among the majority of the respondents. Olivia and Klaas indicate that they often find it 'unfortunate' and 'strange' to need to speak English 'in your own country', but that they also understand and do not really mind that some people do not speak. Furthermore, Naomi reports not minding the anglicisation and 'not having a negative verdict', but that she does not feel comfortable when staff only speaks English: "*then it is no longer familiar*". Maria seems to phrase the widely represented ambivalent opinion perfectly: "*sometimes it is fun, but sometimes I can get annoyed too*". Some respondents stress the practical downsides of speaking English. Jacob, for instance, says that needing to speak English is sometimes impeding in difficult conversations: "*that is a bit irritating, but at the same time I also think 'gosh, how silly that I don't know those words'*". Jacob emphasises that some Amsterdammers like speaking English and others get angry.

There are indeed also rather positive opinions to be heard about the increasing usage of the English language in Amsterdam. Teunis, for example, has 'positive associations' with hearing and using English around the city: "*then I'm like 'that's nice, Amsterdam is a diverse city'*". Els also states that she finds it 'nice' to hear English around the city. Furthermore, several other respondents do not have objections with the increasing use of English. Irene says that 'with most of the people you can communicate in English well', and Olivia states that 'language is always changing'. Finally, Johanna sees that 'it's part of the city'. It can be concluded that there is great diversity in opinions among the respondents when it comes to the increasing use of the English language in Amsterdam. Some respondents are really bothered by this, while others think of it as a positive and enriching development. The vast majority of the respondents are rather ambivalent in their opinion: they do not really bother speaking and hearing English, but they are also slightly surprised by and critical of the development – particularly when it comes to being addressed in English.

One can assume that many English speaking people in Amsterdam – such as staff members of shops – are inhabitants of the city. The respondents conceive of multiple different analyses to explain why English is used more and more often and why some foreign residents in Amsterdam do not speak or learn the Dutch language. The fact that the majority of the Dutch population speaks English fairly well is one of the most important explanations for why foreign residents have less incentives to learn Dutch: "*it is simply not necessary*", says Els. The majority of the respondents indicate that Dutch people usually do not mind speaking English. In fact, many respondents recognise 'enthusiasm' to speak English among Dutch people as the most important explanation for why foreign people do not learn Dutch. Jacob states that Amsterdammers enjoy speaking English, and that they 'find it interesting to show their worldliness'. Eric also states that "*Amsterdammers are always so proud that they all speak English so well and they want to show it*". According to several respondents, this serves as an outright obstacle for foreign residents that want to learn the Dutch language. Marleen, Mark, Eline and Eric mention that they hear from foreign residents that whenever they try to speak Dutch, they are being answered in English by Dutch people. As a result of this mechanism, Claudia thinks that "*an Englishman would not learn Dutch very quickly*". Jacob also states that "*you can survive for 40 years here as an English speaker without having to learn a word of Dutch. And there are also people who do that*". Marleen even acknowledges that is it surprising when foreign residents speak Dutch. It should be mentioned here that several respondents pointed out that they know foreign residents that are learning or already speak Dutch – something most respondents find laudable. Some respondents also mention that the factor of temporality for some temporary foreign residents is an important reason not to engage in learning Dutch. Mark says: "*the expats will not stay, so why would they invest so much in learning Dutch?*", and Gaia states: "*why would you learn Dutch if you know that you will go back to England after a year or two, I can understand that. Plus they often find Dutch a hard language*". Finally, Eric sees that city information from the municipality is often in English, which sends the signal to foreign residents 'that they do not have to learn Dutch'.

Although many respondents mention (to understand) the mechanisms behind the general assertion that a share of the foreign population does not speak Dutch, they are also predominantly critical on the tendency to rely on English while living in Amsterdam. Els states that she thinks than when people live here, albeit temporarily, you should make an effort to learn the language – something which Aafje agrees with: "*it doesn't matter if you make some mistakes, but when you are going to live somewhere, then you do that*". Eline, like several others, understands that people do not learn the language when they are here for a short period of time, but "*if people stay a little longer then I think: well, you can put in a little more effort*". She also emphasises that 'we measure with different measures', as non-Western immigrants are generally expected to learn Dutch. Maria and Gaia think that foreign residents should put in more effort to learn Dutch, especially since they are oftentimes highly educated people that could try 'a little language course'. Maria is 'annoyed' by the 'lazy attitude and the ease with which they assume that everyone will speak English to them'. Again, Eric and Isabel have the strongest opinions. Eric 'doesn't like' that people come to Amsterdam without learning the language: "*it is my city, and they should adapt themselves*". Isabel 'resents' that people sometimes live here for eight years without speaking Dutch: "*isn't it the upside-down world?*". Altogether, it can be concluded that all respondents notice an increasing use of English around the city, and that many of them have (rather strong) opinions about this. Some residents are outspoken negative or positive, but the large majority of the respondents has rather mixed opinions with a tendency to a more critical attitude towards this development.

6.3.4 Perceived influence on the emotional dimension of place

So far, the perceived influence of the increased presence of temporary foreign residents on the social, physical and cultural dimensions of place attachment of long-term residents have been discussed. This section focuses explicitly on the final dimension of place attachment that this study distinguishes: the emotional place attachment. This particularly concerns the degree to which people feel at place and at home in the city, and is determined by the other dimensions of place attachment and an overall sentiment on how this development affects the way people 'live' the city. As established earlier, almost all respondents have a certain emotional connection with the city of Amsterdam, where they generally feel at home and with which they are happy to be identified with. The same is the case for the Westerpark area, the residential neighbourhood of all the respondents – albeit a slightly less strong connection for many respondents. It can be concluded that this emotional place attachment is barely or not affected by the increased presence of temporary foreign residents, although a minority of the respondents indicates otherwise. The largest share – about three quarters – of the respondents report that their feeling of home in the city is not changed as a result of the increased internationalisation of the population. Aafje, for instance, says that "*I certainly do not feel less at place in the city*" and Marleen states that "*no, if that would be the case, I would leave*". Some of these respondents do have some points of criticism towards the development, for instance when it comes to the English language, the influences on the social cohesion and the effects on the housing market. However, when it comes to their personal emotional place attachment, they indicate that this is not influenced by the overall development – these points of criticism are clearly not severe enough to really affect the place attachment of most of the residents. Several respondents even report that the internationalisation development leads to a stronger emotional place attachment to Amsterdam. Teunis, for instance, states that he feels more at place in an international city, and Jacob says: "*the hustle and bustle that this international city entails, that's… I think that's fantastic*". Both of them also report feeling a sense of pride towards Amsterdam regarding this development. Astrid is most outspoken on the positive influence of this development, as she feels 'very much' at home in a city with many (temporary) international residents. However, she also states that she could understand that other Amsterdammers would not agree with her, as well as Maria.

Some respondents are not completely convinced that this development will not affect their (future) emotional place attachment, even though this is not yet the case at this point. Gaia mentions that for now it has no consequences for her feeling of home, but that 'the cosiness of the city is diminishing' and she thinks that this might continue in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, Naomi states that this development 'not yet' influences her feeling of home, and Vera reports the same – although she mentions that there are certain areas in the city where this would probably be the case already. Irene, who is quite positive about some aspects of the internationalisation of the population, nevertheless states that this 'sometimes' leads to feeling less at place in the city: "*sometimes I do feel less at home. Then I think 'where did I suddenly end up', haha. Like, I don't even have to go abroad, because it has already come here. That seems a bit contradictory, but yeah, that's actually how I feel it*". She continues: "*Suddenly I notice that I'm quite ambivalent about this* […]. *I still feel very much at home, but at times I don't, and then I think… And I think that has to do with a certain balance, that sometimes it's going too far*". Certainly, this balance has already gone too far for Eric and Isabel, as the increase in temporary foreign residents in the city seems to affect the emotional place attachment of these two respondents. Isabel mentions that 'it's no fun anymore', and Eric reveals that he is 'getting somewhat defensive' and that this actually leads to him going out into the city less often: "*I do notice that I sometimes think 'well I'm not going, I don't feel like meeting those people'.*

So it is starting to have an impact, yes".

In conclusion, it appears that the emotional place attachment, expressed in the way people feel at place and at home in the city, is generally not influenced by the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents in the city and the neighbourhood – at least for the vast majority of the respondents. However, there seem to be some indications that this could potentially be the case for some people when the internationalisation development would continue at the same pace – as it already has some influence on a few respondents. Particularly relevant aspects when it comes to the (potential) influence on the emotional place attachment are the increasing presence of the English language and the nature of social interactions with temporary foreign residents.

6.4 Opinions and sentiments surrounding the internationalisation trend

6.4.1 Perceived influence of the internationalisation of the population on Amsterdam's place character and housing market

Housing an increasingly larger group of international residents could potentially have effects on the 'character' or 'identity' of Amsterdam – the overall image and ambiance that is associated with the city. It might, for instance, be that the city is perceived as becoming more volatile, international, interesting, exclusive or cosy – associations that define the perception of the city among its inhabitants. It should, however, be concluded here that this does not really seem to be the case. The vast majority of the respondents report that the 'atmosphere' or 'ambiance' in the city has not been changing as a result of the internationalising population trend. There are, however, some other opinions among the respondents that are interesting to mention. Jacob, Naomi and Michelle quite 'neutrally' observe that the city has an increasingly international atmosphere. Irene, who – like the majority of the respondents – states that the influence of the internationalisation trend on the ambiance in the city is rather insignificant, also voices another opinion. A friend of hers that is working at the Amsterdam conservatory told that the majority of the students are international students: "*and that gives a bit of a strange feeling, because it is a Dutch conservatory, but there are barely any Dutch students* […]. *So that is somewhat alienating, and she did not like that, which I could imagine*". Furthermore, Gaia reveals that: "*it's becoming so clinical, huh. There is no warmth anymore, because everyone is minding their own business*". She continues that, because Amsterdam is smaller than cities like New York and London, the influence of expats on the city is more significant: "*I'm afraid we will go there, that the families will leave the city, and that there are no more children in the streets. That would be unfortunate, that would be unfortunate, yeah*". Although she does not make this analysis for herself, Maria recognises that others might be pitiful about a changing ambiance in the city: "*I can imagine that there are people who feel deluded by this, and will leave the city, because.. Yeah, if you don't recognise yourself in a certain image, and you live in between, yeah that's difficult".* Marleen also notices that there are others in Amsterdam that might not like changes in the city's atmosphere as a result of internationalisation, as 'they celebrate life differently'. It should, however, be concluded that in the big picture the majority of the respondents does not recognise a changing ambiance or 'place identity' as a result of the internationalisation of the population. Several argue that for this to happen, the number of international residents should be higher. Also, the influence of (domestic) gentrification on the ambiance in the city and the neighbourhood is mentioned often as being more impactful. Finally, other neighbourhoods with higher shares of (temporary) foreign residents are mentioned several times as areas where there might be a changing ambiance – unlike Westerpark. For instance, Jacob states that in Amstelveen

and Buitenveldert 'sixty percent is expat' and 'the influence is way stronger', and Vera says that "*it's going to be very gradual here, but I think it will happen more strongly in other neighbourhoods*".

One of the recurring themes during the interviews was the influence of expats on the Amsterdam housing market – even though this was not a subject on the topic list. Almost all respondents addressed this subject, which indicates that this is a topic which truly lives among the residents. Especially while discussing the effects of internationalisation on the 'character' of the city, many respondents mentioned the housing market situation, as this might make the city more exclusive. Vera speaks of a 'housing crisis' in the city, and Marleen is afraid of 'London-like situations', as it is difficult to find affordable housing in the city. Els says that "*expats can afford more, so it will go at the expense of low rents, which kind of worries me*". Mark, Eline, Johanna and Klaas also mention the 'price-boosting effects' of expats in Amsterdam. For instance, Eline says "*these people are of course driving up the prices of rental apartments*" and Johanna states that many houses are 'withdrawn' from the market for rental to expats. Furthermore, Jacob also sees 'bizarre housing prices' partially because 'we are an attractive location for expats that are easily able to afford these prices'. Several other respondents, however, state that the expats are not (solely) to blame for the tight housing market in Amsterdam. Alfred also sees 'a huge housing problem', but he states that this is not due to 'a few thousand expats'. Jacob also mentions that domestic migration to Amsterdam puts a more significant pressure on the housing market. Finally, Irene also sees rising prices but states that 'it is not the fault of expats, but of the municipality that lets this happen'.

Many respondents mention to worry about the effects of this tight housing market on the atmosphere and the city as a whole – which can be seen as the most 'influential' impact of the increasing arrival of international residents: impacts that are actually mediated through the housing market. Klaas states that only 'people with money' can stay in the city, and Jacob says that the tight housing market leads to the 'arrival of a new group with higher incomes'. Isabel agrees, and states that 'social inequality is increasing' in the city and in the neighbourhood, as a result of rising rents. As expats are one of the population categories that are able to afford higher housing prices, according to many respondents, it expected that this group will increase at the expense of other groups that cannot afford these prices. Aafje reports that she enjoys the increasing multiculturality, but that she also finds it 'unfortunate that at the same time she feels the city is becoming more uniform' in terms of income and education. She states that because of the tight housing market the city in changing: a more 'elitist' group is able to live here, while people with lower incomes are leaving. Claudia and Gaia emphasise that this dynamic has led to the departure of many 'real Amsterdammers': "*the proper houses are oftentimes going to expats. So the Amsterdammers have to move to Purmerend or Hoorn, and I'm not okay with that, I'm not okay with that*", says Gaia. Furthermore, Marleen says that the housing market situation leads to an ageing population, and Johanna sees that as young people cannot live in the city, the city becomes less liveable and bustling: "*I really dislike that*". Finally, Vera really seems to be bothered by the developments on the housing market: "*it's a very nasty, disadvantageous development, which makes the city accessible only to people with money and well-paid jobs, among others foreigners*". In conclusion, the majority of the respondents does not think that the prevailing character or ambiance in Amsterdam is affected by the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents. However, many respondents do think this is affected by the tight housing market and the rising prices – which in turn is said to be partially reinforced by the arrival of (temporary) foreign residents. In this sense, it is especially the housing market situation that seems to concern the respondents, and its effects on the city's population.

6.4.2 General opinions and sentiments around the presence of temporary foreign residents

So far, the influences of the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents on the various dimensions of place attachment of long-term Westerpark residents are discussed, as well as the perceived influence of this trend on the city's identity and housing market. This present section discusses the *overarching* opinions among the respondents about the current development: what bigger picture they see, and which elements they particularly like and dislike. The majority of the respondents generally embrace the internationalisation of the city as a positive or a moderately positive development, and only a few have outspoken negative opinions surrounding the situation. Aafje, for instance, indicates having a 'positive association' with the overall development, and Els and Claudia state that they 'actually see it' as a positive change. Furthermore, Klaas states that the internationalisation of the population is a progressive development with which 'he has no trouble at all', something which Alfred, Marleen and Naomi also report. Among the respondents that generally perceive this as a positive development, some are particularly enthusiastic. Teunis mentions that he likes the internationalisation trend, as it brings to mind a positive association with the diverse nature of Amsterdam. Irene and Michelle agree with this, as Irene 'embraces it as a positive development because we are all citizens of the same globe'. Astrid might just be the most positive about the arrival of (temporary) foreign residents in the city. She sees it as 'a truly positive development': "*I love it, I really like it. The more international it is, the better it is*".

There are also respondents that are less enthusiastic and more neutral or moderately positive about the internationalisation trend. Olivia states that she does not necessarily notices it but that it is 'okay' and 'nice to hear'. She also considers it part of normal dynamics in (world) cities – something which several others respondents agree upon. Vera and Mark also see the general development as something that 'just happens' and has both positive and negative sides to it: "*I'm quite neutral […]. Whether I like it or not: sometimes it rains and you'll get wet*", says Mark. Maria has a similar observation and sees it as 'unavoidable' and something which 'does not disturb' her. However, she does note that she can imagine that other people do not like it – something which Olivia also recognises: "*I think there are a lot of people who don't like it at all*". A few of those people that are generally more negative about the increasing internationalisation of the population and its consequences are represented among the respondents. Gaia, for instance, mentions that it is basically a positive development, but that it has been taken too far in Amsterdam – with some negative consequences attached to it. Finally, Isabel and Eric can be seen as being having the most critical opinion about the entire development, as they see temporary international residents mostly as people that do not adjust themselves to the city. Eric reports 'seeing it as a territorial battle' in which 'expats are increasingly becoming dominant'. He states being 'annoyed' and 'bothered' by the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents in the city: "*I actually have a lot more sympathy for other immigrants, that actually try their best to speak Dutch*".

Altogether, the respondents represent quite a wide variety of opinions surrounding the increasing number of temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam, in which both positive and negative opinions are to be heard – with a preponderance of (moderately) positive opinions. However, the opinions are oftentimes more diffuse than it may seem at first glance, as many respondents recognise both positive and negative elements of this development. Firstly, almost all respondents – also the ones who are somewhat critical – mention to see some positive sides. Els, for instance, states that 'it's not all positive' but that in general the arrival of other cultures 'makes life more fun'. Astrid, Teunis, Klaas, Irene and Michelle agree with this. They explicitly emphasise the advantages of diversity, heterogeneity, and multiculturality, as this entails interesting, healthy and enriching

influences. Furthermore, several respondents mention to principally embrace the ideals of a united Europe and a 'global village'. Another explicitly positive element is that several respondents indicate being 'proud' on the fact that Amsterdam is attractive for people from all over the world. Altogether, most of the positive aspects that are mentioned by the respondents are related to the majority embracing rather cosmopolitan ideals. At the same time, many respondents address some more critical points related to the increase in temporary foreign residents – also the ones that generally embrace these cosmopolitan ideals. Aafje, for instance, states "*there is certainly some ambivalence*" as she finds it very nice to get in touch with different cultures, but at the same time has the unfortunate feeling that Amsterdam is becoming more (socioeconomically) 'uniform' – which she relates to the high housing prices in the city. Johanna, Marleen, Eline and Irene agree, and state although they do not mind the presence of temporary foreign residents in the city, they are worried that this strains the housing market even further: "*it's a difficult balance, because these expats of course all need a place to live*", says Eline. The effects on the housing market are mentioned frequently as a negative side effect of the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents. The second recurring 'negative' theme in the interviews is the anglicisation of Amsterdam and the fact that residents are addressed in English more often. Finally, the third major point of criticism is the lack of social interaction with temporary foreign residents and the potential anonymity and decrease in social cohesion that goes with it. These three themes, which are all discussed extensively in previous sections, are the most important points of criticism surrounding the development of an internationalising population – all of which are oftentimes mentioned by respondents that are largely positive in their overall opinions. In conclusion, the overarching sentiments and opinions about this topic are not black and white: despite the overall (moderately) positive sentiment (with the exception of a few individuals), there are certainly some important criticisms pointed out by the majority of the respondents.

Finally, it seems that, with a few exceptions, the central theme of this present research was not really a concern for the respondents prior to the interviews. Alfred, for instance, mentions that this theme does not really concern people in his personal network, at least not as much as tourism – which many respondents perceive as a much larger 'issue' in the city. Gaia and Eric, however, do indicate that the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents is a concern among people in their personal environment – especially when it comes to the anglicisation of the city.

6.4.3 Opinions and sentiments around current and future shares of temporary foreign residents in the city

Finally, it is worthwhile to discuss what the respondents generally think of the current share of (temporary) foreign residents in the city, and how they would appreciate possible future scenarios. When asked what the respondents think of the current share of temporary foreign residents in the city, the large majority does not think there are too many internationals living in the city. Alfred, for instance, states that you barely notice it in the city. Jacob makes a similar observation, and states that he does not mind the current presence of foreign residents, although he thinks it is unfavourable when they concentrate in certain city districts, such as the South side. Among all the respondents, Eric is, again, one of the few that thinks that there are already too many foreign residents in the city: "*it is ridiculously many* […], *but that's especially because of their behaviour*". He states that he would like to see a drastic decrease in the number of temporary foreign residents: "*I silently hoped that the Brexit would lead to the withdrawal of residence permits, that seemed delightful. At least than we*

would be rid of those Englishmen". Despite the fact that the other respondents are certainly less outspoken, several others indicate that – although there are not too many temporary foreign residents at the moment – they think that an increase is unfavourable. Vera states that "*I think this is just about the maximum*". Gaia agrees and says "*it's good as it is now. It should not be any more*".

Oddly enough, it is actually a tight majority of the respondents that indicates that a further increasing (temporary) international population would not a favourable development. Johanna mentions that she does not have a problem with the current presence of foreign residents, but that 'it is enough' at the moment – especially because of the housing market. This same argumentation is made Marleen. She states that 'if politicians do not make decisions' many more foreign residents will arrive in the city: "*With regard for the ordinary people that want to find a house here, I think we should put a limit to the number…*". Several other respondents state that an increase in temporary foreign residents is not favourable because of various reasons. Els mentions that she would feel a bit estranged in certain neighbourhoods with high numbers of foreign residents, and Eline is worried about fragmentation in the city: "*I would mind it if somewhere in the future half of the city would consist of expats. And that is a danger that you might expect in a city like Amsterdam, where many headquarters are settling*". As a result, she says that there should be some policy to prevent the unlimited arrival of temporary foreign residents – something with which Gaia agrees: "*I think that at a certain point we should say 'okay it is enough now'*". Olivia also states that "*when half of the city consists of expats, that won't make you happy, because you will lose the residents culture, especially because of the temporality*". However, she states that 'a doubling' of the current numbers of temporary foreign residents in the city would certainly be no problem. Likewise, Alfred and Naomi also indicate that it would not be an issue if the number of temporary foreign residents in the city would increase further, as long as the balance is good.

Some respondents point out the existence of policies of the Amsterdam municipality that (purposely) make the city attractive for foreign residents. Astrid mentions that the municipality and large companies in the city give 'perks' to highly skilled foreigners to attract them to the city, something which she understands: "*those people have certain talents that we really need for the development of the city*". However, she also mentions that in the long run she worries about the housing market situation and the loss of socioeconomic diversity. Eric also notices a commercially motivated strategy of the municipality to attract people to the city, which has 'opened the floodgate'. He comments that personally he would like the city the stop communicating in English to new inhabitants, as it sends the signal that they do not have to learn Dutch. Just like Eric, several other respondents – that are (way) less critical on the internationalisation development – indicate that they do not think it is necessarily a good idea to develop policies that attract more (temporary) foreign residents to the city. Michelle and Aafje both mention that they think it is better to let this process run organically: "*I like the organic way, you know, just let it happen. Yeah. But to attract them, yeah why… No*", says Aafje. Irene agrees and states that we should not purposely attract people from other countries: "*I think it's a bit weird to actively recruit people. It's better to try and train people within your own society*". Isabel is especially critical on attracting highly skilled foreigners to the city: "*absolutely not, because there is enough unemployment already, and then they just… No, no, no. But they will come anyway*". In contrast, a similar sized group of respondents recognises the economic importance of attracting foreign residents to the city, and therefore think policies to attract them to the city are favourable. Eline and Naomi say that it is not strange to look for good employees outside of the Netherlands, and Claudia, Klaas and Mark argue that as it benefits the (local) economy, it is good to attract highly skilled foreign workers. Finally, Teunis mentions that the

successful lobby to attract the European Medicine Agency is a 'very smart' strategy from the municipality of Amsterdam. He also states that it is important that skilled foreign workers come to the city, as Dutch universities do not supply enough employees: "*those people come from everywhere, and I really like that. We need that activity in Amsterdam*". This shows that there is a wide variety of opinions when it comes to the presence and the potential increase of temporary foreign residents in the city. Again, the most important objections when it comes to a potential future increase in temporary foreign residents in the city are the impacts on the social life, the presence of the English language and the impacts on the housing market. Still, the majority of the respondents does not have strong principal objections against the arrival of more foreign residents in the city, as most of the respondents embrace a rather cosmopolitan view that highlights the positive aspects of being an international city.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this present research was to examine the following research question: *How does the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influence the place attachment of long-term (>10 years) Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark on both the neighbourhood level and the city level?* To this end, 21 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with long-term residents of the Westerpark area. From this, a wide variety of results were extracted that contribute to answering the research question, as well as to the overarching subject of this study – which has not been extensively researched so far, both in general and in the particular case of Amsterdam.

In order to answer the central research question, four sub-questions have been formulated that each contribute to answering overarching question. Those four questions are explicitly covered in the results section, which consists of four subchapters that each addresses one of the sub-questions. Instead of explicitly answering those sub-questions here, they are rather integrated in and intertwined with the main the conclusions of this study. The general conclusion that this study draws is that the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population does not substantially influence the overall place attachment of long-term Dutch residents. This conclusion applies to both the city level and the neighbourhood level, which do not account for significantly different experiences and influences on the place attachment of locals. As such, despite some nuance differences when it comes to the nature of the perceived influences, the overall influence is not perceived differently for these two spatial levels. On both spatial levels, it appears that in general and for the majority of the respondents there are no substantial influences of the internationalisation of the population on the place attachment of long-term residents. However, the conclusions are slightly more diffuse as the general influence is varying strongly for the different dimensions of place attachment that this study distinguishes, and also because the perceived influence on the place attachment of long-term residents is highly individually different. It is worthwhile to draw some more specific conclusions for the various *dimensions* of place attachment that give some clarification for and nuance to the overall answer to the research question – as these are variously influenced by the increased internationalisation of the population.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of the respondents actually notices an increasing presence of (temporary) foreign residents in Amsterdam. The most essential way of noticing this is hearing foreign languages being spoken – especially English. Encounters with foreign residents take place in a wide variety of circumstances, for instance on the streets, at work or at the gym. Furthermore, the respondents also notice an increased presence of foreign residents in their

neighbourhood – especially because of having international neighbours in their residential buildings. The increased presence of and encounters with foreign residents in the neighbourhood and the city is generally seen as a recent development – the majority of the respondents notices a remarkable increase in the last five to ten years. The Westerpark residents generally see this as a (normal) process that is related to the broader development of globalisation. Furthermore, the majority thinks that having an (increasingly) international population is typical for large cities in general and for Amsterdam in particular, as the city has a history of being open to foreign residents.

As emphasised earlier, the perceived influence of the internationalisation of the population on the place attachment of residents varies for the different dimensions of place attachment that this study distinguishes. The physical and cultural dimension of place attachment are both barely influenced by the increased presence of temporary foreign residents. The respondents are generally attached to the beauty of the city, and satisfied with the amenities. Importantly, they do not perceive changes in those elements as a result of an internationalising population. They do, however, perceive changes in amenities that they link to (mainly domestic) processes of gentrification – a widely noticed phenomenon, especially in the Westerpark area. Although some residents also include expats in the gentrification dynamics, the general conclusion should be that the physical dimension of place attachment (mainly focused on amenities) is not influenced by the increasing internationalisation of the city and the neighbourhood.

When it comes to the cultural dimension of place attachment, the conclusion should be similar: this is generally not influenced by the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents. Most respondents are rather attached to local cultural elements, which are frequently associated with notions of tolerance, diversity and freedom, as well as with more 'folksy' cultural elements such as humour and a direct social manners. Although many mention the diminishing presence of these cultural elements in the city, this is generally related to the departure of 'authentic Amsterdammers' and general processes of population turnover – not to an increased presence of foreign residents in the city. The extent to which foreign residents familiarise themselves with local cultural elements is variously assumed by the respondents. Whereas some note that foreign residents generally embrace the local culture and in some cases strengthen it, others think that they often do not adjust to the Amsterdam culture. Interestingly, almost all of the interviewed residents of Amsterdam Westerpark embrace a rather cosmopolitan view on culture: the majority indicates to see foreign cultural influences in principle as an addition to and enrichment for Amsterdam.

Even though the majority of the respondents does not see (bothersome) cultural influences, the element of language is an important exception. Just about all respondents in this research have noticed a remarkable upsurge of the English language in the city. Besides hearing English around them, they almost unanimously notice that they are being addressed in English more often than five to ten years ago when visiting local shops, cafes and restaurants. Although a minority of the respondents is not at all bothered by this, the large majority indicates to at least have some issues with this development. Whereas some respondents report being actually upset about this development, others are more nuanced and indicate that they are surprised or annoyed by this from time to time. The respondents interpret the upsurge of the English language largely as a result of the arrival of more international residents, although they oftentimes mention that the Dutch population facilitates this as many people switch to English rather easily. A large share of the respondents is rather ambivalent about the development, as they perceive the anglicisation as an 'interesting' change, but at the same time are annoyed that some foreign residents do not learn Dutch. Altogether, it might be concluded that the upsurge of the English language does actually influence

the place attachment of at least a share of the long-term residents, as some are really bothered by this. This is especially the case when it comes to being addressed in English, as hearing English throughout the city is generally seen less as an issue.

The third dimension of place attachment that is distinguished is the social dimension. This is particularly relevant for the neighbourhood level, as the majority of the Westerpark residents report not having this form of attachment on the city level. Within the neighbourhood, and especially within the residential buildings, the respondents generally have a rather strong sense of social place attachment. Many have significant social ties and feel a (strong) sense of community and cohesion. With regard to the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents, it should be concluded that this does not substantially influence the social dimension of place attachment – at least for the large majority of the respondents. This is because the majority indicates that the social cohesion and their social contacts are not (strongly) influenced. There are, however, some indications that the increasing presence of foreign residents might affect the social dimension of place attachment in the future – and for a minority of the residents this is already the case. It is reported that the nature of social contacts with temporary foreign residents are oftentimes different than with Dutch residents, for instance because they are less involved in the community or because long-term residents do not really know them – which is generally different with permanent Dutch residents. Although some mention that this already affects the social cohesion in the building or neighbourhood, the majority states that this is not (yet) the case. When it comes to social contacts between temporary foreign residents and Dutch residents in general, the majority indicates that they think that there are some barriers and mechanisms that lead to little social contacts between those groups – at least in their own networks. Again, although some respondents are worried about this, the majority of the respondents does not perceive this as being influential on their place attachment yet.

The final dimension of place attachment, the emotional dimension, concerns the extent to which people generally feel at place in and belonging to the city and the neighbourhood. This emotional attachment is both induced by the other dimensions of place attachment and transcends them. It appears that almost all residents are attached rather strongly to Amsterdam, as they generally feel at home in the city and are proud to identify themselves as 'Amsterdammer'. Even though this is also the case with the Westerpark area for almost all respondents, there is slightly less pride and identification associated with this neighbourhood scale than with the city as a whole – although this is individually different. In general, the respondents feel at place in the neighbourhood and in the city, something which is not influenced by the increasing internationalisation of the population for most of them. However, it should be mentioned that there are strong individual differences, as this leads to an increase in feeling of home for some and to a decline for others. A key element in this is the 'balance' within the population, which is interpreted individually differently. Whereas a few respondents indicate that there are already influences of temporary foreign residents to be noticed that affect their sense of home, the (large) majority mentions that this is not or not yet the case. Interestingly, several respondents indicate that this might be influenced in the future, would this development continue at this pace – especially because of a potential 'alienating' effect and potential impacts on the social cohesion. However, again, for the majority of the respondents this would seemingly not affect their emotional place attachment or their sense of home. Finally, the respondents generally do not see remarkable changes in the 'character' of Amsterdam or in the reigning ambiance in the city as a consequence of a growing (temporary) foreign population.

When it comes to the general appreciation of the internationalisation development, most of the residents think this is 'fine' – only a few are outspoken positive or negative. Many respondents

are ambivalent in their opinions. They do not perceive it as an issue, but mention to see positive sides (like cultural mixing and an interesting atmosphere) as well as negative sides (such as the upsurge of English and the potential anonymity in the city). The majority of the respondents are okay with the current share of temporary foreign residents in the city – with a few exceptions. However, oddly enough many see a further increase in the coming years as somewhat undesirable. One of the most mentioned reasons for this is the impact on the tight local housing market – a topic that people often bring up. Although the respondents do not think that the increasing presence of temporary foreign residents is the cause for the high housing prices, they do think that this contributes to the overall housing problems in the city. This is one of the reasons (among others) for many respondents to not support policy aimed at attracting foreign residents to the city – although there are also people that recognise the economic benefits and would support those policies.

In conclusion, it can be stated that altogether the increasing internationalisation of Amsterdam's population does not influence the place attachment of the majority of the long-term residents of Westerpark – and this is also the main conclusion of this study. However, is should be commented that for some residents, is certainly does have a negative or positive influence on the place attachment. There are strong individual differences when it regards this theme. Hearing the English language in Amsterdam, for instance, provokes highly different emotions among different people – from pride to exasperation. Besides individual differences in sentiments between people, many people also have quite ambivalent or mixed visions themselves – especially when it concerns different elements of the overall development of an internationalising population. For instance, many of the respondents that have quite cosmopolitan views and generally welcome foreign cultural influences also have critical opinions when it comes to the effects on the local housing market, the upsurge of the English language, and the lack of social contacts between Dutch residents and temporary foreign residents – which are generally the three themes that receive the most criticism. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw coherent conclusions about influences on the overall place attachment of long-term residents – as place attachment is a diffuse concept consisting of multiple dimensions. Especially the emotional and social dimension of place attachment seem to be (potentially) influenced by this development, while the physical and cultural dimension are less relevant in this matter – with the exception of language as a cultural element. Moreover, some of these dimensions are more or less relevant for the two spatial levels that are of interest to this study. The social implications, for instance, are more noticeable on the neighbourhood level, while the effects of the English language are more relevant on the overarching city level. Finally, the overall conclusion of this study should be that the increasing internationalisation of the Amsterdam population does not substantially influence the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents of Amsterdam Westerpark – although this is highly individually different, and there are some aspects of this development that does generate widely represented criticism and might (eventually) influence particular dimensions of place attachment.

8. Discussion

Validity and generalisability of the results

This study set out to investigate how and to what extent the internationalisation of Amsterdam's population influences the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents. To this end, a thorough scientific literature review was formulated and twenty-one in-depth interviews with residents of Amsterdam Westerpark were conducted. This methodology appears to have yielded detailed and

useful insights, that reflect the underlying sentiments of residents of Amsterdam Westerpark when it concerns this theme. By interviewing twenty-one residents, a critical mass of information has been collected and saturation has occurred – as it appeared that no new information would result from conducting more interviews. As such, it can be argued that the results of this study are relevant and generalisable for a larger group of Westerpark residents, outside of the respondents that were interviewed in this study. However, it should be emphasised that the sample of respondents for this study consists of a rather specific and homogeneous nature. First of all, as the respondents are all residing in the Westerpark area, the results are especially relevant for residents of this neighbourhood. Even though it might be expected that the results of this study are also somewhat relevant for Amsterdam residents in general or for residents of neighbourhoods with similar characteristics, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that the results of this study are generalisable for these groups. Furthermore, the sample of respondents does not necessarily reflect the entire population of the Westerpark area, as the majority of the respondents are generally highly educated people between the age of 35 and 70 with decent incomes. This rather homogeneous sample of respondents is largely due to the effects of the corona crisis in the spring of 2020, as this starkly limited the possibilities of finding respondents. This limitation will be discussed more elaborately later on in the discussion. The overrepresentation of this category of residents makes this study less generalisable for *all* Westerpark residents – for instance as lower educated residents might perceive the increasing internationalisation of the population differently. Interestingly enough, however, the narrowed down category of residents that constitute the sample of respondents does make the results of this study strongly relevant and generalisable for this category of people: long-term residents of Amsterdam Westerpark with middle to high socioeconomic statuses.

Interpretation of the results: expectations versus reality

Before engaging with the empirical part of this study, a conceptual model (*page 43*) was conceived of that visualises the central concepts and the potential ways along which the increasing internationalisation of the population could influence the place attachment of long-term residents. Although the overall conclusion of this study is that the increasing internationalisation of the Amsterdam population does not substantially influence the place attachment of long-term Dutch residents, some of the influences that were 'expected' in the conceptual model still proved to be relevant in practice. For instance, the increasing presence of foreign residents is indeed believed to stimulate the presence of the English language and to influence the nature of social contacts between people (e.g. in residential buildings) – both of which spark critical notions or even affect the place attachment of some residents. However, other proposed influences in the conceptual model (for instance through changes in amenities, street scenes and local cultural elements) did not turn out as important as pictured in the conceptual model beforehand. As such, some of the expected influences proved to be relevant, whereas others turn out not to be relevant enough to speak of a proper influence on the overall place attachment – at least for the vast majority of the respondents.

Interpretation of the results: findings compared to scientific literature

The expected influences that are visualised in the conceptual model are derived from media sources and scientific literature. A thorough literature research yielded many scientific studies that are relevant to the central theme of this research. Still, it turned out that there is a general lack of scientific research that is specifically comparable to this present study: research that looks into the ways in which the place attachment of local residents of a European city is influenced by the

increasing presence of (temporary) foreign residents. Therefore, the results and conclusions of this study should be compared to studies that cover related subjects or adjacent themes, such as the sociocultural integration of temporary foreign residents or the general effects of neighbourhood change on place attachment – which are addressed extensively in the theoretical framework. Several of these interesting theoretical notions that are discussed earlier will be shortly reflected upon in the light of this study's findings.

First of all, place attachment turned out to be a suitable concept to capture the essence of this present study. As it conceptualises the feelings, bonds and connections that people develop toward places, it is particularly appropriate to use this concept within the context of this study – which looks at what people feel towards their city and neighbourhood and how this is possibly influenced (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Hauge, 2007). Furthermore, the multidimensional nature of place attachment that is argued by, among others, Altman and Low (1992) turned out to be useful to address the multiple 'features' of Amsterdam and Westerpark that people recognise and attach themselves to. By dividing place attachment into a social, cultural, physical and emotional dimension, the concept is able to provide a more 'precise' qualitative measure for how people experience changes in their city and neighbourhood as a result of an internationalising population. The adjacent concept of place identity also proved to be useful, since the emotional dimension of place attachment (i.e. feelings of belonging towards a place) is largely derived from place identity literature (Devine-Wright, 2009; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013). As such, this study views place attachment as an overarching concept vis-à-vis place identity, which can be understood as a particularly strong sense of place attachment – like several other scholars do (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010; Altman & Low, 1992; Hauge, 2007).

Another theoretical notion that proved to be useful in this study is the cosmopolitanism-localism continuum (Roudometof, 2005). It is insightful to grasp the ideological stances of individuals towards foreign cultural influences, as this might be an underlying explanation for certain opinions and sentiments with regard to the internationalisation of the local population. In line with the finding of Olofsson and Ohman (2007) that higher educated people generally more often lean to cosmopolitanism, the vast majority of the (highly educated) respondents in this study embrace cosmopolitan stances towards culture.

Furthermore, the scientific literature related to indirect displacement as a result of gentrification also proved to be relevant in the context of this study, since a sense of indirect displacement can also be found among several residents when it comes to the consequences of an internationalising population. Although the majority of the respondents did not experience severe indirect displacement, several respondents did report feelings of 'no longer belonging to the area' as a result of gradual changes – strongly comparable to feelings of indirect displacement resulting from gentrification related changes (Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Some respondents also indicated feeling an 'us versus them' feeling, which Valli (2015) recognises as a form of gentrification induced indirect displacement. Therefore, for some of the respondents the concept of indirect displacement – which is initially lent from gentrification literature – proved to be highly relevant in this context, especially as it largely seems to resemble the emotional dimension of place attachment. For several others, feelings of social displacement (Davidson, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015) or housing market displacement (Twigge-Molecey, 2014) are somewhat applicable – also when taking the absence of overall feelings of indirect displacement into account.

When it comes to literature specifically concerned with the sociocultural integration of temporary foreign residents in host societies, there are also interesting comparisons to be made with

the findings of this present study. The majority of the respondents think that temporary foreign residents oftentimes attach themselves to Amsterdam less strongly or at least not in the same way as them. This is in line with several scientific sources that mention the limited attachment to the host society among some temporary foreign residents (Brown, 2015; Colic-Peisker, 2010). Similarly, the respondents generally think that there is little social contact between Dutch residents and temporary foreign residents in the city. This finding is in line with other literature, that also finds limited social interaction between locals and expats (Nijman, 2007; Langinier & Froehlicher, 2018). Although there is little social contact between the respondents and expats in Amsterdam, the existence of an 'expat bubble' that Fechter (2007, 2016) finds in Asian countries does not seem to exist – as they are not completely isolated or separated from the local population. In fact, some residents do have profound social contacts with temporary foreign residents in the city. Also, several respondents mention the reserved attitude of Dutch people as an explanation for the limited social interaction with expats. This mixed and diffuse image of social contacts between expats and Dutch residents, which also seems to be highly dependent on individual attitudes of both locals and expats, fits well with earlier findings of Van Bochove and Engbersen (2015). Another interesting finding regarding the perceived sociocultural integration of temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam is the fact that almost all respondents mention to think that many expats do not learn the Dutch language while they live in the city. This image corresponds to the general observation of Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) that expats generally have little incentive to learn the local language in countries with a high English proficiency among the local population, such as Luxemburg and Singapore.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the findings of this present study to media sources that report on the subject of an increasing number of temporary foreign residents in Amsterdam and the general sentiments among the Dutch population. Although a large share of the reporting on this topic generally represents rather critical sentiments (as shown in the context chapter), the findings of this present study are more nuanced and less negatively laden. It appears to be that many Dutch residents do not necessarily perceive the internationalisation development as a negative development or as a 'threat' to the city – although concerns about the spreading English language and the effects on the housing market are widely represented. About a fifth of the respondents, however, do voice a more outspoken critical opinion surrounding the general (effects of the) increasing presence of temporary foreign residents in the city. As such, it appears that the critical media reporting does reflect a genuine sentiment among the Amsterdam population – although it is not representative for all Dutch residents.

Recommendations for future research

Given the general lack of scientific research focused on the place attachment of local residents in a context of an increasing population share of (temporary) foreign residents, especially in the European countries and certainly for the Amsterdam case, there is plenty of room for (follow-up) studies on this subject. Certainly, this subject is highly contextual and will be experienced differently in different cities and neighbourhoods. Factors like the cultural differences between expats and locals, the culture and language of the host society, and the numbers of temporary foreign residents in comparison to long-term local residents are essential contextual elements that might contribute to different experiences and realities. Therefore, it is interesting to see how similar population developments are experienced in other cities.

It is, however, also interesting and relevant to investigate this subject more deeply in the specific context of Amsterdam. This study provides insights on how the internationalisation of the

population influences the place attachment of long-term residents of Westerpark, but this influence might very well be perceived differently among residents of other neighbourhoods – for instance neighbourhoods with higher shares of temporary foreign residents. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the sample of respondents in this present study is rather homogeneous when it comes to socioeconomic status and age. As this study mainly covers the sentiments and opinions of highly educated residents with a decent income in the age category of 35 to 70 years, it would be interesting to see how this theme is experienced among other population groups. Young, elderly or lower educated residents, for example, might perceive this development differently – for instance because of other levels of English proficiency or other ideological positions on the cosmopolitanism-localism continuum. Future research could specifically look into the sentiments among one of these subgroups or try to grasp the overall opinions of Amsterdam residents in general through a larger and more diverse sample of respondents. The latter option was the initial strategy for this present study: to have a representative sample of respondents for the Westerpark area. Especially because of the limited options for sampling a wider range of respondents as a result of the corona crisis in the spring of 2020, this has not entirely succeeded. The social distancing measure during the corona crisis has made it difficult to get in touch with diverse groups of residents. This study eventually used networks within five residential buildings to sample respondents that were prepared to take part in an interview – despite the social distancing measures or the need to conduct the interview digitally.

Policy recommendations

As addressed extensively in the theoretical framework and the context chapter, municipalities and governments on other spatial levels are oftentimes involved in policymaking focused on attracting and retaining highly skilled foreign workers. The economic benefits that highly skilled foreigners bring with them are attractive for regions, as this stimulates their competitive position within the international knowledge economy. Interestingly enough, however, there is very little attention in this area of policymaking for how a significantly growing international population might have implications for a city or neighbourhood and its long-term residents – despite the rather overwhelming amount of policies and studies focused on attracting and retaining international talent. The foremost policy recommendation that this present study puts forward, therefore, is to take into account this side of the development when creating policies to attract highly skilled foreign workers: what might potentially be the effects on the city and its population, and how do local residents generally feel about this development? It might be fair to state that the economic advantages of attracting (temporary) foreign residents to Amsterdam should not be at the expense of the way in which local residents feel at place in their city. Although the majority of the local population might not necessarily have strong objections surrounding the internationalisation development, it would be relevant to listen to voices that do have concerns about this – as it is worthwhile to foster the place attachment of long-term local residents who are vital to the city and its identity.

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10. Appendix

10.1 Appendix 1: Operationalisation scheme (place attachment)

Concept	Dimensions	Indicators
Place attachment	Social dimension	Local social ties and social capital
		Social cohesion
		Contact with neighbours
		Sense of community and 'we-feeling'
		Daily encounters
		Participation in local community
		Trust, support and care in community
	Cultural dimension	Language
		Rituals, events, customs and traditions
		Symbols
		Norms and values
		Shared histories and memories
		Place authenticity and distinctiveness
	Physical dimension	Street scenes and encounters
		Amenities
		Housing
		Urban landscape
	Emotional dimension	Affective bond with the place
		Place as part of individual identity
		Character and image of the place
		Sense of belonging
		Feeling at place and at home

10.2 Appendix 2: Interview schedule (including pseudonyms)

Respondent	Gender	Age category	Location	Date
R1: Els	Female	55 – 65	Westerpark	18-05-2020
R2: Aafje	Female	50 – 60	Westerpark	05-06-2020
R3: Olivia	Female	50 – 60	Skype	18-05-2020
R4: Marleen	Female	55 – 65	Westerpark	18-05-2020
R5: Mark	Male	60 – 70	Westerpark	18-05-2020
R6: Jacob	Male	60 – 70	Westerpark	19-05-2020
R7: Eric	Male	60 – 70	Westerpark	19-05-2020
R8: Johanna	Female	60 – 70	Westerpark	19-05-2020
R9: Alfred	Male	55 – 65	Westerpark	20-05-2020
R10: Eline	Female	60 – 70	Westerpark	20-05-2020
R11: Isabel	Female	65 – 75	Westerpark	21-05-2020
R12: Claudia	Female	60 – 70	Westerpark	21-05-2020
R13: Teunis	Male	40 – 50	Westerpark	22-05-2020
R14: Gaia	Female	40 – 50	Skype	22-05-2020
R15: Naomi	Female	35 – 45	Westerpark	23-05-2020
R16: Klaas	Male	40 – 50	Westerpark	25-05-2020
R17: Vera	Female	45 – 55	Westerpark	25-05-2020
R18: Maria	Female	60 – 70	Westerpark	26-05-2020
R19: Michelle	Female	40 – 50	Westerpark	26-05-2020
R20: Astrid	Female	40 – 50	Westerpark	28-05-2020
R21: Irene	Female	45 – 55	Westerpark	29-05-2020

10.3 Appendix 3: Topic list

Dimensies	Vragen
	Inleidend
	(1) Hoe lang woont u in Amsterdam?
	(2) Hoe lang woont u in Amsterdam-West?
	Place attachment
	(3) Waar denkt u aan als u aan de stad Amsterdam denkt? - Welke woorden, associaties of emoties komen er naar boven?
	(4) Waar denkt u aan als u aan Amsterdam-West (of specifieker: de Westerparkbuurt) denkt? - Welke woorden, associaties en emoties komen er naar boven? - Welke delen van de stad rekent u tot 'uw' buurt?
	(5) Vindt u uzelf iemand die zich sterk bindt aan plekken? Zou u bijvoorbeeld gemakkelijk ook in een andere stad (of land) kunnen wonen?

Emotionele dimensie	(6) Kunt u voor mij omschrijven op welke manier u een emotionele binding heeft met de stad Amsterdam? - Bent u gehecht aan de stad? Voelt u zich thuis? - Wordt u graag geïdentificeerd als 'Amsterdammer'? - Vindt u dat u bij de stad past? - Vervolg: welke elementen zijn hierin belangrijk voor u?
	(7) En hoe geldt dit voor uw buurt?
	(8) Ervaart u een sterkere binding met de stad Amsterdam of met uw buurt?
Sociale dimensie	(9) Ervaart u veel onderlinge sociale binding, ofwel een sterke sociale cohesie, in uw buurt? - Veel sociale contacten onderling? - Wat voor soort sociale contacten? Vluchtig of diepgaand? - Is er sprake van vertrouwen, steun en zorg onder de bewoners? - Is er veel participatie onder de bewoners?
	(10) Heeft u het idee dat de sociale bindingen en het gemeenschapsgevoel in uw buurt de afgelopen jaren veranderd is? Zo ja, hoe?
	(11) Ervaart u een vorm van gemeenschapsgevoel als het gaat over de gehele stad? Zo nee, op welke manier is dit anders dan de buurt?
	(12) Heeft u het idee dat het gemeenschapsgevoel in Amsterdam de afgelopen jaren veranderd is? Zo ja, hoe?
Culturele dimensie	(13) Is er volgens u sprake van een Amsterdamse cultuur, ofwel van een Amsterdamse 'authentieke' identiteit? Wat valt hier bijvoorbeeld onder? - Denk aan taal, tradities, omgangsvormen, gebruiken, symbolen, normen en waarden. - Bent u gehecht aan deze Amsterdamse cultuur? - Ziet u hierin dingen veranderen in de afgelopen jaren? Bijvoorbeeld in taal?
	(14) Vindt u dat er ook sprake is van een specifieke cultuur of identiteit die hoort bij uw buurt? - Zo ja, waarin herkent u deze? Hoe verschilt dit met andere buurten? - Bent u gehecht aan deze buurtcultuur? - Ziet u hierin dingen veranderen in de afgelopen jaren?
Fysieke dimensie	(15) Wat vindt u van het Amsterdamse 'straatbeeld'? - De mensen die u daarin ziet? - De voorzieningen die u tegenkomt (zoals cafés en winkels)? - Bent u gehecht aan dit straatbeeld? - Ziet u hierin dingen veranderen in de afgelopen jaren? Bijvoorbeeld in 'de Amsterdammer' die u tegenkomt in de stad?
	(16) Wat vindt u van het 'straatbeeld' in uw buurt (o.a. de mensen en de voorzieningen), hoe is dit bijvoorbeeld karakteristiek voor deze buurt? - Bent u gehecht aan dit straatbeeld? - Ziet u hierin dingen veranderen in de afgelopen jaren?
Culturele globalisering	

	(17) Heeft u het idee er 'internationale' invloeden zijn in Amsterdam; dat Amsterdam steeds 'internationaler' wordt? Hoe herkent u dit in… - De mensen die je tegenkomt? De Amsterdamse bevolking? - Culturele aspecten (zoals (1) taal, (2) tradities en (3) normen)? - Voorzieningen (zoals cafés, winkels en koffiezaken)?
	(18) Wat vindt u hiervan? - Vindt u het jammer dat internationale invloeden neerslaan in Amsterdam, of juist mooi? - Past u zich gemakkelijk aan nieuwe, internationale culturele elementen aan? Hoe zit dat denkt u voor andere Amsterdammers?
Toenemende internationalisering van de Amsterdamse bevolking	
	(19) Het aantal internationale bewoners in Amsterdam is de afgelopen jaren gestegen, en de verwachting is dat dit door zal stijgen. Dit gaat dan vooral over mensen uit westerse landen, zoals de VS, Engeland en Italië. De stijging komt voornamelijk door tijdelijke bewoners (in de volksmond vaak 'expats' genoemd; maar ik heb het ook over bijvoorbeeld internationale studenten). - Hoe merkt u dit in de stad? - Hoe merkt u dit in uw buurt?
Place attachment en internationalisering	
Sociale dimensie	(20) Op welke manieren heeft u contact met deze groep bewoners? - Op welke plekken komt u hen bijvoorbeeld tegen? - Heeft u tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners in uw persoonlijke netwerk?
	(21) Merkt u dat er meer tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners in uw buurt zijn komen wonen in de afgelopen jaren?
	(22) Uit onderzoek blijkt dat een toename van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners invloed kan hebben op de sociale binding in de buurt. Vindt u dat een groeiende aanwezigheid van deze groep bewoners invloed heeft op de sociale binding in uw buurt? Denk hierbij aan... - Het aantal onderlinge sociale contacten tussen bewoners; - Het soort sociale contacten (vluchtig of diepgaand) tussen bewoners; - De sociale participatie in uw buurt (bijvoorbeeld bij evenementen); - Het gevoel van vertrouwen, steun en zorg tussen bewoners in uw buurt.
Culturele dimensie	(23) In hoeverre vindt of denkt u dat tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners over het algemeen bekend zijn met de Nederlandse taal en de lokale cultuur (o.a. gebruiken, normen en waarden)? Hoe komt dat denkt u?

	(24) Denkt u dat een groeiende aanwezigheid van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners een veranderende invloed heeft op de lokale cultuur? Denk hierbij aan de lokale… - Taal - Gebruiken en tradities - Normen en waarden - Het 'karakter' van de stad
	(25) Vindt u dat de aanwezigheid van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners bij Amsterdam past en hoort? En bij uw buurt?
Fysieke dimensie	(26) Merkt u de groeiende aanwezigheid van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners in de stad in het straatbeeld, of in cafés of winkels? Zo ja, wat vind u hiervan? - Dit zou bijvoorbeeld gemerkt kunnen worden in ontmoetingen met mensen in winkels of op straat, of in de taal die om u heen gesproken wordt. - Vervolg: merkt u dit ook in uw eigen buurt?
	(27) Denkt u dat de voorzieningen in Amsterdam veranderen door een groeiende aanwezigheid van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners? Denk hierbij bijvoorbeeld aan winkels, cafés en sportclubs. - Vervolg: hoe is dit van toepassing op uw eigen buurt?
Emotionele dimensie	(28) Denkt u dat de stad als geheel verandert door de toenemende aanwezigheid van tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners, zoals op de vlakken die we zojuist besproken hebben? - Wat vindt u hiervan (positief, negatief, neutraal)? - Heeft dit invloed op uw thuisgevoel in de stad? - Heeft u het idee dat de stad (cultuur, voorzieningen, bewoners) hierdoor beter aansluit bij uw voorkeuren? Of minder goed?
	(29) Hoe geldt dit voor uw buurt?
Afsluitende vragen	
	(30) Denkt u dat tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners zich hechten aan uw buurt en uw stad, op dezelfde manier waarop u dat doet?
	(31) Momenteel zijn er ongeveer 77,000 expats in Amsterdam, en is het aandeel westerse migranten ongeveer 19% van de Amsterdamse bevolking. Vindt u dat het aandeel tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners in de te groot is?
	(32) Steunt u gemeentelijk beleid om actief tijdelijke buitenlandse bewoners aan te trekken naar Amsterdam, omwille van economische voordelen?
	(33) Zou ik u naar uw politieke voorkeur mogen vragen? Zo ja, wat is de laatste partij waarop u heeft gestemd?
	(34) Zou u zelf nog iets willen toevoegen aan dit gesprek wat nog niet ter sprake is gekomen?
Vriendelijk bedankt voor uw deelname aan dit interview!	

10.4 Appendix 4: Coding scheme

A1 - Emotional place attachment [city]
A2 - Emotional place attachment [neighbourhood]
A3 - Emotional place attachment: city-level vs. neighbourhood-level

B1 - Social dimension of place attachment [neighbourhood]
B2 - Social dimension of place attachment [city]
B3 - Contact with other residents
B4 - Sense of community and cohesion
B5 - Perceived changes in social elements [neighbourhood]
B6 - Perceived changes in social elements [city]

C1 - Cultural dimension of place attachment [neighbourhood]
C2 - Cultural dimension of place attachment [city]
C3 - Cultural elements: distinctiveness, authenticity and character [neighbourhood]
C4 - Cultural elements: distinctiveness, authenticity and character [city]
C5 - Perceived changes in cultural elements [neighbourhood]
C6 - Perceived changes in cultural elements [city]
C7 - Proliferation of the English language

D1 - Physical dimension of place attachment [neighbourhood]
D2 - Physical dimension of place attachment [city]
D3 - Amenities [neighbourhood]
D4 - Amenities [city]
D5 - Encounters with others / Street scenes [neighbourhood]
D6 - Encounters with others / Street scenes [city]
D7 - Neighbourhood upgrading and gentrification
D8 - Perceived changes amenities [neighbourhood]
D9 - Perceived changes amenities [city]
D10 - Perceived changes in encounters and population [neighbourhood]
D11 - Perceived changes in encounters and population [city]

E1 - Perceived international influences
E2 - Amsterdam as an international city
E3 - Tourism

F1 - Perceived internationalisation of the population [neighbourhood]
F2 - Perceived internationalisation of the population [city]
F3 - Cosmopolitan orientation on internationalisation and diversity
F4 - Localist orientation on internationalisation and diversity
F5 - Incorporation of TFR's* in personal social network

G1 - Perceived influence of TFR's on social dimensions of place
G2 - Perceived influence of TFR's on cultural dimensions of place

G3 - Perceived influence of TFR's on local language practices
G4 - Perceived influence of TFR's on local amenities
G5 - Perceived influence of TFR's on local encounters and street scenes
G6 - Perceived sociocultural integration of TFR's

H1 - Appreciation** of perceived influence of TFR's on local social cohesion
H2 - Appreciation of perceived influence of TFR's on local cultural elements
H3 - Appreciation of perceived influence of TFR's on local language practices
H4 - Appreciation of perceived influence of TFR's on local amenities
H5 - Appreciation of perceived influence of TFR's on local encounters and street scenes
H6 - Housing market

J1 - Perceived influence of presence of TFR's on place image and character [neighbourhood]
J2 - Perceived influence of presence of TFR's on place image and character [city]
J3 - General appreciation of TFR's presence in both city and neighbourhood
J4 - Perceived influence of presence of TFR's on (emotional) place attachment [city]
J5 - Perceived influence of presence of TFR's on (emotional) place attachment [neighbourhood]
J6 - General appreciation of current share of TFR's [city]
J7 - General appreciation of current share of TFR's [neighbourhood]
J8 - Appreciation of future scenarios and policy to attract TFR's to the city

* = Temporary Foreign Residents
** = How this affects the place attachment of residents