

Master Thesis

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Multinational villages in the Euroregion Rhine-Waal

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And the thing called Europe has become a patchwork of colourful places, and everyone is a stranger as soon as they stick their nose out of their village. There are more strangers than inhabitants in this God blessed continent...

Everyone considers their business to be the most important one and no one is planning to sacrifice anything. First of all, to start with, we draw a demarcation line. We split up. We need a boundary. Because we are all for ourselves.

But an earth bends under these foolish people, a soil under them and a heaven above them. The borders run criss-cross Europe. In the long term, however, no one can separate people - not borders and not soldiers - if they just don't want to.

(Kurt Tuchulsky alias Peter Panter, Berliner Volkszeitung, 27-06-1920)

Preface

The last few months I crossed the Dutch-German border on a daily basis. I did so in a bus, filled with school children speaking Dutch one moment, German the other as if it were one and the same language for them. Often with international students and other people from all over the world making their way from the one side of the border to the other. On my daily trip from Nijmegen to Kleve I sometimes forgot where I was, or fell asleep, and then suddenly noticed I already had crossed the border. Usually I did not think any further about this, but sometimes I did. These moments of extra thought were sometimes fuelled by a border control and sometimes by looking around and noticing the differences in landscape and building style that immediately show you are on the other side of the border. These were moments where I realised crossing a nation-state border was not always as easy as it is for me nowadays. I feel lucky to be living in a time and place where these borders are becoming increasingly less visible and am happy to benefit from the possibilities this brings with it.

Along with me, many more Dutch people cross or crossed the same border to visit and even to move to the German side. This brings with it issues or challenges that were unknown before the borders became as permeable as they are today. Many of my fellow Dutch people have moved to villages on the German side of the border region and are in doing so creating an ever growing Dutch influence in these villages. While doing that, they keep profiting from the absence of a physical border by crossing it back to The Netherlands on a daily basis. This shows the two faces the absence of a physical border has; on the one hand it is easy to cross and visit the neighbouring country, on the other hand it is just as easy to cross it the other way around and stay a visitor in what in earlier times would have been your new home-country.

This research has been developed in consultation with the internship organization, Euroregion Rhine-Waal in Kleve, Germany. 'The Rhine-Waal Euroregion's most important goal is to improve and intensify cross-border collaboration, both economically and socially' (Euroregion Rhine-Waal, 2018). By looking at the differences in success of living together of people with Dutch and German nationalities, the Euroregion can use the results of this research to learn about the reasons of "success" or "failure" and if necessary try to influence the process of living together. It can also use the results of this research to inform the inhabitants of areas this research focuses on. When people know why something happens (in this case why friction between people is created for instance) they can learn from it and overcome differences in opinion.

During the creation of this Master thesis I was helped by many people. For this I owe them a great thank you. All the respondents willing to help me I am very grateful for sharing their knowledge, thoughts, feelings and time with me, without them I would not have been able to finalize this thesis. I would like to thank all the people at the Euroregion Rhine-Waal, Heidi de Ruiter in special, for assisting and enabling me in my process and for providing me with contacts useful for my research. Many thanks go to dr. Martin van der Velde, my supervisor at the Radboud University for the entire process, as well. His to the point, practical and most of all, quick responses and feedback have guided me through this lengthy and sometimes complicated process of designing, executing and writing a master thesis research.

Summary

A typical European border region used to be characterized as periphery, not being able to withstand the centripetal force of the national state that channelled communication and trade towards the centre. People used to live in these regions with their backs to the border, making the border regions “end stations of the national state”. In the more recent history and especially after the European Union with the Schengen agreement was created, it became easier for people to cross the border and even to settle in a neighbouring country. Many Dutch citizens, and especially those already living in the border region, moved and are moving to the German side of the border.

Border regions create an interesting phenomenon of villages with a mixed German-Dutch population that in their daily lives are not so mixed at all. In some cases this goes beyond not mingling in: Kranenburg is known for its Dutch quarter filled with Dutch people living their lives (besides housing) across the border in The Netherlands. This creates friction with the German population of the village. In Elten, another border village in the Rhine-Waal region, with a mixed German-Dutch population as well, these problems seem not to exist. In this village the Dutch and the German part of the population seem to live in harmony together. In contrast to Kranenburg, the focus on (national) identity seems not to be there in Elten, or at least not in a conflicting way. In the one village factors have caused successful living together and in the other village factors have caused friction in living together. How these factors influence this specific region has not yet been specified. This is what this study is about, specifying these factors and implementing them in this region.

Why does the living together work in one place, and not in the other? This was researched by using the following main research question: How do different societal, historical and location aspects influence the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region?

The main concepts of this study that were reviewed in literature were *border region*, *identity*, *integration*, *different types of borders* with extra accentuation on *mental borders* and *transmigrants*. The concept *Border region* is important because of the research sites, two villages on the German side of the Euroregion Rhine-Waal and the importance of these sites being close to the border. Since the villages are located near the border (in a border region) it is important to define such a region. Identity is a major concept because of the importance of (national and international) identities in this research. The subjects of this research (the people living in the two research sites) have, experience or identify with different identities. Identity is the subject of the fourth sub-question. It seems to be a straightforward concept, but there are many forms of identity to be found. Being an indicator of the togetherness or the success of living together of different people (instead of living as different groups), *Integration* is the next major concept. Integration is the subject of the fifth sub-question. As it is often used as an indicator of the success of living together, it is important to identify what is known about this concept. When doing research in a border region, the border itself is of obvious importance. There are different *Types of borders* to be found, these will be explored, what are these types and what are the differences between them? Special attention will be given to the *Mental border*. Because of the declining importance of a physical border in a cross-border region different types of borders become important. As the region this research focuses on is located in an area where physical borders are becoming less important, it is important to investigate what kind of borders remain, what separates people when fences no longer do? The last major concept is the concept of *Transmigrants*. This concept is of importance because the difference in place of residence and places social and working life takes place. One of the main problems with the multinational living together is the fact that a part of the new population live their social and working lives in a different place than their place of residence.

This research is a phenomenological study using a (comparative) case study approach. This means this research aimed at studying a phenomenon by focusing on two different cases. These cases were then compared to draw conclusions on the phenomenon. The overarching phenomenon is described in the main research question (different national identities living together in one village in a cross-border region). This main phenomenon is built up on societal, historical and location aspects that were researched.

This research did not use one method, it used several methods while studying the same phenomenon. For the gathering of qualitative data, experts, representatives of the municipalities of both villages, and inhabitants of both villages were interviewed. For the gathering of quantitative data, desk research and existing material was used.

The results show there are many societal, historical and location elements influencing the multinational living together, but the importance of the concept of time on the multinational living together was shown in both the desk research regarding historical differences between both villages and in the experiences of inhabitants in both villages.

Concluding, It can be said the different societal, historical and location aspects have much influence on the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region. The overarching element present in these different influences is the connection to the country of origin. If an aspect (train line, nearness of more people from the same place, etcetera) makes it easier to stay connected to the country of origin, people will use it and by that their connection to their new place of living will grow slower. The overarching element of connection to the country of origin is heavily influenced by the factor time and (physical) surroundings. If time passes, the connection to the country of origin will decrease and the connection to the new country / place will increase. This does depend on the surroundings of the individual, how much time passes does not matter when an individual keeps being surrounded by others with the same (Dutch) identity and no or hardly any people with the German (local) identity. So the societal, historical and location aspects all play a role in the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region, but the negative effects can all be overcome and the positive effects can all be nullified. Time (in combination to the surroundings during that time) can be the bridge that is needed to overcome differences and make sure successful multinational living together is possible. Time (in combination to the surroundings during that time) can also be the factor that acts as a break on a successful multinational living together.

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1. Introduction to the theme

A typical European border region used to be one defined as periphery, drained of energy by the centripetal force of the national state which channelled communication and trade towards the centre (Löfgren, 2008). People living in these regions did so with their backs to the border, making the border regions “end stations of the national state” (Löfgren, 2008, p. 195). With the disappearance of many internal borders of the European Union the people that were separated first now have the possibility to become ever more mixed and connected. The state territory is a playing-ground for transnational actors and supranational influences (Jerneck, 2000). Especially in border regions this is visible on a daily basis. People are crossing the border to get their groceries, to fill up their cars with cheaper gas or just to enjoy their neighbour’s attractions. These cross-border movements are very temporary in nature, the people return to their own country after shopping. This temporary aspect is not present when people move from one side of the border to another to change their place of residence. In the region this research focuses on, the Rhine-Waal region (a border region stretching over Germany and The Netherlands), people have moved across the border for many years and in both directions (Harts, 2012; Hardt, et al., 2009).

In the more recent history and especially after the European Union with the Schengen agreement was created, it became easier for people to cross the border or even to settle in a neighbouring country (Hardt, et al., 2009). Many Dutch citizens, and especially those already living in the border region, moved and are moving to the German side of the border (Harts, 2012). Sometimes this leads to situations that would not exist with a hard physical border. Because the border is no longer a physical barrier, the migrants have (and use) the option to keep working, socializing and educating in The Netherlands. This makes a border region like this special. Often, border regions are defined by the limiting function of the border, the border region this research focuses on, is defined by the openness of the border and the possibilities of cross-border movement and interaction it brings. It is because of that, a border region like this is specifically interesting to do research about. In other regions with a large migrant population, that are not located in a border region, or are located in a border region with a less permeable border, people do not have such an easy opportunity to return to their motherland.

‘It is precisely in cross-border spaces that the problems, which have surfaced in many areas because of gaps or a lack of European integration, become visible. Administrative, legal, psychological and linguistic barriers emerge when borders are crossed, when the political and the administrative structures of neighbouring countries come up against each other’ (Wassenberg, 2019, p. 35).

Border regions create an interesting phenomenon of villages with a mixed German-Dutch population that in their daily lives are not so mixed at all. In some cases this goes beyond not mingling in: Kranenburg is known for its Dutch quarter filled with Dutch people living their lives (besides housing) across the border in The Netherlands. This creates friction with the German population of the village (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006; De Rue, 2008). Of all municipalities in the district of Cleve, the cross-border linkages in Kranenburg are the strongest (Hardt, et al., 2009). Compared to other municipalities in the region, Kranenburg has a great share of Dutch citizens living in its community. Not all interdependencies and migration aspects seem to have a positive effect on the community. The relatively strong influx of Dutch citizens are currently not strengthening the community structure and social coexistence. Kranenburg is an affordable residential location for many Dutch people, which due to the combination of low prices and relatively large houses outside but near the (Dutch) city of Nijmegen attracts many Dutch people (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.31; Jansen, personal communication, April 9, 2019). The remaining life relationships, such as work, shopping, recreation,

kindergarten and school will continue to be realized mainly in the Netherlands. For the existing citizens of Kranenburg, on the other hand, the rising price level for building land and real estate is having a negative impact and this causes friction between people (Hardt, et al., 2009). This friction is present between German inhabitants and Dutch people that settle in the same places, so not with the more temporary cross-border movements of Dutch people doing their shopping in Germany. The consequence of this friction is that German people move out of the “Dutch quarter” and their places are filled up by more Dutch people as their number grows and is predicted to keep growing (Oversteegen, 2019). The problem in this village seems to be exacerbating as time passes.

In Elten, another border village in the Rhine-Waal region, with a mixed German-Dutch population as well, these problems seem not to exist or they are not so much in evidence compared to Kranenburg. In this village the Dutch and the German part of the population seem to live in harmony together. In contrast to Kranenburg, the focus on (national) identity seems not to be there in Elten, or at least not in a conflicting way.

Different villages within one border region, with different outcomes in the living together of two groups with a different national identity. These outcomes are caused by several factors, but what these factors are is not exactly clear for this region. There has been done research before on (cross)-border regions, where the focus was on transnational integration (Löfgren, 2008). Although transnational integration is something different than integration within a village, the factors used in this research have served as an example for the research on Kranenburg and Elten. This will be specified in the scientific relevance.

In the one village factors have caused successful living together and in the other village factors have caused friction in living together. How these factors influence this specific region has not yet been specified. This is what this study is about, specifying these factors and implementing them in this region.

2. Societal relevance

Doing research on the living together of different nationalities is very relevant for the people living in neighbourhoods or villages with a mixed population, like Kranenburg or Elten but for lots of other villages like those across the entire border region. This goes for the Dutch-German border, but for the Belgian-Dutch border as well and naturally also for other European border regions with a relatively large mixed population. For the inhabitants and policymakers of these regions it is important to understand how their people can live together in as much harmony as possible, and what can make or break such a situation. When this is understood, cross-border cooperation can flourish and societal relations among multiple nationalities can grow.

This study helps to understand how border regions can cope with mixed populations and what could cause (small) conflicts and what could cause a population living together in harmony. Of course the results of this thesis have not led to a “guide” that can be followed in order to prevent trouble, but it can be used as a start in mapping out possible threats, opportunities and possible solutions for the border regions. By using and comparing two German border region villages that both have a large group of Dutch migrants conclusions were drawn that can be used in the future to strive for as little friction and as much success as possible in similar situations. Especially because one of the villages, Kranenburg, is known for experiencing some friction in the living together (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006) and the other, Elten, is not known for experiencing these frictions (Zeegers, 2013). By comparing two villages where the effects of the mixed population are so different, the results of this thesis can be used in the border regions in villages with a large mixed population that already experience or might experience frictions in the living together of the two “sides”.

3. Scientific relevance

Migration is a “hot topic” these days. This is mainly because of the migration from people outside the EU to countries inside the EU. However, the phenomenon this research focuses on is not so well described in the literature. The rise of the number of cross-border regions has been described by Perkmann (2003). He looks into the reasons and conditions for a cross-border region to come in to existence but not to the effects they have on the population of those regions. Much of the research on cross-border regions has focused on economic elements and effects (Van Houtum, 1999) or on the governmental elements and effects of these regions (Perkmann, 2003; Blatter, 2004; Perkmann, 2007). As Van Houtum (1999) in his article on internationalisation and mental borders says: ‘How individuals perceive the opening up of borders has not received a great deal of attention’ (Van Houtum, 1999, p. 329). Although a long time ago, Jukarainen (2007) shows this gap in knowledge still is relevant later as she emphasizes the need for zooming in on border regions as well. She points out there is still a lack of focus on the ways in which regions are lived and created through everyday cultural practices.

Van Houtum & Gielis (2006) in their research on elastic migration concluded that further research on this topic is necessary and useful:

‘The first issue that needs to be explored further in future research on the elastic migration of Dutch migrants concerns the degree of integration in the German/Belgian state. How is the flexible citizenship, in terms of moving house just across the border, while maintaining Dutch nationality, interpreted and dealt with by the German/Belgian state and municipality. In this context, it is an open question as to whether the Dutch transmigrants in the longer run are interpreted by the German/Belgian state as international parasites only profiting from lower prices and taxes or as new citizens and welcome additions in the struggle against the ageing of the Belgian/German border villages’ (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006, p. 196).

This study has focussed on a relatively small scale example of the living together of two different national identities in a village. There used to be a “gap” in the knowledge about cross-border regions according to Van Houtum (1999), cross-border regions were mainly researched through a “macro lens”, but the individual perceptions of it are taking place on a micro level. Later, Löfgren (2008) studied the Öresund region (cross-border region in Denmark and Sweden). In this study the cross-border region is looked at using an actor-oriented perspective, using the term “regionauts” for the actors shows this. Regionauts are individuals who develop skills of using the world on both sides of the border (Löfgren, 2008). While using an actor-oriented, micro level perspective, the research was able to draw conclusions on the macro level, which indicates the methods and conclusions of this research can be used in more regions.

Borders, along with their associated regions (border regions) have particularities that require localized study (Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999). ‘Border regions, in Europe in particular, have been put in a state of flux, where the re-allocation of activities, opportunities and threats are changing their socio-economic role and significance. Thus, border regions have become an issue of great importance during the last fifteen years in both the areas of scientific research and policy making’ (Topaloglou, Kallioras, Manetos, & Petrakos, 2005, p. 67). Though this study focussed on a relatively small scale, its purpose was to be able to implement it on similar cross-border regions with similar circumstances all over Europe. So the results of this micro level study can be used on a macro level as well.

This study has done research on the factors important for the difference of success in multinational living together between two villages in one cross-border region. Factors influencing the transnational

integration have been studied before, but in that study the focus was on the cross-border region as a whole while in this study the focus was on differences within one border region. Löfgren (2008), in his research on the Öresund region, showed the importance of an improved infrastructural connection between both countries for the transnational integration. Just like Schack (2001) notices a border can become a barrier when decent infrastructure is missing. The research on the Öresund region uses a historical perspective and acknowledges the importance of historical traditions, indicating the importance of history for a cross-border region. Also, Löfgren emphasizes the importance of societal aspects for a transnational region: 'regions are made and unmade by social practices' (Löfgren, 2008, p. 196). Although the research of Löfgren (2008) focuses on a cross-border region, with cities on both sides on the border, it is a good example of how to do research in a (cross)-border region. The infrastructural elements for example are of influence in this region as well, because it connects the Dutch migrants to their country of origin. It is not a research about a cross-border region as the Öresund area, but about a border region where cross-border interaction plays a big role, this means the research of Löfgren can be used for this study.

4. Research objective and questions

The objective of this research is to identify the reasons why two different national identities living together in one village in a border region succeeds in one place and fails in the other. This research has implemented the aspects that influence the success or failure of the living together used in the research on the Öresund area by Löfgren (2008) in a different area. The aspects show in the sub-questions, each focussing on a different aspect. This way, it shows the objective of this research: to implement the aspects used by Löfgren and to confirm them for this region. This was done by comparing two different villages with different outcomes of success. Why does the living together work in one place, and not in the other? This was researched by using the following main research question:

- How do different societal, historical and location aspects influence the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region?

The main research question shows how the research focuses specifically on two villages in the same cross-border region (Euroregion Rhine-Waal). By researching differences between both villages, the prerequisites to a successful and unsuccessful living together in a cross-border region were investigated. The different aspects are the same as in the study done by Löfgren (2008). The focus on these two villages have resulted in a conclusion that can be implemented on a larger scale, all cross-border regions in the European Union.

The main research question is supported by the following sub-questions that support the main question, the historical and location aspects are mentioned literally. The societal aspects named in the main research question are sliced in three pieces, the third, fourth and fifth sub-question:

- How do the important historical differences related to the multinational character of a border region influence the current situation?
- How do location aspects influence the multinational living together in a border region?
- How do demographic aspects influence the multinational living together in a border region?
- How does the experienced identity of inhabitants of a border region influence the multinational living together?
- How well integrated are the inhabitants of both villages and what effect does this have on the villages?

The first, the second and the third sub-question are contributing to the main research question because each of them focuses on a specific “section” that is constructed by factual variables. By doing this, the main research question is “sliced” in pieces thus making it feasible.

The fourth and the fifth sub-questions are there to measure the lived experiences, the individual perceptions of the inhabitants of the region. This was done to make sure narratives and feelings of the individuals that together create this cross-border region phenomenon were used to provide an answer to the main research question as well.

5. Literature review and conceptual framework

In this part the main concepts of this research will be undergoing a literature review, what is known about them in the existing literature and how do they relate? The main concepts are the following:

The main concepts all are important for the research. This has to do with different reasons for the different concepts. The concept *Border region* is important because of the research sites, two villages on the German side of the Euroregion Rhine-Waal and the importance of these sites being close to the border. Since the villages are located near the border (in a border region) it is important to define such a region. What is known about it and what are important elements and influences of a border region?

Another concept with major importance in this research is *Identity*. Identity is a major concept because of the importance of (national and international) identities in this research. The subjects of this research (the people living in the two research sites) have, experience or identify with different identities. Identity is the subject of the fourth sub-question. It seems to be a straightforward concept, but there are many forms of identity to be found. These will be explored in this section, the definition of identity this research will use is defined and the elements that come with it are explored. Being an indicator of the togetherness or the success of living together of different people (instead of living as different groups), *Integration* is the next major concept. Integration is the subject of the fifth sub-question. As it is often used as an indicator of the success of living together, it is important to identify what is known about this concept in the literature, what are different views on this concept? This concept will be explored, defined and explained in this section.

When doing research in a border region, the border itself is of obvious importance. There are different *Types of borders* to be found, these will be explored, what are these types and what are the differences between them? Special attention will be given to the *Mental border*. Because of the declining importance of a physical border in a cross-border region different types of borders become important. As the region this research focuses on is located in an area where physical borders are becoming less important, it is important to investigate what kind of borders remain, what separates people when fences no longer do?

The last major concept is the concept of *Transmigrants*. This concept is of importance because there is a difference in place of residence and the places social and working life takes place. One of the main problems with the multinational living together, as shown in the introduction, is the fact that a part of the new population live their social and working lives in a different place than their place of residence. Since it is a main problem, it is important to identify the concept further. What does it mean and what causes the problem? This will be shown in this section.

Of all these concepts the known elements in existing literature were investigated and elaborated. This has provided a "base" from where the rest of the research has moved further. The results this research has produced were compared to the literature, in order to develop the literature. In the following sections each concept will be elaborated on separately.

5.1 Border region

The name border region requires no explanation; it is a region in proximity of a border. Borders can be found in many forms, separating different things. For this study, with border, a nation-state border is meant. 'Borders and border regions are particularly revealing places for social research, especially in the present era of accelerated globalization and the growth of supra-state regions such as the European Union' (Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999, p. 593). The borders as we know them have existed for a long time now;

'Clearly demarcated boundaries have become a crucial element in an increasingly global state system since the seventeenth century. 'Borders' then refer to the legal lines separating different jurisdictions; or to a 'frontier area' of variable width on either side of this legal line; or simply to a broad 'zone of transition' between different societies and centres of power, as was more typical of some pre-modern states and their frontier societies' (Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999, p. 594).

'Borders are social constructions in geographical space: they determine perceptions of people, dividing between known and unknown, native and foreign, us and them' (Yndigegn, 2006, p. 33).

With borders come border regions, the subject of this study. Border regions are 'areas immediately beside a state's external border, or straddling it, and also administrative regions abutting a border whose centres are physically and socially distant from that border' (Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999, p. 595). 'The acceleration of the globalization of economic as well as cultural exchanges, and the consolidation of supranational integration mechanisms such as the European Union (EU) or the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), have led to the increasing permeability of state borders in certain regions of the world' (Sohn, 2014, p. 588). The border regions on both sides of a border can be called a cross-border region. The existence of border regions is inevitable, its functionality, however, depends on what people do with it. Lately the European Union is promoting cross-border cooperation and unity which has led to an increased attention to the (cross-)border regions.

This research focuses on two villages located in a border region that is part of a cross-border region. The region this research focuses on is situated on one side of the border, which makes it a border region (and not a cross-border region) according to the definitions of Anderson & O'Dowd (1999). According to Perkmann (2003), cross-border regions are generated by cross-border cooperation, defined as 'a more or less institutionalized collaboration between contiguous subnational authorities across national borders' (Perkmann, 2003, p. 156). A cross-border region (CBR) can be defined in several ways, some authors emphasize the regional element by defining it as follows: 'a territorial unit that has historical, socio-economic and cultural commonalities, as well as, at least tentatively, its own regional identity and autonomous [political and social] institutions and therefore claims an autonomous definition of its needs and interests which it is capable to articulate and defend' (Raich, 1995, p. 25 in Perkmann, 2003, p.157). O'Dowd shows emphasis can also be put upon the "regime" effect cross-border regions have: 'Another way of conceptualizing 'cross-border regions' is to see them as a form of 'border regime' defined as networks of rules, norms and procedures that regularize behaviour at borders and controls its effects' (O'Dowd, 2002, p. 112).

With (cross-) border regions comes a change in territoriality. As the nation state used to be the norm, these new regions are different. Borderlands can be described as different types, from very differentiating to fully integrated. The greatest distance between both sides of the border can be found at alienated borderlands. Alienated borderlands have borders that are functionally closed with no or almost no cross-border interaction. The next step is coexistence. In coexistent borderlands the border remains slightly open, allowing for the development of limited binational interaction. After that comes interdependence. In interdependent borderlands economic and social complementarity prompts increased cross-border interaction, leading to expansion of the borderlands. The last step is

full integration. In integrated borderlands the economies of the two countries are functionally merged, and there is unrestricted movement of people and goods across the boundary. The people in these borderlands are members of one social system (Martinez, 1994, p.7). 'Increasing cross-border interaction is leading in many places to a transformation of formerly "alienated borderlands" into interdependent and perhaps integrated borderlands' (Paasi, 1999, p. 11).

Cross-border interaction leads to regional integration. In this, integration indicates the unifying between (border) regions, not the same as individual integration within a region as it is seen with migrants. There are different ways of explaining a growing regional integration. Liberal intergovernmentalism explains regional (European) integration by claiming it happens because national governments want it to happen: national governments control the level and speed of integration, they accept the diminution of their sovereignty because EU institutions 'strengthen the autonomy of national political leaders vis-à-vis particularistic societal groups within their domestic poplity' (Moravcsik, 1993, p.507; Caichiolo, 2017). European integration can, in this approach, be explained as a 'series of rational choices made by national leaders' (Moravcsik, 1998, p.18). This theory uses the two-level game approach by Putnam (1988) as the national governments "play" at the national as well as the supranational level. A different explanation, opposing to liberal intergovernmentalism, is given when using the neofunctionalist perspective. In this perspective, regional integration happens when nation states become less important: Gradually, elected officials see it in their best interests to pursue objectives satisfied by political and market integration at a higher, supranational level. Elements that, according to neo functionalists, need to be present are: supranational market rules, a growing economic interdependence and an organisational capacity to resolve disputes among member states and build international legal regimes (Haas, 1958; Caichiolo, 2017). 'Neofunctionalists argue that, while different groupings within nation-states have different interests and behave in different ways, they are able to organise across state boundaries, leading to the formation of supranational institutions' (Caichiolo, 2017, p.118).

With the founding of (cross-) border regions new territory comes in to existence. 'A territory is not simply an area within which certain physical actions are performed; rather, it refers to a structural, symbolic condition which has significance for those who act within it and towards it' (Jerneck, 2000, p.29). This means, a change in territoriality leads to a change in the political sphere of power, other transboundary authorities receive power in these regions as well which leads to changes in the social structure of these regions as well (Jerneck, 2000, p.29). In border regions that are looking beyond the border, new interests play a role, there are local, regional national and international interests intersecting creating a power play (Ruffin, 2014). 'Particularly in the transnational region-building projects that have come about at local or regional initiative, there is an ambition to create zone partly decoupled from the national power sphere' (Jerneck, 2000, p.31).

This research focuses on the social-territorial aspects of a border region which is why the following definition for a cross-border region will be used in this research:

'A bounded territorial unit composed of the territories of authorities participating in a cross-border cooperation initiative' (Perkmann, 2003, p. 157).

This definition makes clear the importance of the different authorities working together across the border. What is important to notice about this definition as well is the absence of elements like common history or common identity. This is because, as Perkmann (2003) notices, the existence of commonalities is not necessary for a CBR, 'there is no necessary or 'natural' foundation for any CBR, as the precise articulation of commonalities (or differences) will always derive from a historically specific process of social construction' (Perkmann, 2003, p. 157).

5.2 Identity

‘A person's identity is defined as the totality of one's self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future’ (Weinreich & Saunderson, 2004, p.80).

Identities are forged out of stories and discourses that produce group categories and criteria of belonging, albeit situated within power-laden networks of interaction (Dunn, 2001, pp. 56-57). They exist only in societies, which define and organize them (Yndigegn, 2006). People don't have one identity, people have many identities developed through a social process. These identities should not be seen as separate spheres of identity politics but as constitutive of each other (Paasi, 2003). People define their personal identity after a process called identity negotiation:

‘The process of identity negotiation refers to a set of processes through which people strike a balance between achieving their interaction goals and satisfying their identity-related goals, such as the need for agency, communion and psychological coherence’ (Swann & Bosson, 2008).

When putting the multiple identities an individual can possess in relation to national identity, these different identifications may reinforce national identities or cross-cut them (Smith, 1992). This research will focus on national identity and regional identity. National identity is probably the best known form of identity and a feeling of belonging to a nation is very common. It has become the cultural and political norm to identify yourself as belonging to a nation. This transcends other identities such as identifying yourself to a city, class or religion (Smith, 1992).

Regional identity, the sense of belonging to and identifying with a region (Paasi, 2013), challenges the hegemonic identity narratives, for instance the claim of Smith (1992) that national identity transcends regional identity. Paasi (2003) shows the importance of regional identity in the existence or recognition of a region in the following quotation: ‘Regional identity has been recognized as a key element in the making of regions as social/political spaces, but it is difficult to elucidate what this identity consists of’ (Paasi, 2003, p. 477). With the rise of new regionalism, the region was recognized as key catalyst for economic development and vital as a means for human resources and strengthening the competitiveness of a region (Paasi, 2013; Dimitriou & Thompson, 2007). With new regionalism, the importance of the region in contrast to the state grew: ‘New regionalism and globalization are two components of the same historical process of strengthening interdependence and weakening the state's barriers to free trade’ (Telò, 2016, p.25).

In relation to multilevel citizenship, regional identity is seen as a precondition (Painter, 2002). This is because multilevel citizenship challenges the dominant conception that citizenship takes place within the borders of a sovereign state (Maas, 2013). The definition of regional identity that will be used for this research is the following:

‘Regional consciousness (identity) points to the multiscale identification of people with those (regional) institutional practices, discourses and symbolisms that are expressive of the ‘structures of expectations’ that become institutionalized as parts of the process that we call a region’ (Paasi, 2003, p. 478).

This definition shows the multiple scales regional identity takes place at and the link between regional identity and regional institutions such as the Euroregions. The importance of regional identity shows in both the statements of Painter (2002) and Paasi (2003) which shows how regions and multilevel citizenship are dependent on regional identity for their existence. The importance of identity as a whole in this research shows in the fourth sub-question, which focuses on experienced

identity. This links back to the point Dunn (2001) makes about identity. People in the researched villages can have many identities, but the situation and networks of interaction have influence on how these people eventually identify themselves. For this research the identity of people in either Elten or Kranenburg is what is focused on.

5.3 Integration

'Integration can take place in the context of relations between nation states (internationally), between groups (within culturally-diverse nation states), and between individuals (who are members of these collective entities)' (Berry, 2011, p.2.2). This research focuses on integration between groups and integration between individuals. Integration in combination to (im)migration is used to see how individuals (migrants) are closing the gap with the native population of an area, or how they adapt to their new environment (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006). Berry (1997) developed the acculturation model, where four strategies of acculturation are used to show the "degree of acculturation". 'Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' (Berry, 1997, p. 7). There are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization, each pointing to a certain degree of acculturation.

'Assimilation occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host culture. Separation occurs when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, Integration is the option; here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. When there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then Marginalisation is defined' (Berry, 1997, p. 9).

Although it is often understood that integration of migrants is the migrants' job, not all authors agree: 'Immigrant integration in general refers to the incorporation of new elements (immigrants) into an existing social system' (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006, p. 287). This indicates the existing social system, or area where migrants are settling, bears the responsibility to incorporate the new inhabitants of that system. So Berry (1997), with his acculturation model, seems to put the responsibility of integrating in the hands of the migrant by using phrases like 'when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity' and 'there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture'. This is in contrast to Snel, Engbersen & Leerkes (2006) who are literally claiming it is the other way around. Later Berry acknowledges this as he claims: 'Integration can only be chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity' (Berry, 2011, p. 2.6). The contradiction on who is responsible for integration, creates a field of tension where on the one hand migrants need to take care of their own integration and on the other hand the existing population needs to take care of the integration of the migrant.

Integration itself can be split up in two elements, socio-economic integration and social and cultural integration. Socio-economic integration refers to the position of migrants in the host system, in terms of education and position in the labour market. Social and cultural integration refers to informal social contacts of immigrants with native people and to the extent to which immigrants

endorse the host society's prevailing moral standards and values (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Integration is especially interesting in a relatively "new" region like the Euroregion Elten and Kranenburg are a part of. In the making of a region, also called regionalization, regional integration is visible. Regionalization, a force of integration in itself, presses the questions of the region upwards, from the nation state to the supranational level, at the same time as decision makers at lower levels are prepared to take greater responsibility for their implementation (Jerneck, 2000, p.31).

Though integration seems to be a practical tool to measure how a society is doing in its living together and inclusiveness of all its inhabitants, there have been some critical voices towards integration as well. When measuring integration, the first step you make is to divide the population in categories. People with a migration background are "categorically separated" from people without a migration background, this enables categories to create or keep the differences between the groups intact (Pijpers, 2018). This causes a gap in power; migrants are categorized as different from the native population (Van Apeldoorn, Overbeek, & Ryner, 2003). When categorized as different, it becomes more difficult to mix with the rest of the population, the categorization in differences creates (unwanted) space between people which in the end makes it more difficult to integrate properly.

For this research, integration will be used, but it will be done while keeping in mind the power issue Van Apeldoorn, Overbeek & Ryner (2003) raise. Integration will be looked at from two sides, integration of migrants in the host society and integration efforts made by the host society in accepting the migrants.

5.4 Different types of borders

Many types of borders exist in the world. Although often the image of a wall or a fence comes to mind when talking about a border, there is much more to it. The first distinction that can be made is the difference between man-made borders and natural borders. Many mountains, oceans, lakes, rivers or deserts create a barrier that has gained the function of border (Van Houtum, 2005). The Alps in Europe, the Himalaya in Asia, the Atlantic Ocean, they all function as (natural) borders between nations and continents. A man-made border is, as the name says, created by men. This means it is not per se located at a logical natural location. Within the man-made borders there are many sub-categories to be found, but they all have one thing in common, they mark the end of the one and the beginning of the other. They can do that in different ways, high walls and fences demarcate the border between Israel and Palestine for example (Khamaisi, 2008). This is a very visible type of bordering. This is an extreme example visible in the world today. Another extreme is the border between Germany and The Netherlands for example. This is, at most places, nothing more than a small sign next to the road, indicating the end of the one and the beginning of the other.

All borders can be overcome, people can climb across mountains, sail across oceans and legally or illegally cross a man-made border. As the examples indicate, at some places this is more easy than at others. In places where the border is heavily guarded by men, concrete and barbed wire it is difficult to overcome the barrier function of the border. In places where the border is no more than a sign next to the road it is relatively easy to overcome the barrier function of the border, since the barrier function is hardly or not at all present. All these borders, natural as well as man-made, are physical borders, even when nothing more than a small sign. Newman (2006) shows a border does not always have to be physical like a wall or a fence. He claims that when you define someone as belonging in a different social, ethnic, economic or religious group, you create a border between the self and the other.

The borders mentioned above are all physical. These types of borders seem not to be very relevant for this research, the border between The Netherlands and Germany is no longer physical today. However, the relevance of physical borders for this research lies in the consequences physical borders still have, even after they have been overcome. The fact that a physical border used to be in a place still shows today in the missing links between both nations. These links are physical. Mobility often still stops at the border, busses and trains that cross the border still are exceptional. Another consequence of the physical border that used to be there is the existence of mental borders, to be explained next.

5.4.1 Mental border

Mental borders become important when physical borders have been overcome or when physical borders are less or no longer of importance because they are becoming less physical, like the internal European Union borders. 'As visual borders disappear, new invisible borders appear' (Yndigegen, 2006, p.33). Schack (2001) refers to this concept as cognitive or mental distance, claiming it 'is an important concept in border studies because it replaces the missing geographical distance which does not fit with those concepts that explain interaction patterns by means of the geographical density of actors' (Schack, 2001, p. 101). Mental borders are connected to spaces of belonging: spaces, places or regions where people feel like they belong to or feel at home (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2011, p. 221). These spaces of belonging are defined through a sense of experience, a phenomenology of locality which serves to create, mould and reflect perceived ideals surrounding space (Lovell, 1998). When people feel like they belong to a place and that place is not the place they are currently at, a mental border between that individual and the place exists. In this case, there is a mental border between people and place. Mental borders can also create distance between people:

'At someone's own side of the border a space of belonging is created, with ease and comfort, where mental nearness to the other inhabitants exists, in other words 'we' in the 'here'. The other side is not a space of ease or comfort, it is another 'world', 'they' in the 'there' (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2011, p. 221).

Mental borders can be located at the same place as physical borders, as the example of Liikanen (1999) shows. Liikanen describes the case of the border between Russia and Finland, where the people are separated by a physical and mental border, creating a dividing line between "us" and "them" (Liikanen, 1999; p. 357). Mental borders can also be located beyond physical borders, as Yndigegen (2006) shows. He shows that fifteen years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the former border is still imprinted in people's mind, functioning as a mental border between east and west (Yndigegen, 2006, p.35).

Yuval-Davis (2016) sees mental borders as a border of political identity. A border of political identity refers to nationalism, patriotism, racism, religions and other issues which involve subjective identifications and associated emotions (Yuval-Davis, 2016). When relating mental borders to issues like racism and religion, it becomes clear that the concept of mental borders stretches far beyond the state lines. Mental borders are what sticks when either there are no more physical borders or when people have overcome these borders. There no longer is a fence between people, it transforms to a mental border (Yuval-Davis, 2016). 'Although borders are spatial representations of power relations, they become reflected in the minds of the people who live with and along the borders. These mental representations take on a life of their own, and persist even after the constitutive conditions of their formation have disappeared (Yndigegen, 2006, p.35).

So just like with physical borders that create a division between insiders and outsiders (Jerneck, 2000), mental borders create an “us” and a “them”, it enables a process of “othering”: the distinction between groups, creating the “we” and the “other”, which hinders integration and emphasizes difference (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). It is therefore connected to the problem Pijpers (2018) and Van Apeldoorn, Overbeek & Ryner (2003) have with the categorization that comes with integration. These categories, are the base of mental borders and the creation of an “us” and a “them”. The focus on differences that is often there when “measuring” integration might even end up with creating a mental border and consequently differences in power between people. Therefore it is important to not only focus on differences but to put them in perspective as well.

Liikanen (1999) points out mental borders and territorial identities are not fixed, they can change or be changed over time. People’s territorial identities have to be understood as ‘changing, dynamic polyvocal categories’ and borders and boundaries are ‘becoming more porous and looser frontiers’ (Liikanen, 1999, p.360). This possibility for change can be used in a way of connecting people, but, as Yuval-Davis (2016) points out, it can also be used to differentiate between people. Otherness can be instrumentalised by populist and right-wing forces in Europe in order to demand tough border controls for the sake of protecting the idea of Europe (Yuval-Davis, 2016).

5.5 Transmigrants

Transmigrants (short for transnational migrants) are ‘migrants who create and maintain economic, political, social and/or cultural bonds with their country of origin’ (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006, p. 192). Transmigration happens over long and short distances, but since this research focuses on neighbouring countries, the focus will be on short-distance transmigrants. Transmigration is connected to elastic migration, a term that is defined as follows:

‘The resilient bond migrants can have with their country of origin, resulting in frequent visits and/or strong identification with the nation of origin. Hence, the elastic is created by the interaction between on the one hand centrifugal forces, that is the moving house to another country and on the other hand of centripetal forces, that is the maintaining of an active and/or affective bond with the country of origin’ (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006, p. 195).

The connection between transmigration and elastic migration is with the elasticity. The centripetal forces Van Houtum and Gielis (2006) talk about are causing a migrant to keep returning to his or her country of origin. When this happens, these migrants often maintain their economic, political, social and/or cultural bonds with the country of origin which makes them transmigrants.

The interplay between centrifugal and centripetal forces is shown be a part of the “problem” existing in for example Kranenburg. The fact that centrifugal forces are causing Dutch people to move to Kranenburg is not a problem, but the fact that they are continuing to live most of their social lives in The Netherlands due to the centripetal forces is what causes friction (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006). The individuals that carry out elastic migration are called transmigrants. Snel, Engbersen & Leerkes (2006) describe the transmigrant as follows:

‘The modern transmigrant is at home in several different social worlds, speaks several languages, participates in cross-border social networks and political movements, and sometimes makes a living with transnational economic activities’ (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006, p. 285).

This definition of transmigrants shows the involvement of transmigrants in multiple nations. This connection to the country of origin is often seen as a negative effect on integration in the host country (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006). The village of Kranenburg is used in the Van Houtum & Gielis

(2006) article as an example of a village with a large Dutch population indicated as transmigrants who due to their connection to their country of origin don't integrate properly in their new county. For this research, the following definition of transmigration will be used:

'Transnational migration is a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration people literally live their lives across international borders. Such persons are best identified as "transmigrants" (Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1999, p. 344).

The concept of transmigrants has influence on the different theoretical concepts as well. As shown by Van Houtum & Gielis (2006), transmigrants struggle to integrate due to the existing (identity) ties between them and their country of origin. There still is distance between the transmigrants and the rest of the population while they live in the same village, this distance is not physical, it is mental.

5.6 Conceptual framework

Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework built up of the known elements from the literature. This research will study the links between on the one side border region, identity, integration, mental border and transmigrants and multinational living together on the other side. How do these elements influence each other and how do they influence the multinational living together? This is what this research is aiming to answer. Also, the effects of history, infrastructure and (other) societal effects on the multinational living together will be researched so they can be implemented in this framework.

As shown in the literature section, there are many connections between the different concepts, they influence the other concepts. These are indicated with an arrow between them, in the direction of the influence. Some concepts have a one way influence, with some there is an influence both ways.

The concept border region has an influence on identity. The fact that people live in a border region means that their identity changes, changed or is going to change. This is a one way influence, identity does not have a direct influence on the border region.

The concept identity has an influence on the concepts mental border and transmigrants. A difference in identity between different people can lead to the formation of "groups" and these groups can have the feeling of a (non physical) mental border between them, this is how identity can create mental borders, a direct influence. When people live in an area, but identify themselves with a different place, they sometimes live their lives in the place they still identify with. This might create a situation where migrants keep living their lives in their home country, making them transmigrants. In such a situation, the concept identity has a direct influence on the concept transmigrants. Identity itself can be divided in either border regional identity and national identity, this is not a causal relation, but a division. They are the two types of identity that influence the multinational living together, a border regional identity can be seen as having a positive effect to the multinational living together and a national identity as having a negative effect.

The concept integration has a direct influence on the concept identity. When people move to a different place, and integrate well, they often start identifying themselves with the new place. When they move to a different place and do not integrate well, they don't identify themselves so easily with the new place.

The concept mental border influences identity because a mental border between different groups of people can keep the distance between these groups alive. The mental border keeps the distance, causing the identity of these people to stay the same and don't grow towards each other. This means the concepts identity and mental border influence each other. The concept mental border also influences the concept integration. When a mental border exists between people, they are less likely to connect and to interact compared to people without a mental border between them. This means the mental border has a direct influence on integration by blocking proper integration.

The concept transmigrants has a direct influence on the concepts mental border, integration and identity. When people act as, or are, transmigrants they keep a distance to the host country by staying close to their home country. This distance is the cause of a mental border between people. The same goes for transmigrants with integration. When living their lives in their home countries, transmigrants do not integrate well in the host country. Last, it also influences the identity of these people, as because of their lasting connection to their home country, they are less likely to start identifying themselves with their host country.

All the concepts have an influence on the multinational living together. This is what connects them all together. Some influence others, but they all have their impact on the multinational living together. This is why they are all to be found in this conceptual model, they are implemented in the model because they have an influence to the subject, multinational living together.

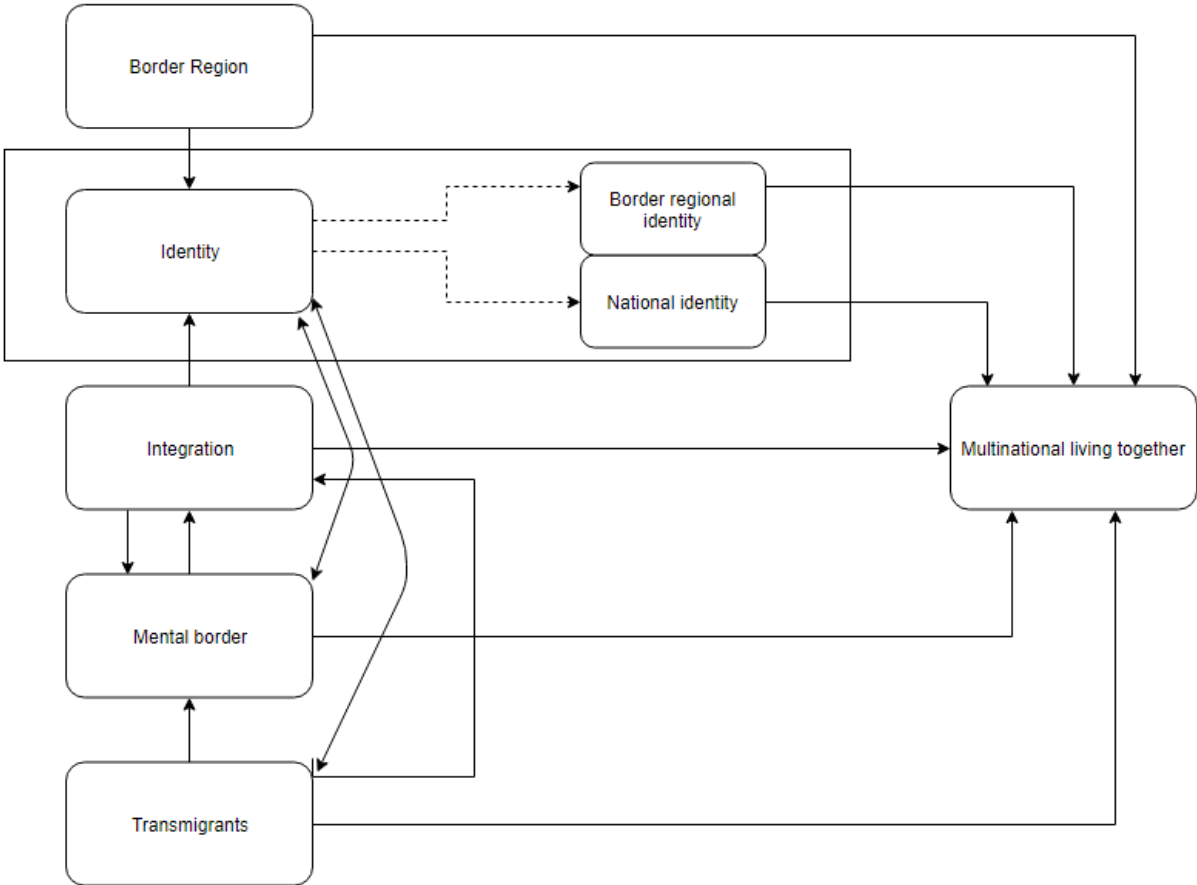


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of known influences (own creation)

6. Methodology

Before as well as during the process of this research, many methodological choices were made. These choices were sometimes made beforehand and sometimes along the way, but always well underpinned and made for the sake of the research. This research did not use one method, it used several methods while studying the same phenomenon, also called triangulation (Fielding, 2012). The main advantage of using triangulation is the possibility of using a different method when in a certain situation the planned approach is not the best approach, using different methodologies extends the scope of understanding in a research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This chapter will elaborate on (most of) the choices made during the research process from begin to end, starting with the design and ending with the results.

6.1 Choices made regarding the research design

This research is a phenomenological study using a (comparative) case study approach. This means this research aimed at studying a phenomenon by focusing on two different cases. These cases were then compared to draw conclusions on the phenomenon.

‘The phenomenological approach focuses on the individual whose conscience, resulting from experience, inclusive of spatial experience, implies intentional behaviour. Under the influence of phenomenology, social geography, behavioural geography and regional geography deal with such concepts as: group, community, social networks, identity, territory, living space, but also project space, and define paradigms which – as the case studies show - enable to reveal the essence of territorial processes taking place in the present, in the context of globalization, but, especially that of glocalization’ (Ancuța, 2009).

The overarching phenomenon is described in the main research question (different national identities living together in one village in a cross-border region). This main phenomenon is built up on societal, historical and location aspects that were researched.

This research has used two contrasting cases, these cases were compared. A case is defined as follows: ‘We consider a case to be an instance, or a data point, and in this sense we do not draw any distinctions about how a “case” is further defined or arrived at in an investigation. Cases can be experimentally derived measurements, survey responses, or classification of historical events’ (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 372).

The definition of a comparative case study that was used for this research is as follows: ‘The comparative case study examines in rich detail the context and features of two or more instances of specific phenomena. This form of case study still strives for the “thick description” common in single case studies; however, the goal of comparative case studies is to discover contrasts, similarities, or patterns across the cases. These discoveries may in turn contribute to the development or the confirmation of theory’ (Shelagh, 2012, p. 174).

The two instances in this comparative case study were the case of Kranenburg and the case of Elten. The goal of this research as described in the research objective was, like in the definition of Shelagh (2012), to discover differences and patterns across the cases to be able to say something about the phenomenon.

This research was done by combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. The majority of the research was done by using qualitative research methods, but in order to answer the third sub-question (what are the important demographic differences between Kranenburg and Elten?)

quantitative methods were used. These demographic characteristics were used as a base, from this knowledge, along with the historical and location differences, the other research questions were analysed and explained. The quantitative data was gathered through desk research and through the internship organization (Euroregion Rhine-Waal) which has gathered and is gathering this data. The quantitative data was analysed itself as the differences between Elten and Kranenburg were described, and it was used to explain the answers on the main research question and the fourth, fifth and sixth sub-question.

6.2 Data collection and analysing methods

The data was collected in the spring of 2019. The collecting of data performed in this period of time was built up in the same order as the sub-questions, the first period consisted of desk research only. Later, respondents were interviewed, again starting with the respondents that could say more about the third sub-question (demographic aspects) and later respondents that could say more about the fourth and fifth sub-question. Especially by collecting the data for the first and the second sub-question before talking to respondents, a situation was created where information about, for example, the history of Elten could be used in the interviews and more direct questions could be asked to the respondents. This way the conducted interviews were better prepared and I was able to delve deeper in the subject than it would have been able to when this order would not have been followed.

The first sub-question was answered by using desk research; existing material (books and online material) was used to provide an answer to this question of historical differences. This material was analysed in order to show differences (and similarities) and this was used to explain the answers on the main research question and the third, fourth and fifth sub-question.

The second sub-question was answered by using desk research, existing material and onsite observation. The existing material consisted of, among others, maps, public transport information and other sources focusing on the location and infrastructure of the research sites. The onsite observation focussed on accessibility, infrastructure and services available in both villages. The gathered material was analysed in order to show differences (and similarities) and this was used to explain the answers on the main research question and the third, fourth and fifth sub-question.

The third sub-question was answered using both quantitative methods as qualitative methods, semi structured interviews. For a part this question is about raw numbers, how many people live in both villages is not interpretable in multiple ways and needs just numbers. However, while doing interviews with the purpose of answering sub-question four, some interesting elements regarding demography came up, like the differentiation that could be made between old and new Dutch people. This changed the conclusions that could be drawn about demographic numbers. This is an example where the capability to be flexible and triangulate was relevant, as plans were changed and methods were mixed. In the end this led to an answer on sub-question three making use of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

The fourth sub-question was answered using qualitative methods, semi structured interviews. Since this question aims at finding out the experienced identity, this is something that can be learned through asking people directly, in an interview. This is because experienced identity can be something different than the identity or nationality that your passport claims you have. The interviews were semi structured because it is important to have some guideline to follow when interviewing different people about the same subject but space for free interpretation by the

respondents is left as well. The interview guides are to be found in the appendix, during the interviews they functioned as a “backup plan”, not as leading questions.

The fifth sub-question was answered by mixing qualitative methods with desk research. There is some existing material on integration (especially for Kranenburg) that was used for this research. The gaps in the existing material, mostly for the Elten case, were filled by doing interviews. The sampling method was equal to the sampling method of the fourth sub-question. All the fieldwork was done with a lesson learned from Alistair Fraser (2012) in my mind: During the execution of the fieldwork, an open attitude is needed, because fieldwork can often feel like a ‘throwntogetherness’ of methods, actions and conversations. Things don’t always go as they are planned, but because i was prepared to improvise and to change my plan, this was not a problem at all.

6.3 Respondents

Much of the empirical material used in this thesis is based on interviews with eleven individuals conducted with people from both Kranenburg and Elten, of both nationalities. This number of respondents was not chosen for beforehand, but decided while interviewing. After interviewing seven inhabitants, three experts and one inhabitant and expert at the same time, a saturation in answers and new information was occurred. The different types of people (Dutch/German, Elten/Kranenburg) were after this number of interviews no longer giving new information. They were able to tell about their own experiences and about other people, making sure that the relatively small amount of respondents still provided enough information. The fact that the respondents were mixed, owning both the Dutch and German nationality was important for this research so both sides would be heard and the story that was used to draw conclusions was as little biased as possible. Representatives of the municipalities of both villages (Emmerich for Elten, and Kranenburg) were interviewed, together with inhabitants from both villages and a realtor (and inhabitant at the same time) from Elten. These people were partly approached with the help of the existing contacts of the internship organization, the Euroregion Rhine-Waal, and partly they were contacted using snowball sampling. By using the snowball sampling method, an individual with whom I had contact, was able to provide me with either contact information or directly an appointment with a next respondent. This made the process of finding respondents very well-arranged for me. The first contact with a new respondent was made either through sending an E-Mail, or by a call. Most people contacted were very helpful and enthusiastic about the subject and thus willing to cooperate, some felt they were not the ones supposed to be interviewed and helped with contacting others that, according to them, would be better respondents regarding the subject this research focuses on.

The representatives of both municipalities were interviewed because they are able to look at the subject with a bird’s-eye view, whereas the local inhabitants were able to provide me with individual stories and individual interpretations of the subject. The differences between these two types of respondents was also a reason to search for these different kinds of information. The altogether eleven interviews with twelve people (one interview was done with two respondents at the same time) were conducted either in German or in Dutch (whichever suited the respondents best). Luckily for me, the researcher / interviewer, most respondents spoke or understood my native language, Dutch. This meant they were either happy to do the entire interview in Dutch, or the Dutch language was able to fill in the gaps, the moments of misunderstanding which were unavoidable when conducting interviews in German. Some interviews were recorded and transcribed in the language they were conducted in, some interviews were not recorded because respondents preferred me taking notes. These notes were taken in Dutch and later elaborated digitally in Dutch as well. When

useful, parts of the transcriptions are quoted in annotations, in their original language to avoid misinterpretation.

6.4 Lay-out of results

The results look as following; the first three sub-questions provide elaborated information on its own subject (history, location / infrastructure and demographic aspects). This information was prepared for analysis by creating an “overview document” per sub-question where information was sorted. The results of the fourth and fifth sub-question have provided interview recordings combined with existing material. The interviews were all digitised by transcribing them or by working out the notes made during the interview. This was analysed by coding the useful parts of the transcripts according to the sub-questions. The analysed material was sorted and used to answer and draw conclusions for the different sub-questions. The results for the first three sub-questions were analysed by summarizing them and picking out the parts that clearly provide an answer to the sub-questions. After that, an answer was given to the first three sub-questions.

The results of the fourth and the fifth sub-question were analysed by comparing the different interview transcripts with their codes and the elaborated interview notes (for the interviews that were not recorded) and trying to find the elements in the interviews that provided answers to the sub-questions. The transcripts were coded so it becomes visible what parts of the information respondents have provided helps answering what question(s). After this was done, the parts that were coded were analysed again to be able to answer the sub-questions and draw conclusions. While doing this, it was important to keep in mind who is saying what to put every bit of information in perspective. The advantage of using the elaborated interview notes was that all the non-information was already filtered out.

In the end, all the sub-questions were answered and an answer to the main research question was formulated.

7. Results

7.1 Historical aspects related to the multinational character of both villages

The history of the villages this research focuses on is an important aspect for the reality of today. This is why Löfgren (2008) implemented an historical perspective in his research on transnational integration in the Öresund region. For this study, the historical perspective will act as a “starting point”. The historical aspects are the reason the situation of today is as it is, this goes for every region. This is why this section on the history of both villages is relevant and why this is one of the first phases of this thesis.

The histories of both Elten and Kranenburg will be discussed separately, leading to a concluding section where differences and similarities that are relevant for this thesis will be described.

7.1.1 The history of Elten

Elten was founded in the year 967, when a church and nunnery “*Burg und Stift Elten*” were opened under the rule of Otto I (Binding, Janssen, & Jungklass, 1972). During that time, Elten was a part of the Duchy Gelre, a predominantly (what would nowadays be) Dutch region. In 1355, the village switched ownership. It became a part of the Duchy of Cleves. When the heir of the duke of Cleve died, the ownership of the region could be inherited by others, and in 1609 Elten became a part of the Margrave of Brandenburg (Smit & Den Besten, 2017). The elector of Brandenburg, Frederik the third was crowned king of Prussia in 1701, which made Elten a part of Prussia. This it stayed until the French emperor Napoleon annexed the border region, including Elten, in 1811 and it became a part of France. New municipalities were formed, these did not take into account the old borders at all, leading to the creation of new regions and borders (Smit & Den Besten, 2017).

Napoleon was defeated by the Russians in 1812, this led to ever more countries declaring war to him, and eventually his final defeat in 1813 at Leipzig, Germany. After the defeat of Napoleon, the former Prussian area, including Elten, became a part of Prussia again in 1813 (Alexander, 1953; Smit & Den Besten, 2017).

The most recent history with its changes in ownership of Elten are probably the most relevant for the current situation. Since the end of the second world war, The Netherlands, along with the other Benelux countries, have sought for a way to revise their border with Germany as compensation for the damage done by the German armies (Nijland, 2013; Terhorst, 2007; Alexander, 1953, p. 69). This desire for German land arose more from economic than from political reasoning. Although this would mean they would have to include thousands of Germans in their own territories, the economic advantages were considered more important (Alexander, 1953, p. 71). After some consideration, in November 1946, the following demands were presented to the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York:

‘The Dutch desired oil, timber, and coal, and the opportunity to reclaim several areas, carry out flood-control projects, and construct a channel to serve the port of Delfzijl; 648 square miles [1678 square Kilometers] and 119,000 Germans were to be added to the Netherlands. The boundary would be straightened and its length reduced from 325 to 211 miles [523 to 340 Kilometers]; the Dutch would thereby be enabled to guard more carefully against smugglers and persons entering the country illegally’ (Alexander, 1953, p. 71).

The Allied forces, ruling over the Western part of Germany, were doubtful about supporting these big changes in boundary. However they didn’t question the right of, among others, The Netherlands

to receive reparations from Germany, they claimed that it could be done without a drastic shift of the German border.

In that time, the examples of for example Alsace-Lorraine (Elzas-Lotharingen) and Eupen-Malmédy showed that changes in control over territory were difficult to execute and to keep (Alexander, 1953). After demands, negotiations and concessions, on April 23, 1949, a total of 26 square miles of land with in total 9550 Germans living on it was added to the territory of The Netherlands. Among that territory was the village Elten and its surroundings (Terhorst, 2007). These ‘minor adjustments, justified by administrative necessities, and by conditions affecting communications’ (Alexander, 1953, p. 73), were done under the condition that ‘the adjustments may be confirmed or modified by terms of the final settlement concerning Germany’ (Alexander, 1953, p. 73). *Figure 2* shows the areas claimed in 1946 and the areas that were actually transferred in 1949, the difference between them is clearly visible.

After the “passions of wartime” subsided with time passing, people in The Netherlands concluded that the boundary corrections against Germany would be only temporary. Even before the annexation was official, the German side made clear that the changes were considered temporary (Terhorst, 2007).



Figure 2: Changes in the Dutch-German Border (Alexander, 1953, p.72)

The reactions in Elten were mixed, some people participated in some mild resistance actions. “Wollt ihr auch Köln nicht“ (Do you want Cologne as well) was painted on the station of Elten for example. This was done as a reaction to the Dutch drive for expansion (Nijland, 2013). Another, more official, reaction to the border changes was given by the minister-president of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia:

‘When the changes were announced in March, 1949, Karl Arnold, minister-president of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, denounced the West for disregarding international law and pointed out that “through the unilaterally ordered border revision the natural rights of self government have been infringed and preference given to rule by force’ (Alexander, 1953, p. 75).

Some, often the older generation, were against the annexation: ‘So that’s why our men have fallen in battle. Now we will be a part of Holland’. But at the night of the annexation, there was no resistance by the people of Elten, it was not an annexation as they reminded from the war, it was a peaceful annexation without people really resisting to it (Terhorst, 2007). In the “Dutch period” the village and its people were also able to profit from their new status. Terhorst (2007) calls the Dutch period a period of economic prosperity for Elten, with many Dutch people coming to see the newly Dutch village. He calls it a golden period of which the older people of today still happily think back to (Terhorst, 2007). This was because of several reasons; tourism, investments and ties among the people. Tourism generated income for the village due to many Dutch people coming to for a daytrip to Elten. The village was also supported by investments done by the Dutch. An example of this is the money spent to build social housing (Nijland, 2013). Many of these houses still exist. Another reason for the prosperous times are the ties that existed between the Dutch and German inhabitants of Elten and its surrounding villages. The following quote of an inhabitant of Elten shows the sentiment of the time about the annexation:

‘When the Military Police entered, many people in Elten laughed a little. What are these weird Dutch doing? The mutual ties in the border region have always been close, we worked, married and smuggled together. Now all of the sudden this show of force. In these days sometimes Dutch journalists came thinking these Germans must be mad. Well that was disappointing for them. When the Dutch left, we were the only municipality with a positive bank balance’ (Nijland, 2013).

During the annexation, the share of Dutch people among the population grew from about 10% before to about 30% in 1957 (Terhorst, 2007). Though this seems very much, the people of Elten never really focused on nationality. The “Dutch” people that were living in Elten before the annexation spoke German, and the entire population spoke a dialect that was the same in the border communities on both sides of the border (Terhorst, 2007).

On the first of August 1963 Elten returned to the hands of Germany. The Dutch Military Police silently left and people applauded when German officials were back to “their” village (Nijland, 2013).

7.1.2 The history of Kranenburg

Kranenburg was founded in 1270 by the count of Cleve. Back then a castle was the centre of the village. In the year 1294 Kranenburg received city rights. Around the year 1300, Kranenburg was pledged to the counts of Horn, which nowadays is a part of The Netherlands. This pledge ended in 1370, when Kranenburg became a part of Cleve again. Just like Elten and the rest of the Cleve area, in 1609 Kranenburg became a part of Brandenburg and later in 1701, of the kingdom Prussia (Smit & Den Besten, 2017).

Kranenburg was annexed by Napoleon as well, only a few years earlier compared to Elten. Whereas Elten was annexed in 1811 (Smit & Den Besten, 2017), Kranenburg became French in 1795. This was because the border of the French empire was first drawn along the river Rhine (Willing & Evers, 2015). Since Kranenburg is situated west of the Rhine and Elten East, and Napoleon only went beyond the Rhine later (as a gift to his brother Louis Bonaparte), the two villages found themselves in different empires for 14 years. Just like Elten, the French left in 1813 after Napoleon was defeated in Leipzig, Germany. After the French left, Kranenburg became a part of Prussia again. After the Congress of Vienna, in 1815 the community of Kranenburg was founded.

While Kranenburg found itself in the midst of some serious fighting when the allied forces were on their way of defeating the Nazis, it always remained a part of Germany, after the war as well. As visible in *figure 2*, Kranenburg and its surroundings were claimed by The Netherlands in 1946, but unlike Elten, Kranenburg did not become a part of the final assigned area so it stayed German (Alexander, 1953). A small area called “Duivelsberg” did get annexed by The Netherlands (it still is Dutch as it was not returned with the other annexed areas), this area is located between the Dutch village Berg en Dal and the German village Wyler (Van Hasselt, 2013). So Kranenburg did see annexation happening nearby, in what now is a part of the municipality of Kranenburg, but it never became reality in the village itself.

7.1.3 Differences and similarities

Although Kranenburg was founded later compared to Elten, the moment of foundation is not very relevant. What is far more relevant is the switches in owners both villages have made along the years. The first big difference is the ownership of the villages when they were founded. While Elten was a part of Gelre (more Dutch oriented), Kranenburg was a part of Cleve (more German oriented). Eventually, Elten joined the lands of Cleve as well, but this was after it had been a part of Gelre for almost 400 years. After both villages had become a part of Cleve, they followed the same route (with minor differences in years). Both became a part of Brandenburg, Prussia and France before both became a part of Prussia again. After that, a period without major ownership changes was introduced.

The Second World War brought instability to the region again, especially at the end of the war. This is the period where the biggest difference between both villages is visible. Elten became a part of The Netherlands and Kranenburg did not.

7.1.4 Conclusions historical aspects

Although the Dutch period after the Second World War was “only” fourteen years long, it has had a major impact on Elten. During earlier periods under rulers that nowadays would have ruled over (parts of) The Netherlands, the country The Netherlands, as it exists today, did not yet exist. Areas like Gelre and Horn were not stretching over The Netherlands, they were located more regional, covering parts of what nowadays would be Germany and The Netherlands. However, there were no Germany or The Netherlands yet, regional actors ruled over a region that didn’t see people across the border of today as “different”, they were people living in the same region. This means the impact on the nationality of today is not visible because of influences in that time. This was different in the Dutch period following the Second World War. In that time, Germany and The Netherlands did exist and the annexation of Elten came along with different forms of nationalism like a change of official language. Also, “new” people settled in Elten, people identifying themselves as Dutch. This means

that there was a greater emphasis on nationality. Although nationality was important during these years, people did live in harmony next to each other (Nijland, 2013; Terhorst, 2007).

After the Dutch period had ended, Elten always stayed a village with a relatively large Dutch population. But while Elten was used to the presence of Dutch people, this was not so much the case in Kranenburg. Kranenburg didn't have a Dutch period (putting the pledge to Horn aside since The Netherlands did not yet exist then) and because of that, it never really got used to Dutch nationality around them. Of course it has always been a border town, but where the Dutch people in Elten were harmoniously living together with the German people in the Dutch period, Kranenburg has never experienced such a period.

The above implies Elten, because of its (recent) history, has been getting used to the presence of Dutch nationalism and Dutch people more and better compared to Kranenburg. This might result in a situation today where one village, Elten, is more open to Dutch influences than the other, Kranenburg.

7.2 Location aspects related to the multinational character of both villages

As shown in the study on the Öresund region by Löfgren (2008), infrastructure is important when doing research on a transnational region. Although both Elten and Kranenburg are not transnational and are located in the same country, the factor infrastructure is important for this research as well. The reason for this is that they are part of a transnational region and a part of the "problems" that are present in the villages are caused by elastic migration and transmigrants, as explained in the literature section.

The only way people can commute between their land of origin and their current hometown on a daily basis is when they are located not too far away from each other and the infrastructure between them is sufficient. This is why the location of both villages in relation to their surroundings and infrastructural connections between both villages and The Netherlands will be discussed in this section. Lastly, the facilities located in both villages will be discussed to give an indication for the necessity for people to find their needs in different places. The facilities are a part of this location and infrastructure section because it tells something about the need of finding services outside of both villages. This can be an indication for the "necessity" of crossing the border back to The Netherlands. For each theme, Elten and Kranenburg will be discussed separately, after which similarities and differences will be discussed and conclusions will be drawn.

7.2.1 Location and infrastructure of Elten

Elten is situated on a piece of Germany that is almost completely surrounded by The Netherlands. The closest border crossing is around 800 meters by foot. The closest (small) Dutch villages are Lobith, Babberich and Beek. Somewhat bigger towns on the Dutch side of the border are Zevenaar and Doetinchem. On the German side of the border, Emmerich and Cleve are located relatively close to Elten (GoogleMaps, 2019).

There are two main roads in and near Elten, the A3 federal motorway and the B8 federal highway. The A3 runs from the south-east of Germany to the Dutch border just beyond Elten. From there it becomes the Dutch A12 ending in The Hague, connecting Elten to Zevenaar, Arnhem and beyond. The B8 runs parallel to the A3 but is a secondary road and crosses more towns. This connects Elten to Emmerich, Babberich and Zevenaar (GoogleMaps, 2019). Both major roads running through and by Elten ensure the village is well connected to both The Netherlands and the rest of Germany by car.

Elten is connected to its surroundings by public transport as well. Although there run no trains through the village (yet), there are two bus lines that connect Elten to both Dutch and German cities. A German bus (NIAG 94) runs from Emmerich to Elten (NIAG, 2019) and a Dutch bus (Brenng 566) runs from Zevenaar through Elten to Spijk (Brenng, 2019). This connects Elten to bigger places on both sides of the border with options to transfer to trains travelling further in both countries. A train station in Elten will be opened (mid 2019) which will connect Elten to Zevenaar, Arnhem and Emmerich by train (Tenbörg, 2018; Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019; Elsmann, 2019).



Figure 3:Map of Elten (GoogleMaps, 2019)



Figure 4: Map of Elten including surroundings (OpenStreetMap, 2019)

7.2.2 Location and infrastructure of Kranenburg

Kranenburg, just like Elten, is situated very close to the border. It is however not as enclosed. On the west The Netherlands is very close, but in other directions Kranenburg is connected to Germany. The closest border crossing is around 800 meters by foot. The closest Dutch villages are Groesbeek, Bergen Dal and Beek. Also, the city of Nijmegen is relatively close with a distance of around 10 kilometre (Hardt, et al., 2009). On the German side of the border, Cleve is relatively close (GoogleMaps, 2019).

There are two main roads running through Kranenburg, the B9 and the B504 federal highways. The B9 runs from the French border in the south-west to the Dutch border just beyond Kranenburg where it becomes the Dutch N325 ending in Arnhem, running through Beek and connecting Kranenburg to Nijmegen. The B504 runs from Goch (not far south from Cleve) to Kranenburg. It passes the Dutch border at Ven-Zelderheide near Gennep (south of Nijmegen) and connects Kranenburg to the southern Dutch province of Limburg. Both major roads ensure Kranenburg is connected to both cities in The Netherlands and in Germany (GoogleMaps, 2019).

Kranenburg is connected to its surroundings by public transport as well. A German bus (NIAG SB58) runs from Emmerich, to Cleve, through Kranenburg, ending in Nijmegen (NIAG, 2019). This connects

Kranenburg to bigger cities on both sides of the border. There used to be a train station in Kranenburg as well, but it is no longer functioning. The rails have become a tool for a tourist bike line from Groesbeek to Cleve (Grenzland-Draisine GmbH, 2019).



Figure 5: Map of Kranenburg (GoogleMaps, 2019)

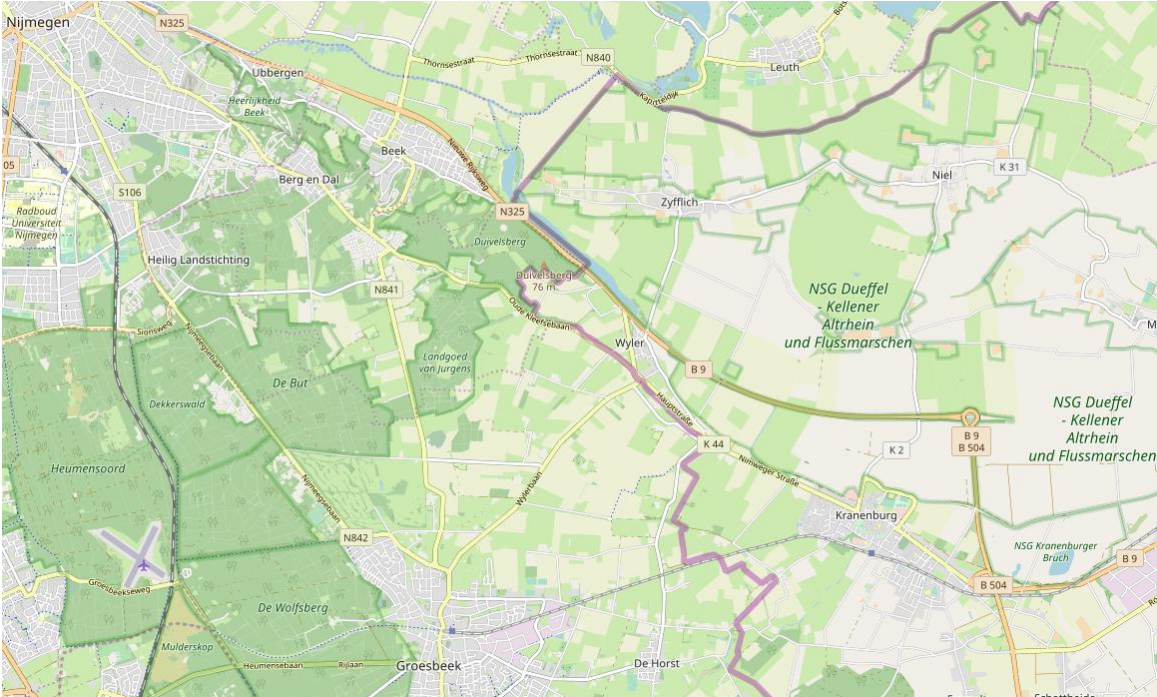


Figure 6: Map of Kranenburg including surroundings (OpenStreetMap, 2019)

7.2.3 Differences and similarities in location and infrastructure between Elten and Kranenburg
 Both Elten and Kranenburg are located very close to the Dutch border. A difference in location is the surroundedness of both villages. Whereas Elten is really “surrounded” by Dutch territory on three sides, Kranenburg finds The Netherlands only on one side. Villages and cities in proximity of Elten are, on the Dutch side of the border, a bit smaller than they are with Kranenburg. Kranenburg is directly connected to Nijmegen, while Elten is only directly connected to Zevenaar (and indirectly to Arnhem and Doetinchem). The same goes for the connections by road and public transport. With the proximity of Nijmegen to Kranenburg, the connection between these places is better than with Elten

and its surroundings. Though it must be said, Elten does have the A3 motorway connecting it to a broader region. Also, when the train station in Elten will be opened, this will improve the connection of the village to its Dutch and German surroundings a lot, which will have an influence to the attractiveness of Elten (Elsmann, 2019).

7.2.4 Services located in and near Elten

Elten has the services one can expect of a village of its size and location. There are several supermarkets that serve both the people of Elten and Dutch people crossing the border to do their shopping. Also, a bakery and a butcher's shop are present in Elten. There is a general health practice and a dentist practice. A primary school is located in Elten as well.

Both cities of Zevenaar and Emmerich offer a bigger field of services with, among others; hospitals, secondary schools, (bigger) city centres for shopping and markets.

Elten has enough to offer so the people can get around for their basics, but when they like to have a bigger choice, have to go to school beyond primary school or need more specialized care, they would have to get to either Zevenaar (Arnhem) or Emmerich.

7.2.5 Services located in and near Kranenburg

Kranenburg has, as it is a border town, several supermarkets that serve the people of Kranenburg as well as the people coming from the Dutch side of the border to do their shopping. Also, a bakery, a grocery and a butcher's shop are present in Kranenburg. There is a general health practice and one specially for children, together with a drug store. As for education, there is a primary school and a kindergarten in Kranenburg.

The cities of Cleve and Nijmegen offer all the services missing in Kranenburg, with secondary schools, a university, colleges, a hospital, city centres with many options for shopping and a bigger labour market. Kranenburg has enough services to get around in daily life, but for the specialized needs or high school and beyond, the people of Kranenburg need to go to either Cleve or Nijmegen.

7.2.6 Differences and similarities in services between Elten and Kranenburg

Elten and Kranenburg are similar when it comes to the services they offer. Both villages have too many supermarkets for their size because they serve Dutch shoppers as well. Also, both villages have enough services located in the villages that people can get to their basic needs, but not enough to find every service needed in life within the borders of the village. For that, the people of Kranenburg and Elten need to go to bigger cities near their hometown. In both villages, these bigger cities are to be found in Germany and The Netherlands. There is not much difference in distance for the people. Though it is safe to say that Nijmegen is bigger than Cleve, and Emmerich is bigger than Zevenaar. This might be of influence on the cross border movement of the people of Elten and Kranenburg. The people of Kranenburg might be crossing the border more often to find services Kranenburg can't provide compared to the people of Elten. If the people of Elten would want to go to a city comparable to Nijmegen, this means they would go to Arnhem, which is significantly further away from Elten than Nijmegen is from Kranenburg.

7.2.7 Conclusions location, infrastructure and services

It is safe to say both villages experience Dutch influences due to their location almost directly at the border. There are however some differences. As both villages are unable to provide so many services to their inhabitants that they don't need to leave for another place, their distance and to and the accessibility of bigger cities is important. In that respect, Kranenburg is better connected to a bigger place across the border compared to Elten. Kranenburg is, by car and public transport, directly connected to Nijmegen, while Elten is "only" directly connected to Zevenaar. The connection Elten has with Arnhem is for now only indirect, through Zevenaar. When the train station in Elten will open, its connection to Arnhem will be much better and things might change.

While Elten is more "surrounded" by Dutch territory, this doesn't mean the people cross the border for everything. As it is mainly surrounded by outlying areas and small villages, the connectedness to the services one would look for is not (yet) as good as it is in Kranenburg.

7.3 Demography

In order to get to know how many Dutch people live in both villages, and what characteristics these people have, the demography of both villages has been researched. Both factual numbers and percentages as well as more in depth knowledge makes up this section. First, the demography of Kranenburg in relation to the multinational living together will be investigated, after which Elten follows and conclusions regarding this subject are drawn.

7.3.1 Demography Kranenburg

The municipality of Kranenburg, on the first of January of 2018, had 10.711 inhabitants. Of that total, 4.611 are living in the town Kranenburg (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.4). The municipality is built up on nine different towns and villages of which Kranenburg is the biggest when it comes to the number of inhabitants. The number of inhabitants has grown in the last decade and is expected to grow further in the near future. This is for a great deal due to the number of Dutch people moving across the border and settling in Kranenburg (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.6-8). Both the municipality and the village of Kranenburg have a big share of foreigners living in their midst. This large share of foreigners is mainly because of the large share of inhabitants with the Dutch nationality. In Kranenburg, 42,30% of the people is non-German. A total 29,29% of inhabitants of the village has the Dutch nationality. This share already is considerable, and it is predicted to grow even further in the near future (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p. 11-13).

The number of people with a Dutch nationality moving to Kranenburg has many effects on the village. These effects show in different ways. There is no generation or group of people overrepresented in the incoming migrants; 'There are young families, but Dutch elderly people as well, Dutch people working in The Netherlands and living in Kranenburg, but also Dutch people living in Kranenburg and working in Kleve. All types of people live here, there is no group overrepresented' (Jansen, personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹. Because there are many groups and "types" of

¹'Der gibt das junge Familien... Es gibt aber auch Niederländische Senioren... Es gibt Niederländische Manager, Berufstätig ihren erfolgreichen Beruf in die Niederlande haben und hier in Kranenburg wohnen. Ich kenn aber auch Niederländer die sehr erfolgreich in Kleve und auch in Kranenburg beruflich unterwegs sind und deswegen auch hier wohnen wo sie arbeiten. So das gibt alle Bevölkerungsgruppe. Es gibt nicht ein Spezifik Gruppe die man mehr siehst' (Jansen, 2019).

people moving to Kranenburg, the effects of migration are visible in many ways. For example, the schools of Kranenburg see their student numbers are growing the last few years. This has to do with the availability of a bilingual track at the “Euregio Realschule” and the interest of Dutch (‘We have a bilingual elementary school and a private school with a bilingual track. There, people can learn German and Dutch in these schools, they are being taught using both languages (Jansen, personal communication, April 9, 2019²), as well as German, children in that track (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.17-18). The older generations, the ones that are buying houses in Kranenburg, are causing a growth in the demand for houses as well as building ground for newly built properties. The financial and property market crisis that started in 2007 has caused a drop in the demand for houses. People in The Netherlands could no longer sell their houses for the desired price, but with the financial markets recovering lately, this is no longer the case³. The demand for houses and land to build houses on in Kranenburg among Dutch people is rising again and as a result the village is providing land that can be used for the building of houses (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p. 14-16).

Because of the location of Kranenburg near the Dutch border and the inflow of Dutch people, Kranenburg has developed itself as a growth region. The municipality is predicted to grow in numbers from 10.711 people in 2018 to approximately 12.700 in 2040 (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.19). That this is due to the interest of Dutch people that want to move to Germany but not live too far from the border becomes clear when you compare Kranenburg with other municipalities in the region. Many of them have a declining population, the ones directly located at the border are more often showing growing numbers and this is predicted to stay that way (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.19-20).

Recent years have shown that Kranenburg was particularly influenced by immigration from the Netherlands and that this will continue to be the key development factor in the future, depending on economic and social developments in the Netherlands (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.60). In the future, population development in Kranenburg will also depend on the number of arrivals from the Netherlands. With an assumed population development of Kranenburg by the year 2030 of nearly 12,000 inhabitants and a continuing constant influx of Dutch citizens, the proportion of Dutch citizens would already be between 30 and 40% of the total population (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.64).

7.3.2 Demography Elten

Elten is a part of Stadt Emmerich, which had 32.125 inhabitants in 2017. Of that total, 4.706 people were living in Elten (Stadt Emmerich, 2018, p.41). Stadt Emmerich is built up of eight different villages and towns, of which Elten is the biggest when it comes to inhabitants, after Emmerich. Since the year 1999/2000, the share of Dutch people has grown rapidly in the village. This is due to, among others, the difference in prices for real estate compared to The Netherlands. This has led to the fact that there are parts of Elten where Dutch people form the majority of the neighbourhood (Am Dudel

² ‘Wir haben hier eine Bilinguale Grundschule und eine Private Realschule die auch Bilingual geführt wird. Also dann kann man da Deutsch und Niederländisch auf beide Schulen entsprechend lernen. Man wird dort unterrichtet in beide Sprachen’ (Jansen, 2019).

³Verwerfungen auf dem europäischen Immobilienmarkt waren vorhersehbar. Insbesondere Spanien, aber auch die Niederlande waren in der Nachfolge Zeit stark betroffen. In Kranenburg war dies insbesondere durch einen deutlich abgeschwächten Zuzug der Niederländer spürbar, wahrscheinlich dadurch bedingt, dass Bestandsimmobilien in den Niederlanden nicht mehr oder nicht mehr zu dem gewünschten Preis veräußerbar waren... Der Zuzug niederländischer Neubürger scheint in den letzten Jahren neuen Schwung zu bekommen’ (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.14-16).

for example) (Stadt Emmerich, 2018, p. 41; Elsmann, 2019). Of the total of 4706 people living in Elten, 37% (1734) is foreign. This relatively large share of foreigners is formed by a multitude of nationalities (Polish, Rumanian, Turkish etc.), but can mainly be explained by the fact that there are many Dutch people living in Elten. Elten has, compared to the other villages that are a part of Stadt Emmerich, the largest share of Dutch people among their inhabitants. With this percentage, one has to take into consideration that not all Dutch people on paper are really Dutch. Due to the history of the village, there are many families with Dutch passports living in Elten that have never lived in The Netherlands. In the statistics, these people are counted as Dutch, in society not so much; 'On paper, there might be many Dutch people in Elten, but many of those people still own a Dutch passport due to the Dutch period, or they are children of those people. They have never lived in The Netherlands. So statistically the number of Dutch people is higher than the number of people that actually moved here the last 10 to 20 years' (Elsmann, personal communication, May 6, 2019)⁴. The Dutch inhabitants are formed by a group with a large diversity in age, there is no over- or underrepresented group visible; 'It is very diverse, from starters to elderly people that don't want to work any longer and want to live away from the city. Age wise, you see everything from young people to elderly people' (Elsmann, personal communication, May 6, 2019)⁵.

The number of inhabitants is predicted to decline a small bit for the next 20 years (-1%). This, again, can be explained by the influence Dutch people have on the numbers. The last year has shown, and the following years are predicted to show, a stabilised inflow of Dutch people which leads to a stabilised number of inhabitants in Elten (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019; Stadt Emmerich, 2018).

Developments in the near future might change this stabilisation into a growing Dutch population again. As mentioned in the infrastructure section, a train station is planned to open in Elten in June 2019 which will connect Elten to Emmerich and the Ruhr area on the German side and Zevenaar, Arnhem and the rest of The Netherlands on the Dutch side (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019; Tenbörg, 2018, Elsmann, 2019). This is a relevant development regarding demography as well, as it will make Elten more attractive for Dutch people that want to live in Elten but keep working or go to school in The Netherlands. This direct connection by train to some main cities where many (Dutch) inhabitants of Elten work or can work definitely makes the villages more attractive to live in.

What might influence the influx of Dutch people as well is the price of the houses and building ground in Elten. Where the difference with comparable houses used to be very big in the last decade, this difference in price is not so big anymore nowadays (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019; Elsmann, 2019). For many Dutch migrants, the relatively low prices are (among others) the main reason to move across the border. If this advantage will vanish, so will part of the demand. However there still is a difference, Dutch people might be less stimulated to move across the border if this egalisation of prices across the border develops further.

⁴Op papier heeft Elten misschien veel Nederlanders, maar daar zijn veel Nederlanders bij die in de Nederlandse tijd een paspoort hebben, of de kinderen daarvan. Maar die hebben nooit in Nederland gewoond. Dus statistisch gezien is het aandeel Nederlanders groter dan er daadwerkelijk de laatste 10 à 20 jaar hiernaartoe verhuisd zijn' (Elsmann, 2019).

⁵Het is heel verschillend; van starters tot senioren die zeggen ik hoef niet meer te werken, wij gaan nu in rust wonen uit de grote stad weg. Maar qua leeftijd is echt van jongere starters tot senioren` (Elsmann, 2019).

2018	Kranenburg	Elten
<i>Inhabitants municipality</i>	10.711	32.125 (Emmerich)
<i>Inhabitants village</i>	4.611	4.706
<i>Share of foreigners in village</i>	42,30%	37,00%
<i>Share of Dutch people in village</i>	29,29%	Exact number unknown (estimated about 30%)

Table 1: Demography of the villages

7.3.3 Conclusions demography

Regarding demography, both villages seem very comparable. They have a comparable amount of inhabitants and their share of foreigners (Dutch) is comparable as well. Both villages have a normal differentiation in groups of people living in their village, there are no groups (age) over- or underrepresented. The big difference regarding the share of Dutch people is the timeline of their arrival. While Elten has a relatively large Dutch population for a long time now, because of the Dutch period it has been through, Kranenburg is a relatively new destination for Dutch migrants. This creates a situation where the share of Dutch people in Elten has to be seen as two different groups, the old and the new Dutch. Where the old Dutch are people that either live in Elten for very a long time now or even for their entire lives, the new Dutch form a group comparable to most of the Dutch people in Kranenburg. The difficulty with the two groups of Dutch in Elten is that there are no exact numbers for this differentiation. But, what became clear after talks with the municipality and realtor/inhabitants is that the old Dutch still form a significant group and behave very different from the new Dutch. This has a large influence on the conclusions one can draw regarding this subject. When acknowledging the group of (real or new) Dutch people in Elten is much smaller than the numbers tell, this has to be taken into consideration. This can mean the differences in success of multinational living together can be caused by the amount of Dutch people living in a village (not counting the old Dutch).

This subject is focussing on finding an answer to the following sub-question: How do demographic aspects influence the multinational living together in a border region? The answer to that question is to be found in the numbers and the development over time. As shown, the percentage of Dutch inhabitants in Elten and Kranenburg is comparable when viewing the Dutch as one big group. When separating the old and the new Dutch, the percentages are, although unfortunately not precisely known, very different. Because a large part of the share of Dutch people in Elten is formed by old Dutch people, the share of new Dutch people is smaller compared to Kranenburg. In Kranenburg, almost every Dutch inhabitant is a new Dutch inhabitant. This difference is of influence to the multinational living together in both villages. A smaller group of (new Dutch) migrants leads to smaller obstacles in living together as one.

The other influence on the multinational living together is time. As indicated by the respondents, a longer presence of Dutch individuals leads them to integrate better in the village. This is shown by the respondents in Elten pointing to the good integration of the old Dutch, as well as by Carola who is a long-time inhabitant of Kranenburg and integrated very well. Elten has, compared to Kranenburg, a much longer history of Dutch people living in the village. These people have stayed and their families still live there. In Kranenburg, the migrants are relatively new and this has an effect on the multinational living together. Both groups, Dutch and German, are not yet as used to the living together as the people in Elten are. When demographical numbers regarding Dutch population stay like this for a longer period of time, both Dutch and German people in Kranenburg (and Elten as well) can get more used to each other's presence and the living together can approve over time.

So to answer the sub-question regarding demography: Demographic aspects influence the multinational living together. The main aspects that this research proves to have an influence are quantity and passed time. As indicated by the respondents, a larger group of new migrants that have not (yet) integrated makes multinational living together more difficult and a longer stay of the foreign group improves the multinational living together. Because both villages have an equal distribution of age groups, this research is not able to say whether or not this influences the multinational living together.

7.4 Identity

Identity is an important concept regarding this subject. As shown in the literature section, differences in identity can create or maintain a distance between people and by that a mental border (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2016). In order for people of different nationalities to live together, mental borders need to disappear as much as possible. So to turn the statement of Van der Velde & Van Naerssen (2011) and Yuval-Davis (2016) around, in order to deconstruct mental borders, differences in identity need to be overcome. The findings regarding identity will be presented for both villages separated, before combining them and drawing conclusions.

7.4.1 Identities in Elten

The effects of identity are best shown in Elten, where (Dutch) families that live in Elten for many years (the old Dutch) now are taking on a different identity. In Kranenburg, the same happens, but not in the same numbers as it is happening in Elten, because (the old) Dutch people in Elten have had a much longer time to adapt, to get used to the life in Elten, due to the longer history of Dutch influences in the village. This relatively long part of their lives in Elten has had an effect of the identity they identify most with. As Wim, an inhabitant of Elten since 1955, mentioned: when coming to live here when he was a child he was Dutch, but spending most of his childhood and the rest of his life in German Elten (German officially since 1963) he started to connect ever more with Germany and less with The Netherlands. This shows today, where Wim, together with Vincent (who is in a similar situation as Wim) and many more people, on paper is still Dutch, he sees himself as more German and is seen by the rest of the people as a German inhabitant of Elten as well; 'Yes those are actual German people, many of them do not even speak Dutch or just a few words' (Karlijn, personal communication, May 21, 2019)⁶. This shows the official demarcation between Dutch and German inhabitants of Elten is not exactly representing the reality on the ground.

As Paasi (2003) showed, identities can change. Wim, a Dutch individual on paper that became German in his head and in his heart, is an example of that. These kind of changes in identity are not a thing of the past, they still happen. Karlijn, who is living in a mixed area of Elten, notices she is slowly becoming more German in the way she thinks and acts; 'I notice I am becoming German ever more. In the way I think and act. Well, right now I still feel Dutch, but you should ask me again in 20 years from now' (Karlijn, personal communication, May 21, 2019)⁷. This change, noticed by the Dutch people living in Elten shows the influence of time, but also of surroundings. The respondents pointing out the change that happened or is happening regarding their identity are all living among German people. They are in contact with them, they see them on a daily basis. This is in contrast to the people living in Dutch neighbourhoods in both Elten and Kranenburg. In these neighbourhoods the people are not only mostly Dutch, they hold on strongly to their Dutch identity. This shows in the use of Dutch language, the types of houses and even names of streets. A remarkable example is to be found in Elten. In the Dutch neighbourhood Am Dudel, a street was renamed by the inhabitants to Wilheminastraat, referring to a Dutch queen and a clear expression of Dutch nationalism; 'They even renamed a street to Wilhelminastreet' (Karlijn, personal communication, May 21, 2019)⁸. This shows more than just Dutch nationalism, it is a way to keep distance to the German influences one, even in

⁶'Ja dat zijn echt gewoon Duitsers, heel veel daarvan spreken ook geen Nederlands, of maar een paar woordjes' (Karlijn, 2019).

⁷'Ja. Ik merk wel dat ik steeds meer verduits. In mijn denken en in mijn doen. Ja hoe belangrijk is nationaliteit vandaag de dag nog? Ik voel me nu nog wel Nederlands, maar je zou me over 20 jaar nog eens moeten vragen' (Karlijn, 2019).

⁸'Ze hebben zelfs hele straten hernoemd naar Wilhelminastraat' (Karlijn, 2019).

a Dutch neighbourhood like Am Dudel in Elten, out of the scope of daily reality. So together with holding on to the Dutch identity, it is a rejection of German aspects in life and the German identity. The effect of that is that the prospect of a growing German identity with the people living in quarters like Am Dudel is decreasing. When people live their lives in Germany as if they are living in The Netherlands, they won't get used to the German influences and by that stay strangers, foreign people that live in a quarter that alienates itself from the rest of the village.

7.4.2 Identities in Kranenburg

When talking to Carola in Kranenburg, the effect of time on identity was shown as she said (while still being Dutch on paper) she feels most connected with the identity of a German inhabitant in Kranenburg; 'I say I am Dutch, but I feel like a Kranenburger, more a German one than a Dutch one' (Carola, personal communication, May 13, 2019)⁹. This is an individual example from Kranenburg where it shows that time spent in Germany has had an influence on the identity of the individual. Carola also mentioned another important aspect; when she moved to Kranenburg, she was unique in that. Unlike these days, there was no big Dutch community in the village. This was already the case in Elten, where since the Dutch period after the Second World War many Dutch people were living and nowadays have lived there for a long time. The fact that she was one of only few Dutch people in Kranenburg meant that she had no other choice than to find German friends. This is in big contrast to the situation of today, where Dutch people find many more Dutch people around them (often in the same neighbourhood), there is no "necessity" to interact with German people. Also, as Carola mentions, the times are different now. Back when she came to live in Kranenburg as a child, she had no internet or mobile phone that can makes the relatively long distance to the country of origin feel smaller and the contact with it easy. This as well made that she was "forced" to go out and find German social contacts. The difference between a long time inhabitant of Kranenburg like Carola, and someone who has not lived most of their life in Kranenburg is shown by Marianne, who is feeling Dutch after 11 years and expects it to stay that way. She does notice, when she is back in The Netherlands, she is no longer fully Dutch, but when in Kranenburg she feels like a Dutch individual and not a German or even a mix. Because her kids are living in The Netherlands and preparing for a life in The Netherlands, this feeling of not belonging will not automatically be solved by the next generation. Like Marianne, there are many more families in Kranenburg. The fact that they do not lose their Dutch identity right away and don't "adopt" the German identity as if it were a new pair of shoes is not strange and is not criticized by the German people. The way these people prepare their selves and their children for the future however is being criticized. Dutch people with children often prepare their children for a life in The Netherlands. By doing this, their children do not create a (strong) bond with Kranenburg or Germany and their identity matches their behaviour, the ties and feelings with The Netherlands remain. Children are the future, if they are educated among only Dutch children and raised with the Dutch identity, the future does not promise much change, or as Anna says, the German people are very willing to take in the Dutch people in Kranenburg, but first of all they have to want it. The fact that children are prepared for a life in The Netherlands does not indicate a great will to form a German identity or an improved social life in Kranenburg.

7.4.3 Identities: the villages combined

In Elten, the differentiation between old and new Dutch people in the village is of clear importance again, now regarding identity. Because there are Dutch people living in Elten who have lived there for

⁹'Ik zeg wel dat ik een Nederlandse ben maar ik voel me gewoon Kranenburger, eerder een Duitse dan een Nederlandse Kranenburger' (Carola, 2019).

more than 50 years or even their entire lives, the identities they feel connected to do no longer match the ones in their passports. Talking to people in Elten it became clear this especially goes for the people that were born in Elten, who have never lived in The Netherlands. Of course they are aware of their Dutch roots, often very visible in surnames for example, but they do not feel Dutch. Due to the long time they have spent in Elten (if not their entire lives) they have moved beyond being a migrant. They have adopted the German / Elten identity and no longer identify themselves as Dutch first. As Paasi (2003) showed, people can have more than one identity. The formerly Dutch people in Elten (and Kranenburg) still own both the Dutch and the German identity, but the German identity becomes more dominant with people living in Elten or Kranenburg for a longer time. This is in line with the comments of Marianne, from Kranenburg, who said she is after living in Kranenburg for 11 years still feeling Dutch when in Kranenburg. When she is back in The Netherlands however, she notices feeling like an outsider. So the dominant identity changes when the country she is in changes as well. You might say she adopted the identity of a borderlander, someone living on both sides of the border, not identifying with either of the two sides but identifying with both sides, with the overarching area. Elastic migration (Van Houtum & Gielis, 2006) proves to be of great influence to the identity of people living in a border region. The constant returning to the country of origin is causing a less successful integration and by that an unchanged (Dutch) identity, these people are more likely to keep identifying as Dutch.

7.4.4 Conclusions identity

The respondents show two important things. First, the effect of time on identity is shown. Both respondents in Kranenburg and Elten showed that, when they were living for a longer time in their respective village, the identity they feel most connected to is the German identity. How much time this exactly is, is not clear. This is a very subjective process, it is different for every individual and it depends on the way these people fill in their lives in their new home country. If an individual keeps hanging on to the elastic attached to The Netherlands (as introduced in the theory section by Van Houtum and Gielis, 2006), they will probably always keep connecting and identifying more with The Netherlands as well. The second main result showing from the respondents in Kranenburg is the effect of surroundings, both people and the place people are at. In line with the theory of Paasi (2003), people identify with more than one identity. The identity with which they feel most connected to in a certain situation depends on the situation itself, together with the individual of course. This can create a feeling of inbetweenness with these individuals, when in Germany, they feel Dutch, when in The Netherlands, they feel German. They never really belong to the present majority regarding national identity.

These two main result regarding identity show there are major obstacles in the way of overcoming the existing differences in identity. If Elten and Kranenburg will continue to be used as a temporary, cheap, place of living these obstacles are unlikely to be overcome at all. If this is the case, you would have to think of what you wish for, the villages do profit from the many Dutch people coming to live among them but they do not profit socially. If this is what people really want there needs to change something in the duration of stay of the Dutch and in the location they go to live.

So to answer the sub-question regarding identity: Identity does influence the multinational living together. It does in two ways, differences in identity can create a distance between people, definitely if people are not willing to overcome that distance. It also attracts more people with the same identity, creating a space that is defined by the many people with the same identity in it.

7.5 Integration

As shown in the theory section, integration is the way to measure how the “new population” is closing the gap to the native population, how they are adapting to their new environment (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006). Berry (1997) showed this has to do with the acceptance of the new values, and the interest in keeping the old values, resulting in a degree of assimilation. The results will be separated in two sections; one using the view from the municipalities of both villages, and one using the view from the inhabitants (Dutch and German) of both villages.

7.5.1 Integration according to the Municipality of Kranenburg

In speaking with the representative of the municipality of Kranenburg, it became clear that, according to him, the prerequisites for a successful integration of the Dutch people among the German population are present in Kranenburg. These prerequisites, according to him, consist of cultural similarity and similarity and knowledge of both the Dutch and German languages. The (cultural) differences that do exist are small enough so that they can be overcome relatively easily; ‘The differences between German and Dutch culture is small, it has got to do with the fact that Dutch people often learn German in school. You could say there are small differences but they are grounded in the system’ (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹⁰.

When it comes to language, Kranenburg is becoming an ever more bilingual village. Besides the Dutch people with their Dutch language living with the German people, different services are offered bilingual. This goes for shops that advertise, and deliver their products in both languages, because they can get an economic benefit out of it. Also, in order to promote the integration, an “Euregio Realschule” opened its doors in Kranenburg to be able to offer bilingual (German and Dutch) schooling for the children of Kranenburg (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p. 17). This school is doing two things to improve integration. First, it is keeping (a part of) Dutch children within the borders of Kranenburg for their schooling, and second, it is creating an environment where Dutch and German children are mixed and interacting with each other (Gemeinde Kranenburg, 2018, p.64). With the opening of this Euregio Realschule children and their parents in Kranenburg got a choice, go to school in The Netherlands or go to school in Kranenburg. This choice no longer depends on the command of the German language; ‘People have the possibility to visit schools on both sides of the border, there are Dutch people in Kranenburg that put their children on a school here and there are Dutch people living here who put their children on a school in The Netherlands’ (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹¹. In places where the main language is German, people often can get around with using their native language. It is passively understood by a large share of the German population, just as the German language is (at least) passively understood by the Dutch inhabitants; ‘To speak Dutch is difficult, to understand it is easier. That goes for many people, in most shops the Dutch language is not a problem at all’ (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹².

So, according to the municipality of Kranenburg, the prerequisites for a good integration of Dutch people in Kranenburg are present. In reality, small differences do exist, but, as claimed, they can’t be

¹⁰‘Der Kulturkreis der Niederländer und der Deutscher ist ähnlich... ‘das hat damit zu tun das die Niederländer oftmals die deutsche Sprache lernt, auch in der Schule’... ‘Ja das kann man so sagen, dass es kleine Unterschieden gibt, aber die sind in System gründet’ (Jansen, 2019).

¹¹‘Man hat die Möglichkeit beidseits die Schule zu besuchen, es gibt auch Niederländer die hier in Kranenburg wohnen und die Kinder hier in Kranenburg die Schulen besuchen, und es gibt auch Niederländer die hier in Kranenburg wohnen und die Kinder in die Niederlande die Schulen besuchen’ (Jansen, 2019).

¹² ‘Die Niederländische Sprache zu sprechen fällt schwer, verstehen geht ganz gut. Das geht vielen, also auf vielen Stellen ist die Niederländische Sprache überhaupt kein Problem’ (Jansen, 2019).

called real problems of integration as they are, once explained, easily overcome; ‘Well if there are actual problems, you can’t even call them problems’ (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹³. Where the fact that a part of the Dutch inhabitants of Kranenburg still have their schools, work and social life in the Netherlands is often seen as a problem, the (representative of the) municipality of Kranenburg does not see it this way. He shows how this is a normal thing to happen by using the example of Dutch people that do have their professional and social life in Kranenburg or Cleve. This is the way the municipality of Kranenburg looks at this subject. It is possible to find problems, but it is also possible to find examples of success, they choose to focus on that; ‘There are so many positive examples, and of course you can find negative examples. We in Kranenburg do not have any problems, we only have challenges’ (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹⁴. The Dutch people that want to integrate, can integrate well. There are also some that don’t want to, but that happens with Dutch people as with German people, there is no distinction between them, this happens regardless nationality of these individuals; There are also, and this is not only among Dutch people but among all living in Kranenburg, people that want to integrate in Kranenburg and people that don’t want to integrate in Kranenburg. No matter what nationality (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹⁵. This shows in different places, such as work, school or leisure activities. Some Dutch people are engaged in associations in Kranenburg, some are not, but the same goes for German people. In any case, Dutch people are mixing with German people at different associations. When looking to the future and the prognoses of a growing share of Dutch people among the population, the municipality of Kranenburg is welcoming. The Dutch people are very welcome if interested, the ones that came and the ones that will come will end up well. They will feel well living in Kranenburg; If the share of Dutch people will grow further, they are very welcome. The ones that have already come and the ones that are still to come, we have taken them in and they find a place here, they feel well (Jansen personal communication, April 9, 2019)¹⁶. Or, as the representative of the municipality of Kranenburg says: ‘Großen Probleme sehe ich nicht’ (I don’t see any big problems) (Jansen, 2019).

7.5.2 Integration in Elten according to the municipality of Emmerich

When speaking to the representatives of the municipality of Emmerich, one of their main arguments regarding this theme was that the Dutch population should be categorized. According to them, there are two “types” of Dutch inhabitants in Elten; “Dutch people on paper” and “real Dutch people”. This distinction is important for this theme due to the differences in integration there are between these groups. When talking about difficulties with integration, the “real Dutch people” is the group playing a capital role. The “Dutch people on paper” have been living in Elten for so long (some for more

¹³ ‘Wenn es Problemen gibt, man kann das nicht als Problemen bezeigen’ (Jansen, 2019).

¹⁴ ‘Es gibt hier so viele positive Beispiele, und natürlich könnte man auch negative Beispiele suchen gehen und wahrscheinlich könnte man die auch finden’... ‘Wir haben hier in Kranenburg keine Probleme. Es gibt schon mal Aufgaben’ (Jansen, 2019).

¹⁵ Es gibt auch, das wurde ich nicht nur auf Niederländer beziehen aber auf allen, die hier in Kranenburg wohnen, ungeachtet Staatsangehörigkeit, es gibt Menschen die sich integrieren möchte, die auch in der Gesellschaft irgendwo eine möchten, die sich integrieren. Und dann gibt es auch Menschen die lieber ihr Leben für sich leben, und sich nicht integrieren möchten. Ungeachtet Staatsangehörigkeit’ (Jansen, 2019).

¹⁶ ‘Muss das Anteil der Niederländer noch größer werden, also wann die noch Interesse haben sind sie herzlich willkommen. Diejenigen die gekommen sind und diejenigen die noch kommen die haben wir aufgenommen und kommen besser zurecht. Fühlen sich wohl, machen das gut’ (Jansen, 2019).

generations) that they have become German in life but stayed Dutch on paper (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019). So, to be clear, when talking about Dutch people in this chapter, the “real Dutch people” are the individuals that are meant.

Although the representatives of the municipality of Emmerich wouldn't speak of real problems, there are some “struggles” with the integration of Dutch people in Elten (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019). The times of hate between the people of Germany and The Netherlands after the Second World War are over, in general people of both nationalities can get along well. The core of the struggles lies with the intention of why the Dutch people move to Elten. The cheaper housing prices compared to similar houses in The Netherlands is the main reason for moving, these people don't settle in Elten because they like Elten so much, they settle in Elten because it is near the border so they can still profit from what The Netherlands has to offer, and has the advantage of cheaper German housing (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019). These people don't see Elten as the place they want to grow old and where they want to see their children settling when they are older. They see Elten as a place where they can save some money to later in their lives move back to a house in The Netherlands that they before could not afford. The consequence is that this Dutch population in Elten does not feel the necessity to integrate in the village and connect to its people. This means that these people go to work in The Netherlands, do their sports in The Netherlands and see friends and family in The Netherlands, they use Elten as a place to sleep and not as a place to live their lives. Dutch children in Elten are for the same reasons prepared for a life in The Netherlands, not in Elten or the rest of Germany. This means they are educated in Dutch schools, go to Dutch kindergartens and create friendships with other Dutch children, not or less with German children (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019).

The fact that Dutch people don't want to integrate in Elten does not lead to actual conflict or anger with the German Eltener, it leads to a feeling of dissatisfaction. The Elten people are known for their active lives in different associations in their village. This is where they meet and where they connect. This is also the place where the Dutch people should be connecting with the rest of the villagers according to them. However, as they don't, the Eltener wonder why this is and are annoyed with the fact that such a big part of the village does not want to get involved with the rest of the village and its people (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019). In order to promote contact between both Dutch and German people, the municipality has thought about opening a bilingual school to keep the Dutch children within the borders of the village for their education. However, due to difficult rules that accompanies this type of school, the municipality decided against opening such a school. This means that for the future, the schooling situation will likely stay as it is and the children of Elten will go to separate Dutch and German schools.

The main argument of the representatives of the municipality of Emmerich clearly is that there are no big problems, but the struggles that do exist are there because the Dutch people of Elten do not feel the necessity to integrate in the village. The Elten people are willing to accept anyone, but when people don't want to mix with the local population they have no chance of accepting them (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019). The only possible way this will change according to the municipality of Emmerich, is when the Dutch people plan or make their stay in Elten for a longer period of time than what they are doing right now (+5 years). When their stay is longer, they will most likely live and connect with the German population accordingly.

7.5.3 Municipalities combined, differences and similarities

Neither the municipality of Kranenburg, nor Elten (Emmerich) sees the living together of Dutch people with German people in their village as problematic. Both do recognize some issues, but both

say they either are negligible (Jansen, 2019) or unsolvable (Barfuß & Terhorst, 2019) under the current conditions. What strikes is that the municipality of Kranenburg seems to downsize every problem that, according to other sources, exist in its village. Elten acknowledges some issues but doesn't seem to be capable or willing enough to actually find an appropriate way of solving it. The attitude of the municipality of Kranenburg towards the allegedly existing problems with the multinational living together in its village creates a situation where the search for solutions is stopped before it can even begin. In Elten there is an apparent attitude of defeat towards a group of Dutch inhabitants that doesn't wish to integrate. Both villages seem to have a lack of policy against the mental border that seems to be existing within their village between the German and (at least a part of) the Dutch people.

7.5.4 Integration according to inhabitants of Kranenburg

When talking with the inhabitants of Kranenburg, it became clear that the situation regarding integration is causing two sides in the village. Partly these sides are people that are well integrated and people that are not, but they could also be described as people that care about integration and people that don't. These sides or groups are formed by the same people. Marianne, a Dutch inhabitant of Kranenburg, says she can understand the issues some people have with a lack of integration, personally she doesn't see it as a problem and is happy with the situation. This shows, integration in Kranenburg is not a matter of insurmountable differences, but of will. Respondents all pointed out the Dutch and the German people are not too different from the other and the differences that do exist can be overcome. A difference that was mentioned was the directness in communicating, where Dutch people are seen as very direct and open to almost everything, German people are seen as more wait-and-see types 'It is still a difference in culture between Germany and The Netherlands. A Dutchman is pretty open to anything and a German is more a wait and see type of individual, first watching from a distance what the Dutchman is like' (Carola, personal communication, May 13, 2019)¹⁷. The biggest difference is the difference in language. Because the Dutch people don't all speak fluently German, or they feel like their German speaking capability is not good enough, they feel like it is easier to communicate with Dutch people. This creates a situation where the Dutch people do not have much contact with the German people, partly because they don't want to, partly because they think their communication skills are insufficient.

Another element that is, according to the respondents, in the way of a good integration of the Dutch inhabitants, is the fact that many Dutch people living in Kranenburg do their leisure activities and education in The Netherlands and not in Kranenburg; 'Well they live in Kranenburg and all the rest is happening in The Netherlands. The children go to school there, they sport there, but in Kranenburg you can also go to a football, tennis or horse riding club' (Carola, personal communication, May 13, 2019)¹⁸. This is a missed opportunity for integration because leisure activities and schools (for the children) are excellent opportunities for coming into contact with the German population of Kranenburg. Talking to, among others, Peter and Carola in Kranenburg it became clear that the population that does want both nationalities to integrate and form one village together feel a bit helpless regarding this subject. As Peter described it: One can do almost everything in Kranenburg, but if these people don't want to, we can't force them to stay here. This is what you could see as an

¹⁷'Het is toch een cultuurverschil, tussen Duitsland en Nederland. Kijk, een Nederlander is best wel open voor alles en een Duitser kijkt eerst de kat uit de boom. Die kijkt eerst op afstand hoe die Nederlander is' (Carola, 2019).

¹⁸'Ja die wonen in Kranenburg en de rest gebeurt allemaal in Nederland. De kinderen gaan daar naar school, de kinderen sporten daar en in Kranenburg heb je ook een voetbal, tennis en paardrij-vereniging. Ik zeg altijd, als je in Frankrijk woont kun je je kinderen ook niet in Nederland naar school doen' (Carola, 2019).

example of a disadvantage of the proximity of the border, the centripetal forces described by Van Houtum & Gielis (2006) are pulling the Dutch people back to The Netherlands, and the permeability of the border allows it. Carola does see a possible solution to turn this around: If the municipality and the different associations would actively inform and recruit Dutch people, so they at least know what is possible in Kranenburg, the chances might be higher more people will join a club here instead of in The Netherlands; Well maybe the municipality could organise info evenings. Inviting the German Kranenburgers as well, they could tell about Kranenburg. What can you do here and what can't you do here, what possibilities are there? (Carola, personal communication, May 13, 2019)¹⁹. The fact that the municipality does not play an active role is something that bothers some inhabitants as well, they feel like the municipality is opening its doors to let as many (money bringing) Dutch people in and the German population of Kranenburg is left to live with the consequences.

The third aspect that clearly came forward in the discussions about integration with the inhabitants of Kranenburg is the effect of a Dutch quarter in the village. The main part of the Dutch population of Kranenburg is located in one quarter. This is same quarter as to which Van Houtum & Gielis (2006) and De Rue (2008) referred to when talking about "The Dutch quarter". Regarding this quarter, not much has changed in the last 10 years. The same quarter is still filled with mostly Dutch people. This, according to the respondents, is standing in the way of integration. When Dutch people live among more Dutch people in Kranenburg, they don't mix with the local population, they create a feeling of living in a piece of "Holland abroad"; 'In Kranenburg there are neighbourhoods where only Dutch people live and maybe a single German. They are among each other, you get the feeling of living in The Netherlands' (Carola, personal communication, May 13, 2019)²⁰. The problem this creates is that Dutch people don't meet German people. When they don't meet they can't socialize and integrate. The new Dutch people in these quarters will integrate with ease in that quarter, not in the rest of Kranenburg. This will keep the division of the village intact.

For the future most of the respondents hope that both German and Dutch people will mix and with that slowly the Dutch will integrate (some are happy with the current situation and not triggered to change anything). They feel like this could happen through getting more German influences in the existing Dutch quarters. For this to happen, German people will have to buy houses in these quarters. What stands in the way of this solution is a cultural difference in buying houses. Whereas Dutch people coming to Kranenburg are used to paying a high price for a property, the German people are not at all used to that. This causes a loop where if a Dutch person moves out of his Kranenburger house, a new Dutch person moves in. Respondents were hopeful that if this loop can be intercepted, the existing troubles with integration can be solved.

7.5.5 Integration according to inhabitants of Elten

The demarcation between old and new Dutch people in Elten, made in the demography section, is of great importance for explaining integration of the Dutch people in Elten as well. This demarcation needs to be made again. As the old Dutch don't feel Dutch, they don't act Dutch either. In living their lives they behave like every German inhabitant of Elten would. This means they go to schools in Germany, they (often) work in Germany and they go to associations in Elten, which are, as Elsmann said, an important part of the social life in the village; 'There are people who are doing everything in

¹⁹'Nou misschien dat de gemeente er van die avonden kan organiseren. Een soort info avonden, waar ook Duitse Kranenburgers uitgenodigd worden die dan kunnen vertellen over Kranenburg. Want dat doen ze dus niet, wat is er te doen en welke mogelijkheden zijn er?' (Carola, 2019).

²⁰'Dan heb je ook in Kranenburg buurten waar alleen maar Nederlanders wonen en een enkele Duitser. Die zitten dan onder elkaar. En dan krijg je dus het gevoel alsof je in Nederland woont' (Carola, 2019).

The Netherlands, shopping, associations etcetera. Or there are the ones usually living in a neighbourhood among German people, they more often go to the associations here, like football' (Elsmann, personal communication, May 6, 2019)²¹. Elten is experiencing the same obstacles as Kranenburg does, but in a smaller scale and with a bigger sense of acclimatisation. The new Dutch people, and especially those clustered in the Dutch quarter Am Dudel, are not integrating well. This is due to the lack of German people in that quarter to socialize with and due to the centripetal forces that pull back the Dutch people to The Netherlands for their social life. The Dutch people living in Am Dudel go to school, work and associations in The Netherlands. This is something the German inhabitants of Elten see as a missed opportunity, they would rather see the Dutch people in Elten would join them in living their social lives in Elten as well; 'Because the children go to play football for example in The Netherlands, that is a pity. It would be nice if all the children would go to schools here in Germany. That they would play football here instead of in The Netherlands. That would be positive for the associations. It would be good if more Dutch people would integrate in the associations, in the village life' (Elsmann, personal communication, May 6, 2019)²². This would improve the village life and the integration of the Dutch people in Elten as well. Are only the Dutch to blame then? Maybe not, as Karlijn claims the people of Elten accept everyone, but they do have to manage to get connected. This is not always easy, but in the end manageable if the will to connect, to integrate is there; 'The mentality is a bit difficult, they are not always very open to strangers. In general I am accepted. Strange is strange, but as soon as you are in it is okay' (Karlijn, personal communication, May 21, 2019)²³. The addition of the will is important. The real will to integrate seems to be lacking for the Dutch people in Am Dudel. Certainly if one lives as a Dutch individual among many more Dutch people, to integrate in a German community that individual has to do something to achieve that. Am Dudel seems to be a sort of island, a Gaulic-like area that refuses to become German as the village of Asterix refused to become Roman.

The lack of a will to integrate is caused by the life plan of the Dutch people in Elten. Where the people with a will to integrate are planning to stay in Elten for a longer time, if not the rest of their lives, the people not having a will to integrate lack such a plan. They are often planning to stay in Elten for a relatively small period of time to later return back to The Netherlands. They don't feel the necessity to integrate in a community they are planning to leave anyway. The same reason explains why their children are going to school in The Netherlands, why let their children get used to the German schooling system if they are not planning to stay there anyway?

Quarters like Am Dudel are seen as lost, the will to integrate is missing. So what do the respondents see for the future? They hope the problem stays within Am Dudel. If ever more Dutch people come to Elten and they settle in other places as well, they will create a majority in these places as well. The fear of a similar situation as in Am Dudel is there, the people of Elten hope this will be avoided; 'More Dutch people are settling there as well, maybe the problem will move with them' (Karlijn, personal communication, May 21, 2019)²⁴.

²¹'Er zijn er die doen alles in Nederland, boodschappen, verenigingen etcetera. Ofwel diegenen die meestal in een bestaande buurt tussen de Duitsers zitten, die gaan dan meer naar de schutterij en gaan hier voetbal spelen. Ook echt heel verschillend, beide kanten' (Elsmann, 2019).

²²'Omdat de kinderen bijvoorbeeld naar de voetbal in Nederland gaan, dat is jammer. Het zou natuurlijk mooi zijn als alle kinderen hier in Duitsland naar school gaan. Dat ze hier op voetbal gaan in plaats van in Nederland. Dat zou voor het verenigingsleven positief zijn. Het zou wenselijk zijn dat meer Nederlanders nog meer integreren in de verenigingen, in het dorpsleven' (Elsmann, 2019).

²³'De mentaliteit is een beetje lastig en ze zijn niet altijd zo open tegenover vreemden. Over het algemeen word ik geaccepteerd. Vreemd is vreemd maar zo gauw je er binnen bent is het oké' (Karlijn, 2019).

²⁴'Al gaan er ook steeds meer Nederlanders wonen, dan verlegt het probleem zich misschien' (Karlijn, 2019).

7.5.6 Inhabitants combined, differences and similarities

The situation in Elten and Kranenburg from the standpoint of the inhabitants are very comparable. The main difference between both villages is the scale. Where in Elten a part of the inhabitants counted as Dutch is in their lives feeling, acting and living as if German, in Kranenburg this is not so much the case. Another difference is the time both Dutch and German people have had to get used to the presence of the other. While Elten has, due to the Dutch period, had a relatively long history with Dutch influences in the village, in Kranenburg this is a relatively recent development. This causes the situation in Elten to be seen as better or less of a problem than in Kranenburg.

7.5.7 Conclusions Integration

Both Elten and Kranenburg are experiencing troubles regarding the integration of Dutch people in their village. The troubles in Kranenburg seem to be bigger, this is due to the higher number of people the troubles is relevant for, as both villages are built up on three different “groups”: Germans, Dutch people that have integrated well and Dutch people that have not integrated well. The second group is bigger in Elten compared to Kranenburg due to the Dutch people that have lived in Elten since the Dutch period following the Second World War. Solutions to the problem are there, but seem to be out of reach. In order for the Dutch people to integrate better in both villages, they should mix with German people. This can be achieved in several ways, by housing, by leisure activities or by schools. The bilingual school in Kranenburg is a great opportunity for solving the problems with contact. This is a place where the children of Kranenburg can grow up together, which will be good for the integration. The problem is that many families don't put their children on this bilingual school. They are not thinking about a long-term stay in Germany so they are less willing to invest in it. Herewith lies the key to this problem. If both villages could turn their label of a short-term destination to a long-term destination, the problems with integration could be solved by time, just like it did after the Dutch period in Elten.

An important aspect regarding integration lies with the different views of the municipalities and the inhabitants. The lack of integration of a big group of Dutch people in Elten and Kranenburg is often seen as a problem by the German inhabitants of these villages. The municipalities don't see this problem, which leads them not to have an incentive to change or try to change anything about the lack of integration. If the municipality would see the lack of integration more as a problem, like the German and old Dutch inhabitants already do, they would be more inclined or willing to do something about it.

So to answer the sub-question regarding integration: Integration has a big effect on the multinational living together. It is seen as a divider between living together and living separate. This is certainly the case when people don't want to integrate in a society like the Dutch quarters in Elten and Kranenburg, this places them outside this society and makes living together very difficult. An important tool of working on improvement of integration for the sake of better multinational living together lies with the municipalities. Both municipalities don't see the problematic aspects of a lack of integration or don't define the lack of integration at all. They could address the problem in a more central way and try to do something about it. This is what they fail to do now, a gap exists between the point of view of the municipalities and the inhabitants, the ones they are supposed to represent.

7.6 The results analysed

The gathering of material that has led to the results standing above started after making assumptions based on existing literature. With these assumptions a conceptual model was created. With the results, the assumptions made can be checked, do they present the reality in Kranenburg and Elten in the right way, were there elements missing or were there elements implemented that shouldn't have been implemented? The links that were put between the different concepts in the conceptual model will be analysed from the standpoint of the results of this research, do they connect in the same way as was assumed?

7.6.1 Analysing the results using the conceptual model

The first thing that is standing out is the clear influence of all the "influencing concepts" from the conceptual model of chapter six (border region, identity, integration, mental border and transmigrants) on the multinational living together. The fact that both regions are situated in a border region has proven to be a cause for multinational living together. This showed in the results due to statements by Herr Elsmann for example, stating Elten and Kranenburg are mainly interesting for Dutch people because they are situated in the border region. If these villages were further inland, they would not have been such a popular destination for Dutch people. The fact that there is a lot of emphasis put on (national) identity in both villages shows the influence identity has on multinational living together. The multinational aspect of life in both villages is visible on a daily basis, this is for a great deal because of the emphasis that is put on national identity and the differences that exist. Integration, mainly the lack of it, has proven to be influencing the multinational living together in the setting of Kranenburg and Elten as well. The talks with inhabitants and representatives of the municipalities showed there is a lack of integration of many Dutch people in both villages. This lack of integration is causing the multinational living together in Elten as well as Kranenburg to be transformed in multinational living separated. The Dutch neighbourhoods are experienced as being enclaves in German villages. Both mental border and transmigrants are not experienced as obvious by the respondents. This does not mean that they do not have an influence. Mental borders are there between the Dutch/German inhabitants of Kranenburg and Elten. These mental borders are causing a less successful multinational living together. They separate the people and by that cause villages with two different groups of people not really living together. Transmigrants have proven to have a big influence on the multinational living together as well. As indicated by several respondents, transmigrants are causing unhappiness with the German inhabitants of the villages. This drives the two nationalities further apart and by that, transmigrants have an influence on the multinational living together.

The several concepts that influence the multinational living together also influence each other. Living in a border region has proven, by talking to Karlijn and Marianne among others, has an effect on the identity a person identifies with. This can either change to the host nationality, or become an identity in-between, a border regional identity, as it was the case with Marianne. Identity has proven to influence both mental borders and transmigrants. Almost all respondents indicated that one of the main effects of differences in identity is the distance between people that comes with it. This is not only physical distance, but mental distance as well. The differences in identity have proven to be a major point of interest regarding this subject, and is very sensible in the area. The fact that respondents identifying themselves as Dutch all keep strong ties to The Netherlands proves the link between identity and transmigrants. These ties are kept by going to schools or work in The Netherlands and by doing so, become migrants that are described as transmigrants.

Integration has proven to influence both identity and, what was not yet present in the conceptual model, mental border. Carola, Wim and Vincent have proven integrating well has an effect on the identity of the individual. When integrating well, people often are more in contact with German people, and by that less with Dutch people. When enough time passes, this can have an effect on identity. In the original conceptual model, mental border was stated as influencing integration. Experiences of different respondents in both Elten and Kranenburg have showed this is a two-way influence. A lack of integration leads to a mental border as well as a mental border leads to a lack of integration. When Dutch people are not integrating well, over time this leads to the creation of a mental border.

Mental borders have proven to influence integration and identity. As said above, this is a two-way influence. When there is an existing mental border present between Dutch and German, for instance due to bad experiences, this has a negative influence for integration. Both groups will keep the other at a distance. Examples in both villages were shown, as the (apparent) lack of a will to integrate has led to a decline in attempts to invite the Dutch people to the village-life. The influence of mental borders to identity shows in the unchanging identities situated in places where there is a clear mental border existing. In these places the identities of people are less inclined to change and, in the cases of Elten and Kranenburg, are staying Dutch more often.

The last concept, transmigrants, has proven to influence the concepts mental border, integration and identity. When there is an area with many transmigrants present (like Am Dudel or the Kranenburger Dutch quarter), this is likely to cause a mental border between people from within and out of that area. Karlijn, for instance, noticed she had no contact with people in Am Dudel and never really goes to the quarter either. Transmigrants can also build a mental border between individuals by the lack of contact that comes with the returning to the land of origin. The ties are kept with the old country, not created with, people in, the new country. The obvious relation between transmigrants and integration was proven by the examples given by many respondents. The transmigrants are not known for their great integration. Their connection with The Netherlands is seen as a break on their integration in Elten or Kranenburg. The same goes for the connection between transmigrants and identity, their identity keeps very focused on The Netherlands due to their ongoing contact and connection with The Netherlands. This leaves no, or less, room for the growth of a German or border regional identity.

8. Expanding the theory and revisiting the conceptual model

Looking back to the theory that formed the base of this research and comparing it to the reality found on the ground in the researched area, although most elements in the conceptual model were found to be representing the reality in Kranenburg and Elten in the correct way. Only, the conceptual model as it was made before doing the actual groundwork has proven not to be fully complete. The structure of that conceptual model was mostly based on the research done by Löfgren (2008), this research did mention the importance of history but this has proven not to be sufficient for the situation in the Elten and Kranenburg. The most important element that was missing was time. Although time can be related to history, it is different. History is more a descriptive element, explaining what has happened in the past in a place, time tells about the past as well as the possibilities of the future. It can look back to the past just like history, explaining what has happened during the passing of time but it can look forward as well. When looking forward, time explains about the possibilities for the future, what can happen in the time that is yet to come. This is an addition made to the theory of Löfgren (2008) without denying the importance of history, which has proven to be of importance in this research; the concept of time is added.

Time has, mostly by the example of Elten, shown to be of great influence on the multinational living together in border region villages. Elten, with its many old Dutch inhabitants that are well integrated and identify strongly with the German national identity, shows how the passing of time can improve the situation. Carola in Kranenburg showed that this effect was not limited to the specificities of Elten alone by integrating fully in Kranenburg as a long-time Dutch inhabitant. There is a note to the element of time, namely what is done with the given time. As Carola mentioned, she was from the beginning of her stay in Kranenburg interacting with the German population and by that slowly integrating evermore. This is in stark contrast to what the Dutch newcomers in both Kranenburg and Elten are doing today. By surrounding themselves with many other Dutch people in a Dutch neighbourhood, they are shutting out German influences and by that making the process of adaption impossible.

The importance of time was shown in both the desk research regarding historical differences between both villages and in the experiences of inhabitants in both villages. This double proof makes clear that time was a missing element in the original conceptual model. It is added in such a way that it influences identity, integration, mental border and transmigrants. Time doesn't influence the border region itself. The new conceptual model is visible in *figure 7*.

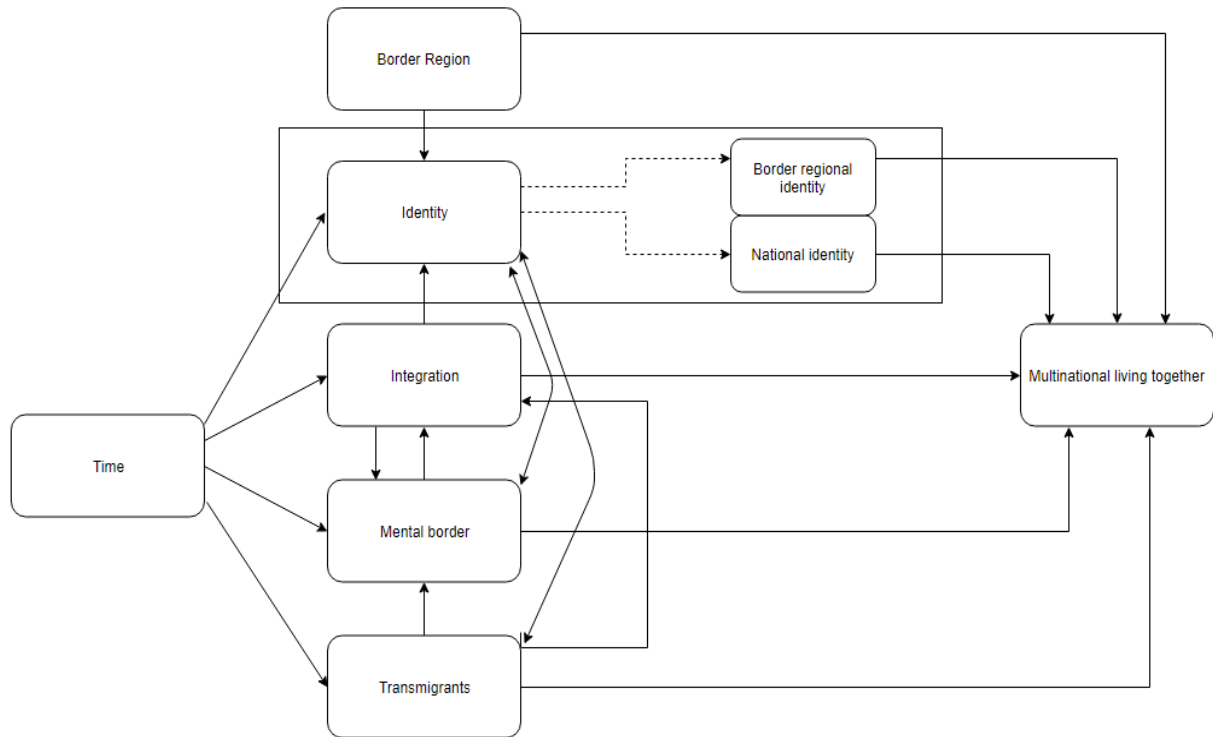


Figure 7: Revisited conceptual framework of influences proven by research (own creation)

9. Conclusions

When delving deeper in the subject of multinational living together in a border region like the one in this research, the many influences from different angles become clear. The many influences that are shown are especially interesting because they are not all visible on a daily basis. The more visible influences are found in the Dutch quarters, where clear national expressions like flags, street names and advertising signs are showing the influences from a different country. People in these quarters are less connected to the German identity because they are less integrated in the German society. The “mini Dutch society” that is created in these villages shows the lack of unification in the villages. Two sides arise because of these quarters, physical as well as mental sides. There is a physical distance between Dutch and German people because of the Dutch quarters and because of the distance on the ground, the groups don't come closer in their minds and hearts either. These distances in the mind and in the heart are not as clearly visible as the national expressions. They get to the surface when talking to the people in both villages. When talking to the inhabitants of Elten and Kranenburg, almost all started with saying how much they liked living in their village. This is the superficial information one gets when asking about the experiences on living in Elten or Kranenburg. However, when digging deeper, many people admitted there were some issues present in both villages. These issues are not built up on heavy conflict and are not making living in Elten or Kranenburg impossible, they are constructed of missed opportunities.

In these issues there were some differences between Elten and Kranenburg, but these were by far not as big as imagined up front. During the research, two main differences between both villages became clear. The first is the difference in numbers. Because in Elten a large share of the Dutch people can be characterized as old Dutch (and by that are not as Dutch anymore) the numbers of badly integrated, new Dutch is much smaller compared to Kranenburg. This is downsizing the issue in Elten, because of the lower number but because the examples of well integrated, old Dutch as well. The people in Elten see that proper integration of Dutch people in their villages is possible and by that it is not as often the entire Dutch population that is blamed for integrating bad, it is only the new Dutch. In Kranenburg the Dutch population does not contain such a big group of old Dutch inhabitants as Elten does. This means not only this group is bigger, but the problem is more visible as well. The issues that arise in Kranenburg are the same as in Elten, with the difference that they are more visible due to higher numbers of new Dutch people.

The second main difference is the difference in history. Both villages have had a very different history when it comes to Dutch influences. This is especially important for the more recent history. The Dutch period in Elten, following the Second World War, was of great influence to the village. Not only did many Dutch people move to the village then, but the German people of Elten got used to Dutch people as well. The presence of Dutch people in Elten has been normal for a long time now, both for Dutch and German inhabitants. This in contrast to Kranenburg, where Dutch people have only started to come later. Because of that, the people in Kranenburg do not have the same amount of experience with multinational living together as the people in Elten. Where the people in Elten can learn from the successful integration of the old Dutch, the people in Kranenburg do not have such an example to go by.

The main differences can be explained, as shown above. They can be overcome as well. This is shown by both the old Dutch in Elten and Carola in Kranenburg. Especially interesting is the situation of Carola, because she shows the conclusions can be used for more villages than just Elten and Kranenburg. The Elten specific characteristic of the old Dutch leads to Elten specific results. But as Carola, a long-time Dutch inhabitant in Kranenburg, shows, this Elten specific characteristic is visible in Kranenburg as well.

The three elements in this research question (societal, historical and location aspects) all have an influence on the two national identities living together in the villages in the border region. Location aspects are important because of the accessibility of and the need for the country of origin. The easy access of the other side of the border is in both researched villages one of the main reasons for settling in these villages for Dutch people. Both villages are located very near to the border, which is easily crossed by using the main roads. The new train station in Elten, which will connect the village to Zevenaar and Arnhem by train, is predicted to make Elten even more attractive for Dutch people because of a better accessibility.

The historical aspects have a big influence on the living together of the Dutch and German people in the researched villages. As shown in the results, Elten has a significant different history related to the history of Kranenburg. This history has led to a different situation today. Not only are the numbers in Elten deceiving, as many people who statistically are Dutch behave, feel and are seen as German people, the rest of the German inhabitants have much more experience with the Dutch influences. This difference in background has an effect on the situation of today, and can be something to learn from as well. As the old Dutch and the German people are living well together, they are an example of how to reach a successful multinational living together in a village in a border region.

The societal aspects are probably most important for the success of the two different national identities living together in a border region. The demographical characteristics, most important the number of Dutch people, are leading for the subjective feeling of the presence of a problem. In Kranenburg, where the numbers of new Dutch people are higher, there is a clear perception of a problem. In Elten, where the number of new Dutch people is lower, there is not a very clear perception of a problem. In Elten, the same problem exists, but because of the lower number it is not perceived as problematic by everyone. Integrational characteristics are of great importance in the perception of success or of a problem. However hard to measure, everyone has their own image when asked about integration. This often had to do with contact with others, and location of school, work and leisure activities. When integration is seen as problematic in a village, this leads to a less successful living together of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region. This can show, for example, in minimal contact between both national groups in a village (cause of mental border or caused by mental border). Identity is another element that plays a role in the success of multinational living together. In places where more people with an identity different from the "standard" identity are living, the multinational living together is less successful as well. Examples of such places are both Dutch quarters in Elten and Kranenburg. These are places where the identity of the people is Dutch. The Dutch people there do not, or hardly, identify with the German or borderlander identity. This creates a distance between the Dutch and German people which is a disadvantage for the living together of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region.

So to answer the main research question:

How do different societal, historical and location aspects influence the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region?

It can be said the different societal, historical and location aspects have much influence on the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region. The overarching element present in these different influences is the connection to the country of origin. If an aspect (train line, nearness of more people from the same place, etcetera) makes it easier to stay connected to the country of origin, people will use it and by that their connection to their new place of living will grow slower. The overarching element of connection to the country of origin is

heavily influenced by the factor time and surroundings. If time passes, the connection to the country of origin will decrease and the connection to the new country / place will increase. This does depend on the physical surroundings of the individual (other people in the neighbourhood for example), how much time passes does not matter when an individual keeps being surrounded by others with the same (Dutch) identity and no or hardly any people with the German (local) identity. So the societal, historical and location aspects all play a role in the success of two different national identities living together in one village in a border region, but the negative effects can all be overcome and the positive effects can all be nullified. Time (in combination to the surroundings during that time) can be the bridge that is needed to overcome differences and make sure successful multinational living together is possible. Time (in combination to the surroundings during that time) can also be the factor that acts as a break on a successful multinational living together.

10. Recommendation for praxis

During the fieldwork of this research, in talking to the different respondents, there was a difference visible between inhabitants of both villages and the representatives of both municipalities. This was especially striking when talking to the representative of the municipality of Kranenburg. In this conversation, the main message was; there are no real problems in the multinational living together. When talking to the representatives of the municipality of Emmerich (Elten) it became clear they did acknowledge there are some issues but there was a certain dejection regarding these issues. When talking to the inhabitants, it became clear that they all recognize the issues regarding the multinational living together in both villages. However not all are willing or feeling the necessity to do something about it, many people did. This means there is a gap between the vision of the municipalities and the people they represent. The main recommendation for praxis following this research would be to close this gap.

Municipalities should put the issues regarding the multinational living together on the agenda. They should try to improve the contacts and by that the relations between the different nationalities living in their villages. This could start with promoting the bilingual school in Kranenburg for instance, differences grow on people, they are not there from the beginning. When children go to the same school together these differences will have less chance to grow. Furthermore, it is important to really talk to the inhabitants. Experiences during the fieldwork of this research have been that people start by telling how much they like living in their respective village, but when digging deeper, issues do show.

10.1 Recommendations for further research

This research was developed with the goal of making the results as generalisable as possible. This was done by developing a framework of influencing factors from a different research (Löfgren, 2008). The factors that were found to be of influence to the multinational living together in a border region can be used in different regions outside the scope of this research as well. In order to really test the factors, it would be good if further research would imply these factors in different regions as well and see if they are of influence there and if something is missing or not. If the same factors are of influence to other border regions in between other countries, this increases the usability and reliability of the theory.

As mentioned in the critical remarks, it would be interesting to do more research specifically on the group of old Dutch in Elten. Since they are quite unique (there are not many villages like Elten, see chapter on the history of both villages) they are an interesting group to investigate further. What does a relatively big group of migrants concentrated in one village for a long time do with the village and its people? This was treated in this research, but it would be interesting to delve deeper in this group and to look for comparable groups of people in other border regions around Europe or the world.

11. Reflection

Reflecting on this research, some critical notes must be taken in order to grasp the limitations of this research. The most limitation is the one of scale. This research has used data from many different sources, from books and the internet to talking to people on the ground. However, especially in talking to people on the ground, you can never have enough different opinions and experiences. Even though much attention was paid to control the “types of people” interviewed (Elten/Kranenburg, (old/new) Dutch/German, municipality/inhabitant) it is always possible that within a certain group, people were interviewed that were not optimally representative for the group they represent. Again, by interviewing many different “types of people” this possibility is countered as much as possible.

Then there is the matter of old and new Dutch, mainly important in Elten. Unfortunately there is no data about how many people can be counted as belonging to the group of old Dutch people and how many as belonging to the group of new Dutch people. This would have been very useful with analysing the results, it would have provided some scaling, how big is the group of old Dutch exactly? However this is not available, it is clear that this group is substantial enough to seriously take them into account.

The focus of this research was often on differences and similarities. This is because they are there in a border region. But maybe this should not be characterized as a problem or issue as much. Maybe this is the future of the further disappearing borders within the European Union. It is not strange that people use the possibilities an open border offers them. It is also not strange that people go find the easiest way to live. In the case of this research environment, the easiest way to live often is to physically live abroad, but mentally in the home country. In this research, this is seen as a problem. Whether or not this is just and whether or not this will solve itself in the future is something only time can tell.

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Appendix

Interviewguides

Interviewvragen Gemeinde Kranenburg.

- Wat is Kranenburg voor een dorp? Hoe zou u Kranenburg omschrijven?
 - o Wat is er uniek aan Kranenburg?
- Hoe heeft de locatie van Kranenburg invloed op het dagelijks leven in het dorp?
 - Hoe ervaart u / de gemeente de verschillende nationaliteiten in Kranenburg?
- Over het algemeen, profiteren de inwoners van Kranenburg van de grensligging of hebben ze er nadeel van?
- Zijn er specifieke groepen die duidelijk meer voordeel ervaren van de grensligging dan anderen?
 - o Levert dit onenigheid op?
 - o Hoe gaat de gemeente hiermee om?
- Hoe zou u de Nederlandse bevolking in Kranenburg omschrijven?
- Bestaat de Nederlandse bevolking uit een specifieke doelgroep (leeftijd etc.)?
- In de media komt Kranenburg af en toe in het nieuws als een voorbeeld van hoe het samen leven tussen Nederlanders en Duitsers niet goed verloopt, klopt dit beeld of wordt Kranenburg overbelicht in verhouding tot andere dorpen?
- Merkt u een verschil in betrokkenheid tussen de Nederlandse en de Duitse bevolking van Kranenburg?
 - o Waar zou dit door kunnen komen?
- Is de Nederlandse bevolking goed / voldoende geïntegreerd?
 - o Voert de gemeente actief beleid om dit te bevorderen?
- Heeft u het idee dat de Nederlandse bevolking moeite heeft met integreren of dat de Duitse bevolking moeite heeft met accepteren / opnemen in de samenleving?
- Is het ontwikkelingsconcept „Kranenburg 2030 Plus“ al afgerond? Is deze beschikbaar?
- Komen er nog steeds nieuwe Nederlanders bij of blijft het bij de bestaande groep?

Interview Fragen an die Gemeinde Kranenburg.

- Wie ist Kranenburg für ein Dorf? Wie würden Sie Kranenburg beschreiben?
 - o Was ist das Besondere an Kranenburg?
- Wie beeinflusst die Standort von Kranenburg das tägliche Leben im Dorf?
- Wie erleben Sie / die Gemeinde die verschiedenen Nationalitäten in Kranenburg?
- Profitieren die Kranenburger im Allgemeinen von der Grenzlage oder haben sie einen Nachteil?
- Gibt es spezifische Gruppen, die eindeutig mehr von der Grenzlage profitieren als andere?
 - o Führt dies zu Meinungsverschiedenheiten?
 - o Wie geht die Gemeinde damit um?
- Wie würden Sie die niederländische Bevölkerung in Kranenburg beschreiben?
- Besteht die niederländische Bevölkerung aus einer bestimmten Zielgruppe (Alter etc.)?
- In den Medien erscheint Kranenburg ab und zu in den Nachrichten als Beispiel dafür, wie das Zusammenleben zwischen Niederländern und Deutschen nicht gut läuft, ist dieses Bild richtig ist dieses Bild korrekt oder ist Kranenburg im Verhältnis zu anderen Dörfern überbelichtet??
- Bemerken Sie einen Unterschied im Engagement zwischen der niederländischen und der deutschen Bevölkerung von Kranenburg?
 - o Wo könnte das herkommen?
- Ist die niederländische Bevölkerung gut / ausreichend integriert?
 - o Verfolgt die Gemeinde aktiv eine Politik, um dies zu fördern?
- Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die niederländische Bevölkerung Schwierigkeiten bei der Integration hat oder dass die deutsche Bevölkerung Schwierigkeiten bei der Annahme / Integration in die Gesellschaft hat?
- Ist das Entwicklungskonzept „Kranenburg 2030 Plus“ schon fertig? Ist das öffentlich verfügbar?
- Gibt es noch neue Niederländer die hereinkommen, oder wird es bei der bestehenden Gruppe bleiben?

Interviewvragen Stadt Emmerich (Elten).

- Wat is Elten voor een dorp? Hoe zou u Elten omschrijven?
 - o Wat is er uniek aan Elten?
- Hoe heeft de locatie van Elten invloed op het dagelijks leven in het dorp?
- Hoe ervaart u / de gemeente de verschillende nationaliteiten in Elten?
- Over het algemeen, profiteren de inwoners van Elten van de grensligging of hebben ze er nadeel van?
- Zijn er specifieke groepen die duidelijk meer voordeel ervaren van de grensligging dan anderen?
 - o Levert dit onenigheid op?
 - o Hoe gaat de gemeente hiermee om?
- Hoe zou u de Nederlandse bevolking in Elten omschrijven?
- Bestaat de Nederlandse bevolking uit een specifieke doelgroep (leeftijd etc.)?
- In de media komt Kranenburg nog wel eens in het nieuws omdat er wat problemen zijn tussen Nederlanders en Duitsers, Elten niet. Terwijl Elten verder vrij gelijk is qua omstandigheden, hoe kan dit?
- Is er wel eens sprake van „conflicten“ tussen de Nederlandse en Duitse bevolking?
- Merkt u een verschil in betrokkenheid tussen de Nederlandse en de Duitse bevolking van Elten?
 - o Waar zou dit door kunnen komen?
- Is de Nederlandse bevolking goed / voldoende geïntegreerd?
 - o Voert de gemeente actief beleid om dit te bevorderen?
- Heeft u het idee dat de Nederlandse bevolking moeite heeft met integreren of dat de Duitse bevolking moeite heeft met accepteren / opnemen in de samenleving?
- Heeft u het idee dat Nederlanders in Elten zich aan willen passen, of blijven ze Nederlanders wonend in het buitenland? Met andere woorden, willen ze "van identiteit veranderen"?
- Komen er nog steeds nieuwe Nederlanders bij of blijft het bij de bestaande groep?

Interview Fragen an die Stadt Emmerich (Elten).

- Was ist Elten für ein Dorf? Wie würden Sie Elten beschreiben?
 - o Was ist das Besondere an Elten?
- Wie beeinflusst der Standort von Elten das tägliche Leben im Dorf?
- Wie erleben Sie / die Gemeinde die verschiedenen Nationalitäten in Elten?
- Profitieren die Eltener im Allgemeinen von der Grenzlage oder haben sie einen Nachteil?
- Gibt es spezifische Gruppen, die eindeutig mehr von der Grenzlage profitieren als andere?
 - o Führt dies zu Meinungsverschiedenheiten?
 - o Wie geht die Gemeinde damit um?
- Wie würden Sie die niederländische Bevölkerung in Elten beschreiben?
- Besteht die niederländische Bevölkerung aus einer bestimmten Zielgruppe (Alter etc.)?
- In den Medien ist Kranenburg manchmal in den Nachrichten, weil es einige Probleme zwischen Niederländern und Deutschen gibt, Elten jedoch nicht. Elten kann man aber unter den gegebenen Umständen mit Kranenburg vergleichen. Wie ist das möglich?
- Gibt es jemals "Konflikte" zwischen der niederländischen und der deutschen Bevölkerung?
- Bemerken Sie einen Unterschied im Engagement zwischen der niederländischen und der deutschen Bevölkerung von Elten?
 - o Wo könnte das herkommen?
- Ist die niederländische Bevölkerung gut / ausreichend integriert?
 - o Verfolgt die Gemeinde eine aktive Politik, um dies zu fördern?
- Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die niederländische Bevölkerung Schwierigkeiten bei der Integration hat oder dass die deutsche Bevölkerung Schwierigkeiten bei der Annahme / Integration in die Gesellschaft hat?
- Haben Sie den Eindruck, dass die Niederländer sich in Elten anpassen wollen, oder Niederländer bleiben wollen, die im Ausland leben? Mit anderen Worten, wollen sie ihre Identität "verändern"?
- Gibt es noch neue Niederländer die hereinkommen, oder wird es bei der bestehenden Gruppe bleiben?

Interviewvragen Herr Elsmann (realtor Elten)

- Hoe is het om in een grensdorp (Elten) als makelaar te werken?
 - o Wat is er anders aan uw doelgroep?

- Waar bestaat uw klantenbestand uit, wat zijn dit voor mensen?
 - o Komt er een specifieke doelgroep meer voor dan andere?
 - o „Ontbreekt“ er een doelgroep in uw klantenbestand?

- Zijn de Nederlanders die naar Elten verhuizen op zoek naar specifieke eigenschappen in hun huis?

- Merkt u een clustering van de Nederlanders in Elten?

- Merkt u een grote doorloop in de Nederlandse bevolking? Hoe lang blijven de meeste Nederlanders ongeveer in Elten wonen?

- Merkt u een verschil in budget tussen uw Nederlandse en Duitse klanten? Heeft de ene groep meer te besteden dan de andere?

- Zijn de prijzen van huizen in Elten gestegen door de vraag vanuit Nederland?

- Wat is volgens u de reden dat er relatief veel Nederlanders naar Elten komen?

- Neemt de vraag naar huizen in Elten vanuit Nederlanders af of toe? Hoe komt dit volgens u?

- Merkt u iets van wat Duitse (potentiele) inwoners van Elten vinden van de Nederlandse aanwezigheid?
Wat vinden ze ervan?

- Hoe ziet u de toekomst? Zal Elten aantrekkelijk blijven voor Nederlanders of zal dit veranderen?

Interviewvragen inwoners Kranenburg

- Hoe is het om in Kranenburg te wonen?
- Voelt u zich Duits, Nederlands of een mengeling / grenslander?
- Wat vindt u van de grensligging van Kranenburg, wat zijn de voordelen, wat zijn de nadelen?
- Wat vindt u van de gemixte Nederlands – Duitse bevolking?
- Heeft u veel contact met Nederlandse/Duitse Kranenburgers?
- Waar ziet u eventuele verbeterpunten in het samenleven tussen Duitsers en Nederlanders in Kranenburg?
- Ziet u vooruitgang in het samenleven tussen Nederlanders en Duitsers over de jaren?
- Heeft u het idee dat de gemeente Kranenburg de integratie van Nederlanders actief stimuleert?
- Wat zou er volgens u moeten gebeuren om de integratie van Nederlanders te bevorderen?
- Bij gebrekkige integratie: Willen de Nederlanders niet integreren of willen de Duitsers de Nederlanders niet opnemen?
- Hoe ziet u de toekomst, hoopt u dat er meer Nederlanders volgen? Blijft Kranenburg nog aantrekkelijk voor Duitse inwoners?

Interviewfragen Bewohner Kranenburg

- Wie ist es, in Kranenburg zu leben?
- Fühlst du dich deutsch, niederländisch oder eine Mischung / Grenzländer?
- Was halten Sie von der Grenzlage Kranenburg, was sind die Vorteile, was sind die Nachteile?
- Was halten Sie von der gemischten deutsch-niederländischen Bevölkerung?
- Hast du viel Kontakt zu niederländischen/deutschen Kranenburgern?
- Wo sehen Sie Möglichkeiten zur Verbesserung des Zusammenlebens zwischen Deutschen und Niederländern in Kranenburg?
- Sehen Sie Fortschritte beim Zusammenleben zwischen Niederländern und Deutschen im Laufe der Jahre?
- Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die Gemeinde Kranenburg die Integration der niederländischen Bürger aktiv fördert?
- Was sollte Ihrer Meinung nach getan werden, um die Integration der Niederländer zu fördern?
- Im Falle einer schlechten Integration: Wollen die Niederländer nicht integrieren oder wollen die Deutschen nicht die Niederländer aufnehmen?
- Wie sehen Sie die Zukunft, hoffen Sie, dass weitere Niederländer folgen werden? Wird Kranenburg für deutsche Einwohner attraktiv bleiben?

Interviewvragen inwoners Elten

- Hoe is het om in Elten te wonen?
- Voelt u zich Duits, Nederlands of een mengeling / grenslander?
- Wat vindt u van de grensligging van Elten, wat zijn de voordelen, wat zijn de nadelen?
- Wat vindt u van de gemixte Nederlands – Duitse bevolking?
- Heeft u veel contact met Nederlandse/Duitse Eltenaren?
- Waar ziet u eventuele verbeterpunten in het samenleven tussen Duitsers en Nederlanders in Elten?
- Ziet u vooruitgang in het samenleven tussen Nederlanders en Duitsers over de jaren?
- Heeft u het idee dat de gemeente Emmerich de integratie van Nederlanders actief stimuleert?
- Wat zou er volgens u moeten gebeuren om de integratie van Nederlanders te bevorderen?
- Bij gebrekkige integratie: Willen de Nederlanders niet integreren of willen de Duitsers de Nederlanders niet opnemen?
- Hoe ziet u de toekomst, hoopt u dat er meer Nederlanders volgen? Blijft Elten nog aantrekkelijk voor Duitse inwoners?

Interviewfragen Bewohner Elten

- Wie ist es, in Elten zu leben?
- Fühlst du dich deutsch, niederländisch oder eine Mischung / Grenzländer?
- Was halten Sie von der Grenzlage Elten, was sind die Vorteile, was sind die Nachteile?
- Was halten Sie von der gemischten deutsch-niederländischen Bevölkerung?
- Hast du viel Kontakt zu niederländischen/deutschen Eltener?
- Wo sehen Sie Möglichkeiten zur Verbesserung des Zusammenlebens zwischen Deutschen und Niederländern in Elten?
- Sehen Sie Fortschritte beim Zusammenleben zwischen Niederländern und Deutschen im Laufe der Jahre?
- Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die Stadt Emmerich die Integration der niederländischen Bürger aktiv fördert?
- Was sollte Ihrer Meinung nach getan werden, um die Integration der Niederländer zu fördern?
- Im Falle einer schlechten Integration: Wollen die Niederländer nicht integrieren oder wollen die Deutschen nicht die Niederländer aufnehmen?
- Wie sehen Sie die Zukunft, hoffen Sie, dass weitere Niederländer folgen werden? Wird Elten für deutsche Einwohner attraktiv bleiben?

Interviews conducted during research

Date	Name interviewed + nationality	Topic	Function (in relation to this research)
09-04-2019	Norbert Jansen (DE)	Dutch-German living together in Kranenburg	Municipality of Kranenburg
23-04-2019	Arnfried Barfuß (DE)	Dutch-German living together in Elten	Municipality of Emmerich
23-04-2019	Tim Terhorst (DE)	Dutch-German living together in Elten and Kranenburg	Municipality of Emmerich
06-05-2019	Rainer Elsmann (DE)	Dutch people moving to Elten + Living in Elten	German real estate agent and inhabitant of Elten
13-05-2019	Carola (NL)	Living in Kranenburg	Dutch (longtime) inhabitant of Kranenburg
17-05-2019	Marianne (NL)	Living in Kranenburg	Dutch inhabitant of Kranenburg
17-05-2019	Peter (DE)	Living in Kranenburg	German inhabitant of Kranenburg
17-05-2019	Anna (DE)	Living in Kranenburg	German inhabitant of Kranenburg
18-05-2019	Wim (NL)	Living in Elten	Dutch (longtime) inhabitant of Elten
18-05-2019	Vincent (NL)	Living in Elten	Dutch (longtime) inhabitant of Elten
21-05-2019	Karlijn (NL)	Living in Elten	Dutch inhabitant of Elten