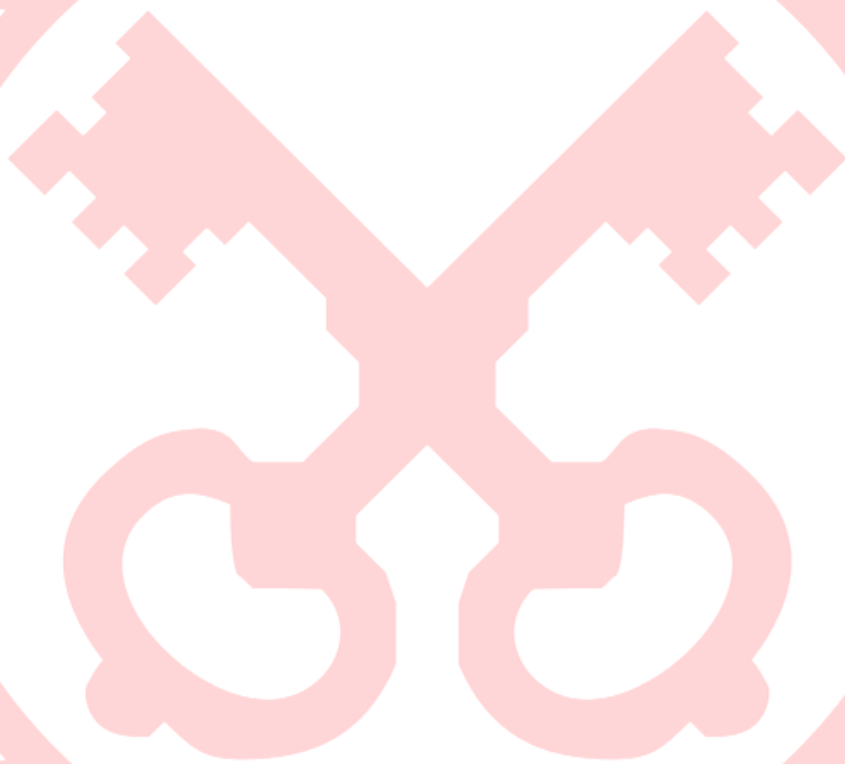


# Home is where the heart is

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*About multiple identifications of first and second  
generation migrants in Leiden*



*by*

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generation migrants in Leiden*

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# Preface

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Here it is: my master thesis to complete the master Globalisation, Migration and Development at the Radboud University Nijmegen. After many brainstorm-sessions and different versions of a research proposal, finally my multiple interests and questions are converged in the writing that lies in front of you. I like to thank a few people who have helped me during this process. First of all my supervisor Lothar Smith, who has guided me throughout the research process and inspired me with his insights, constructive comments and advices. Thank you for the meetings we had, which always resulted in interesting food for thought. I would especially like to show my gratitude to Joseph Seh, owner of, and my internship supervisor at the Centre for Collective Learning and Action (CCoLA) in Leiden. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to learn at CCoLA. Joseph Seh has generously offered me to help with my research by showing me around in Leiden and by helping me to get in touch with respondents. I have enjoyed our cycling-trips through Leiden, by which Joseph has helped me to take away any feelings of insecurity in doing fieldwork. I highly appreciate his hospitality and inspiring knowledge of community building for development. Also, I would like to thank all of my respondents for trusting me to share their open-hearted stories with me. The conversations with my respondents made doing research fun and have enriched me and of course the research in itself. Without them I wouldn't be able to write this thesis. Furthermore I want to thank my friends and fellow students Sanne and Yvette for their encouragement and talent to put things in perspective. Thank you for the fun moments during our joint study-meetings in the library and the coffee/tea breaks. Last but not least I also like to thank my boyfriend and parents for their trust, patience and support in the last two years of my life as a student.

All of the abovementioned persons have helped me to write my thesis and to complete my student-career. Although the process wasn't without any obstacles, it became a valuable experience to me due to the respondents I've interviewed, the internship at CCoLA and the support of my supervisor, family and friends. I hope that my research meets their expectations, and for you as a reader: enjoy reading!

# Summary

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The idea of citizenship as a collective, national identity has become the norm in Europe (Tambini, 2001). However, the importance of a nation-state and the loyalty that comes with citizenship is challenged when we think about the possibilities for international communication with relatives, friends and/or colleagues who live abroad; the relative ease to cross borders; or the debates about problems like terrorism and global warming that do not abide to national borders. Citizens are confronted with news and events abroad. So people, and especially migrants can feel engaged to more societies than the one they take up residence (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). This way, the idea of a fixed national identity is undermined.

Processes like transnationalism and globalization have increased the diversity of global migration. Immigrants are sometimes perceived to be *transmigrants* which implies that they are rooted in their country of destination while still maintaining strong connections within the country of origin and possibly other places in the world. The fear of a lack of social cohesion is mostly seen in the light of the transnationalization of migration, and as such (trans)migrants are seen as a threat to the shared identity of a recipient country. The approach that a strong national identity can be a solution to integration-problems has become generally accepted in Dutch migration policies. So in the Netherlands the meaning of national citizenship is strengthened, by which the moral duty of belonging to the nation-state is emphasized. But as is explored by Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) it is hard for migrants to develop such emotional bonds with the national scale. As it is perceived that migrants maintain engaged to their country of origin, also the transnational social field is of importance for people's self-identification. Not only the emergence of transnational identification has been of increased interest in geographical research; also the local scale plays an important role in migrants feeling of belonging (Penninx, Spencer & Van Haer, 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008). A majority of immigrants lives in cities or in small towns and according to Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011), it should be easier for immigrants to identify with the city one lives in, than with the country one inhabits or has inhabited. Therefore to be able to analyze migrants attitudes with regard to national citizenship, the transnational and the local level should be included, while all these levels are related to each other (Penninx et al., 2008).

This research focuses on first and second generation migrants who live in the city of Leiden and asks how they create feelings of belonging towards their (parents) country of origin, the Netherlands and Leiden. This is especially relevant when discussing the idea that second generation migrants are perceived to build up their lives in the Netherlands and as such they are

considered citizens loyal to the Netherlands only. Out of the literature it can be concluded that the degree of engagement with the country of origin and the country of residence is different for first and second generation migrants (Levitt, 2009). Therefore the aim of this thesis is to *gain understanding how first and second generation migrants maneuver between multiple identifications*. Two frameworks are central in this thesis: 1) the loyalty to different nation-states; the relation between a transnational and a national collective identity is discussed; 2) the relation between identification with Leiden and with the Netherlands. So the identification with the respondents' (parents) country of birth, the Netherlands and Leiden are explored, to be able to see how feelings of belonging of first and second generation migrants differ from or bear resemblance to each other.

Some key differences are found between the different generations and it seems that in general the degree of engagement with Leiden, the Netherlands or the (parents) country of origin is influenced by two things, namely 1) having, or not having negative experiences with discrimination or exclusion; and 2) keeping, or not keeping in touch with relatives that live abroad. Next to these differences also similarities are found in first and second generation migrants' experiences of a local, national and transnational identification. Generally both first and second generation respondents feel engaged with their (parents) country of birth and balance between their African culture and Dutch culture when thinking about their identification towards their (parents) country of birth, the Netherlands and Leiden. I can distinguish three balancing strategies: 1) either creating a hierarchy between feelings of belonging towards Leiden, the Netherlands or the (parents) country of birth, and choosing one identification above the other; 2) or perceiving an identification with Leiden, the Netherlands and the (parents) country of origin not as three different ways of identification, but as a three-in-one situation. Those respondents feel as much Leidenaar, Dutch and Congolese for example, and they do not distinguish a certain hierarchy; 3) or a hybrid identity is constructed in which no strong attachments are experienced to different countries and places that the respondents have lived in. As such those respondents come closest to the definition of a transmigrant, who is perceived to be more place-less than non-transmigrants. Although none of the second generation respondents seems to choose for the third balancing-strategy, still the identification towards the country of origin, the Netherlands and Leiden varies between the generations, as well as within the two. All respondents stress the interrelationships between those three forms of identification and as such it is important to take into account the local and transnational identification when trying to explore national identification and citizenship.

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# 1 Introduction

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Migration is a phenomenon of all times; people have always been on the move looking for new life opportunities. From the 1980s onwards migration took a global character (Castles and Miller, 2009). New and cheaper transport and communication technologies lead to opportunities to move and opportunities to keep in touch with family, friends, colleagues or acquaintances abroad. Hereby *globalization* is popularly described as the ‘the shrinking of the world’; it is a process of accelerating and intensifying global integration which influences the social, cultural, political and economic systems of the world (Castles & Miller, 2009). Due to globalization, mobility has become much easier and all regions in the world are involved in migration processes (Castles and Miller, 2009). Although the migration of people is far from being a new phenomenon, in the last ten years *transnationalism* became a prominent research lens through which to view the aftermath of international migration (Faist, 2010). The transnationalization of migration has led to an increased amount and greater diversity of global migration. According to Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton-Blanc (1994, p. 6) transnationalism is “a process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multistranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders”. A transmigrant could thus be seen as somehow ‘deterritorialized’ and works through multiple social spaces and places. Transmigrants are “(im)migrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995, p. 48). This implies that transmigrants are rooted in their country of destination while still maintaining strong connections within the home country and possibly other places in the world. As such, transnationalism and globalization with its reality of migration challenges the way most recipient countries perceive the meaning of citizenship and national feelings of belonging for their citizens.

Additional to the idea of increased mobility for people in the “age of migration” (Castles & Miller, 2009), a migration-security nexus seems to be in play, which deems migration and migrants a threat to the safety and stability of countries of destination and origin (De Haas, 2006). The social cohesion of a country would be disturbed by the mere presence of migrants, resulting in ‘threatening’ spaces of in-between cultures and other hybridization-effects (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001, p. 130). This leads recipient countries to seek for measures to stem and regulate migration. Globalization thus entails that mobility, and to economic

integration related international flows, render state-borders meaningless while other borders are multiplied by e.g. the strive for strengthening national identities, citizenship and separation (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p. 200). As such, globalization can be linked to a trend of “othering” in which increased mobility leads to a desire for immobility of certain groups in some countries of destination (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001). A liberal paradox is thus at momentum while societies constituted as nation-states are opening themselves up to an economically driven world society, but simultaneously there is a desire of a renewed closure of this global society as well (Garapich, 2008). Especially the meaning of citizenship and national feelings of belonging are challenged by processes of transnationalism and globalization with its reality of migration.

Also in the Netherlands, mostly seen as a recipient country in migration studies, there is a discussion about citizenship and migrant identities. Dutch government has created a focus on striving for a national community through integration and acquirement of Dutch citizenship (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2011). But according to the current trend of transnationalization of migration, this longing for a national community comes under pressure. Since migrants depend on multiple border-crossing relations, “...their lives cannot be understood strictly within the borders of the receiving society” (Sommerville, 2008, p. 23). However, the lives of second generation migrants (immigrant children) could be less directly tied to a homeland, which creates questions about the (trans)national engagement of second generation young adults. “Migration experiences are very different from one generation to another and often exacerbate generational differences” (Attias-Donfut, Cook, Hoffman & Waite, 2012, p. 6). Thus transnational and national ties and activities can be experienced differently by migrants and their children. According to Lee (2011, p. 296) the second generation expresses that they are “unwilling to maintain their parents’ level of commitment to supporting the homeland”. Next to this unwillingness, the second generation could also lack a certain engagement to people and places in their parents country of birth (Alba and Nee, 2003 as cited in Rusinovic, 2008). On the other hand the assumption exists of a decreasing engagement of the second generation in the country they live in. There is a fear that second generation migrants will refuse to adapt to the recipient country, in this case the Netherlands (Geschiere, 2009, p. 130). No adaption or assimilation is perceived as a decrease in social cohesion in Dutch society and also a lack of feeling at home in the Netherlands (Geschiere, 2009). For example the recent discussion about migrant youth who go to Syria to join organizations like IS, mirrors the fear that second generation migrants could feel less engaged with the Netherlands. This is seen as threatening while the second generation is perceived a symbol of the future of integration of migrant communities and it is assumed that they should unequivocally choose to be loyal to the Dutch society they grow up in. However, also first generation migrants may exhibit multiple connections or affinities, and these may also be to other socio-cultural domains, and not only that of state citizenships. The role of local citizenship

is therefore gaining more interest in the political and scientific field (see: Van Leeuwen, 2008; Singer, 2012; Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011). A majority of immigrants lives in cities or in small towns and according to Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011), it should be easier for immigrants to identify with the city one lives in, than with the country one inhabits or has inhabited. This is repeated by other researchers who state that the urban population is understood as “...not ethnically or culturally homogeneous, which means it does not display continually recurring signs or symbols that give us something to go by” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 159). This local identification could provide an alternative for (especially second generation) immigrants, for their lack of interest in identifying with the Netherlands or the (parents) country of origin, or the lack of possibilities to do so.

It is generally understood that migrants have multiple identifications with different places on account of their “migratory journeys from a source to a destination area, the likely network of social, symbolic and material ties retained to their homelands, and the newer sets of social relations formed in a current place of residence” (Attias-Donfut et al., 2012, p. 56). Therefore, it is important to be able to understand the significance of territory when dealing with a concept like belonging or citizenship. In this thesis I would like to find out if Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) are right when stating that the identification to a city is stronger than the identification towards the Netherlands. I use Leiden as the city of reference, while also smaller cities are coping with increased immigration and integration issues. Next to the comparison between a local and a national identification I engage in the comparison between a transnational and a national identification for both first and second generation migrants. This is of my interest as it is assumed that first and second generation migrants experience a different degree of engagement towards their country of residence and their (parents) country of origin (Levitt, 2009). The impact of migration on the local, national and transnational identity construction of first and second generation migrants is therefore the core theme running throughout the thesis. As such the continue shifting meaning of the concept of citizenship, belonging and identity through processes of transnationalism and globalization can be examined.

## **1.1 MULTIPLE IDENTIFICATIONS**

It is clear that identity is not easy to define, identity is not a given fact, instead we should think of identity “...as a production which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside representation” (Hall, 1990, p. 222). In general the following three forms of identity are recognized: personal identity, social identity and collective identity (Snow, 2001). Personal identities are “...meanings attributed to oneself by the actor; they are self-designations and self-attributions regarded as personally distinctive” (Snow, 2001, p. 2). In contradiction to personal identities, social identities are formed or imputed by others, to situate others in social

space. "They are grounded typically in established social roles, such as "teacher" and "mother", or in broader and more inclusive social categories, such as gender categories or ethnic and national categories..." (Snow, 2001, p. 2). With a collective identity the "shared perception of belonging to a specific social group" is meant (Pries & Pauls, 2013, p. 22). Next to this feeling of 'we-ness' collective identities also relate to a sense of collective agency: "The shared perceptions and feelings of a common cause, threat or fate that constitute the shared "sense of we" motivate people to act together in the name of, or for the sake of, the interests of the collectivity" (Snow, 2001, p. 3). These three different forms of identity should not be understood as distinctive entities, they can compete against each other or peacefully overlap and sometimes there could be a form of hierarchy of identities (Pries and Pauls, 2013; Edensor, 2002). Important to understand is that identifying oneself as a member of a certain community, doesn't imply that you also identify with that community. Being born in the Netherlands and thus having Dutch citizenship, doesn't mean that someone has to identify with that Dutch identity as is expected by Geschiere (2009) when he thinks of second generation migrants who live in the Netherlands.

While identity is a concept which is often thought of as something that a person has – referring to a static, unchangeable concept – I prefer to use the concept of identity construction or identification. In this research personal, social and collective identifications will be appreciated as developing at the same time and I will not focus on one identity alone. Of course the personal identification of the respondents is spoken of the most, while I ask the first and second generation migrants about their self-perception in relation to different spaces. But as Edensor (2002) states: personal and social identities "...should be conceived as utterly entangled, for individual identity depends on thinking with social tools and acting in social ways whether reflexively or unreflexively" (p. 24). For the same matter identification is simultaneously a personal and a collective act. By emphasizing a local, national and transnational identity construction as a form of collective identification, we must keep in mind the impact of personal identities. Identifying with a city or a nation (of residence or of origin) means creating ties to a "...metaphorical space in which people locate their personal histories and thereby their identities (Eriksen, 2002, as cited in Christou, 2006, p. 44).

Identifications are always being reconstructed in a process of becoming, by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial contexts (Edensor, 2002, p. 29). By addressing the different spatial levels of Leiden, the Netherlands and the country of origin, I hope to create clarity about the multiple collective identities of first and second generation migrants in the Netherlands and how they are experienced individually. Two questions develop out of these discussions about place and identification: 1) do increased transnational ties have any influence on feeling less at home in the Netherlands and in what way is nationality important for the migrants involved in this research?; and 2) how does a city create the opportunity for its citizens

to belong, in contrast to a nation as is expected by Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011)? Answers on such questions can create understanding about migrants' identities, which can contribute to already existing policy on engaging immigrants in Dutch society. In this thesis the relationship between two nations – namely the country of residence and the country of origin – is reflected upon as well as the relationship between the city one lives in and the nation one lives in for the identification for both first and second generation migrants. By analyzing these two frameworks I add to the abovementioned discussions about the changing meaning of citizenship and belonging for different generations of migrants.

## **1.2 SOCIAL RELEVANCE**

For nation states integration issues are high on the agenda in a world of globalization and greater mobility. Most European states reacted on mass irregular migration by restricting immigration policies and intensifying border controls out of a public fear of 'the other' (De Haas, 2008, p. 5). If migrants are perceived as both rooted into their country of destination and loyal to their country of origin, I doubt if the longing for a single Dutch community with the same culture, norms and values, as presented in Dutch migration and integration policy (Integration note, 2011), is feasible in today's globalizing world. Migrants (either belonging to first, second or even third generation) are betwixt and between more cultures than the one that is represented in the nation-state they live in. Within a time of increased mobility, international collaborations and an interest in transnational identities of migrants, I think that it's necessary to think beyond the creation of a national community with the same norms and values. This is especially the case for second generation migrants who are assumed to be more place-less than their parents (Lee, 2011; Geschiere, 2009; Levitt, 2009). More understanding about the role of spatial contexts on the formation of collective identities for both first and second generation migrants can give insights in the possible differences and similarities between the two generations, which could be of help for Dutch policymakers and for transnational communities (TNC) in developing their policies. It is important for policymakers to be aware of this difference in scale and to be able to move beyond a taken for granted identities-borders-orders model (IBO-model) in which a nation assumes that its people disseminates one collective cultural identity (Vertovec, 2011). While the transnational, national and local spatial level are all of influence on migrants sense of belonging, more information about these levels can increase understanding about the feasibility of Dutch integration policy.

*"Migration policy is still deeply attached to the national state level, despite growing initiatives by local governments to address the social and economic challenges that arise from immigration and integration"* (Juzwiak, McGregor & Siegel, 2014, p. 1).

I cite this quote while it has become increasingly accepted that the majority of immigrants, particularly in Europe, are living in cities and small towns in rural areas (Penninx, Spencer & Van Haer, 2008). Therefore it is becoming more important to increase awareness about local policy on integration issues. In contrast to national "standardized" policies, local governments have the capacity to match its policies to their communities' needs. This argument is supported by Juzwiak et al. (2014) as they state that "Local governments are also the providers of many services that directly affect the integration of migrants and therefore have a great capacity to ensure social cohesion" (p. 1). Penninx et al. (2008) add that although some of the structures for migrant integration are developed at higher ends (national, regional or international), integration still happens at the local level. The local integration of migrants has been especially addressed in global cities, in which migrants are seen as an addition to the labor market (Juzwiak et al., 2014). I don't deny the importance of studies on migrant communities in global cities, but not only global cities or bigger cities like Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague (to stay in Dutch geography) are dealing with increased immigration and integration issues. Also smaller cities and villages are coping with higher diversity which gets apparent through a variety of restaurants, community centres, international products on markets, the building of mosques and different externalities and languages of people walking down the street. Therefore I like to add more information about local citizenship, by studying a small city instead of a global or big city namely the city of Leiden. Leiden is especially interesting given its historical associations with international processes; Leiden is known for its diverse population throughout history. Leiden is one of the oldest cities of the Netherlands and was the biggest industrial town of the country until the end of the Second World War. Especially the textile industry was big in Leiden which had its peak in the 15th and 16th century. During the Spanish Siege around 1600, half of the population of Leiden consisted of foreigners. Most of them came from Germany, Belgium, France, and England, and also a lot of people from the South of the Netherlands came to live in Leiden because of the religious conflicts. At that time the local government encouraged the refugees to come to the Netherlands and even created ideal financial situations for the migrants to attract them even more.<sup>1</sup> Another point in history that reflects the diversity of Leiden is the international allure of the University of Leiden in 1900. A lot of foreign and famous

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<sup>1</sup> Data found on the following web addresses: <http://leiden-info.com/over-de-stad/geschiedenis-leiden-tot-1800/> and <http://leiden-info.com/over-de-stad/geschiedenis-leiden-na-1800/> and <http://www.thijsvaniersel.nl/animaties/migratiegeschiedenis-leiden/>

scientist came to visit or work at the university; for example Albert Einstein gave courses till 1933. In the 1950's Dutch cities, and also Leiden knew an increase in foreign guest workers. Most of those guest workers stayed in Leiden after they lost or quit their job and they brought their families to Leiden. As a consequence the migrant population of Leiden grew significantly in those years. Right now, or to cling onto the statistics, on the first of January 2014, Leiden comprises of 121.216 citizens of whom 35.136 citizens have a foreign background (14% of western origin and 15% of non-western origin). According to speculations of the municipality of Leiden, the development of an increase in immigrant citizens towards native citizens will proceed. "In 2030 almost 31% of the Leidenaren is of foreign origin: 17% is of non-Western origin and 14% is of Western origin" (Gemeente Leiden, 2012, p. 11).<sup>2</sup> But next to immigration also emigration is apparent in Leiden which makes it a 'come and go' of people, which has always been the case according to the history of Leiden. Nowadays Leiden has a migrant community that encompasses 207 different nationalities<sup>3</sup> and the local government orients on integrating and emancipating all of its citizens into the city. There is no local policy that is exclusively directed towards the migrant community in Leiden, but in 2012 the local government of Leiden has presented a paper "*Living in Leiden, the power of people*". In this policy paper the vision of the city of Leiden till 2025 is presented, in which the words 'participation' and 'active citizenship' are highlighted as mechanism for integration and emancipation of its citizens. As will become clear in the next chapter, this vision is strongly influenced by national integration policy which presents integration as an individual responsibility.

### 1.3 SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

As a reaction to globalization processes and an increase in mobility of people, the Netherlands has a restrictive approach towards immigration. To be able to be 'at home' in the Netherlands immigrants need to become a Dutch citizen (Integration Note, 2011). Citizenship is generally understood as a state regulated mechanism of in and exclusion playing an important role as instrument in the (inter)national management of populations (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). In the case of the Netherlands a distinction can be made between formal citizenship and moral citizenship. Formal citizenship relates to the "... juridical status as membership of a juridicopolitical order (a nation-state), which entails civic, political, social and cultural rights and duties" (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 697). Moral citizenship is a normative concept which deals with ideas on how to be a "good citizen" (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 698). This entails the engagement of migrants in assimilating to Dutch norms, values and traditions. In the

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<sup>2</sup> Original quote: "In 2030 is bijna 31% van de Leidenaren van buitenlandse herkomst: 17% is van niet-westerse herkomst en 14% is van westerse afkomst" (Gemeente Leiden, 2012, p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Data found in the Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie (GBA) of Leiden.

Netherlands it is thus assumed that migrants need to earn their citizenship (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). This is translated as being an active citizen, which implies that migrants are held responsible for their participation in society. Hence, it can be the case that someone is in possession of formal citizenship, but is approached as someone who is no proper citizen at all. This is possible if it turns out that this migrant lacks in 'integration' in some way (e.g. lacking language skills, cultural knowledge or insight in Dutch law). Having formal citizenship is thus not enough to define someone as member of the Dutch society. 'Full citizenship' in the Netherlands is dependent on the extent of active participation of the individual to assimilate to Dutch society. "The acceptance of immigrants into the local community by native-born residents thus unfolds on the ground as an individualized and individuating process through which an immigrant becomes a citizen-like subject in the eyes of local members of the national majority" (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 736). According to Schinkel & Van Houdt (2010) this idea of individual responsibility can be understood as a form of neo-liberalism, which works through a double helix together with the assimilation of migrants. In this double helix the loyalty to 'Dutch society' and its values and norms comes together with an emphasis on individual responsibility and participation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 710). As such we can see that citizenship and belonging are increasingly linked to each other. "Current debates around borders, security and social cohesion have reinforced the importance of engaging critically with the notion of belonging and its centrality to people's lives as well as political practice" (Anthias in Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran & Vieten, 2006). This landscape of securitization brings the relationship between citizenship and belonging sharply into focus.

Within migration studies and that of transnationalism, generational research is still a neglected issue (Lee, 2011; Sommerville, 2009). As is stated there is the assumption that first, second and maybe even third generation migrants have a different level of intensity in engaging with a transnational, national and/or a local feeling of belonging. According to Penninx et al. (2008) those three spatial contexts are mostly studied apart, but to enhance our understanding of migrants' identities and of discussions in broader migration and integration debates this fragmentation should be overcome. There is not much interest yet in the way the second generation construct their identity and how those are created as a consequence of connections with different territorial contexts. Therefore I will include perceptions about transnational, national and local collective identity constructions of first and second generation migrants as the focal points of this research. As such the different loyalties that arise and ideas about identity and citizenship of first and second generation migrants as an outcome of their ties to different spaces will be clarified, instead of the integration-level of migrants which has been the focus in a lot of migration studies (Mazzucato, 2004). "The increasing number and percentage of people moving from one country or cultural space to another poses a challenge to their individual



identity building as well as to collective identity formation in their countries of origin and arrival” (Pries, 2013, 26). Looking at the relationship between different identities, and the meaning people give to them, the discussion about overlapping or clashing identifications can be demonstrated.

## **1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND QUESTIONS**

In this research I explore migrants’ perception of multiple collective identities to enhance understanding about the stated assumptions that second generation migrants will feel less engaged towards both the Netherlands and their parents’ country of origin. Simultaneously, I investigate how those identity constructions could be overshadowed by a local self-identification, to be able to test the assumption of Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) who state that the degree of identification towards the Netherlands can enhance or decrease the feeling of belonging towards the place of residence. To be able to see if even first generation migrants feel engaged towards these geographical spaces, I will include migrants from the first and the second generation. As such comparisons can be made between their perceptions and attitudes towards different ways of identification. The central aim of this research is therefore to *gain understanding how first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden manoeuvre between multiple identities*. To achieve the research objective of this thesis I will answer the following research question:

***How do first and second generation migrants construct a local, national and transnational identity?***

The following sub-questions will help to gain a full answer on the main question:

1. How do first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden describe and experience their transnational ties with their (parents) country of origin?
2. What feelings of belonging do first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden experience as they think about their identification with the Netherlands?
3. What feelings of belonging do first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden experience as they think about their identification with Leiden?

By answering these three sub-questions I can identify how migrants define the local, national and international context for themselves and how they do or do not identify with it. It will also

show their attitude towards different ways of individual identification and make clear how they create a feeling of belonging. Those questions will be answered by interviewing the target group.

4. What are the implications of multiple identities of first and second generation migrants for the neo-nationalistic approach apparent in Dutch integration policy?
5. What are the implications of the comparisons and differences between the identifications of first and second generation migrants with their place of residence, country of residence and (parents) country of birth, for the generational debate?

Answering the fourth sub-question increases our understanding about the relations between the three forms of identity and what that means for the discussion about citizenship in the Netherlands. This is interesting while Dutch policy is longing for a single identity for all its citizens. Is this wish relevant in a time of transnationalization of migration? This answer can be found by answering this sub-question. An answer to the fifth sub-question adds to the not yet much explored field of generational research and can test the above mentioned expectations of a different experience of engagement in a transnational, national and local social field for first and second generation migrants.

## **READING INSTRUCTIONS**

Following up on this introduction, I briefly outline the structure of my thesis by introducing the topics of the different chapters. First of all I will dive into the debates about Dutch citizenship in relation to local and transnational citizenship in the second chapter. Firstly, the historical developments that lead to our current idea of state-citizenship will come to the fore. After this evaluation, the impact of globalization processes on the general definition of citizenship is elaborated on in which both the processes of deterritorialization as reterritorialization help to enhance our understanding about the changing meaning of citizenship. In the next section I deeply engage in the concept of Dutch citizenship to show how it developed over time. In addition to a focus on Dutch citizenship, the upscaling and downscaling of citizenship is dealt with in this theoretical chapter. The transnational and local identification of migrants comes to the fore, after which I open the discussion about generation. After explaining these concepts and discussions that form the framework for the research, the third chapter will shift to the methodology of the thesis including an introduction to my informants. The methods that are used in this research are presented, as well as a reflection on the process of conducting the research. The first analysis of the gained data are presented in the fourth chapter and contributes to the discussion about the impact of transnational ties and practices on the degree

of loyalty of first and second generation migrants towards the Netherlands. Is there any relationship between increased transnational identifications and a diminishing identification towards the Netherlands or the other way around? And do first and second generation migrants experience their transnational identification differently? Are there differences or similarities in their experiences and senses of belonging? Those questions will be touched upon in the fourth chapter. After dealing with the upscaling of citizenship, the fifth chapter presents the downscaling of citizenship and deals with the perceptions of first and second generation migrants about their connection with the city of Leiden. The importance of the city for their identity making is explored and is also put in perspective by asking if they feel more engaged with Leiden than with the Netherlands. After the presentation of these findings a conclusion can be found in chapter six, which will give answers on my research questions and fulfils my aim: gaining understanding how first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden manoeuvre between multiple identities.

## 2 The changing meaning of citizenship

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### *Identity construction and territorial frameworks*

*“The historical moment we call globalisation demonstrates that the calculable understanding of space has been extended to the globe, which means that even as the state becomes less the focus of attention territory remains of paramount importance” (Elden, 2005, p. 1-2).*

Cultural diversity has increased within borders and it seems that national borders lose their importance because of the expansion of physical and virtual mobility (Castles & Miller, 2009). In a world where it becomes increasingly easy to cross borders and in which problems like terrorism and global warming will not abide to national borders, the idea of a fixed national identity is undermined. In social sciences, political philosophy, and policy the question comes up how important the nation state and citizenship is in times of globalization processes (Schinkel, 2009). At the same time a reverse trend is apparent which is called renationalization or neo-nationalism (Pries, 2013; Tambini, 2001). Globalization processes can't neglect the central role of nation states when discussing concepts like integration and citizenship, e.g. for refugees borders are still tangible. As a reaction to the increasing mobility of people, citizenship has become a leading concept in integration policy in the Netherlands. The formal aspects of citizenship are pushed into the background and the moral dimension of citizenship is getting more questioned. While we speak of integration policy, the problem of *moral citizenship* reaches out to migrants (Schinkel, 2009, p. 48). Especially interesting is the way in which second generation migrants perceive this kind of citizenship, while it is argued that this group of *young adults* is less engaged towards the national identity than first generation migrants (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Before elaborating further on this generation-discussion I like to explain how the concept of national citizenship is formed and how it is influenced by processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. This will give an insight in how to understand the current idea of Dutch citizenship in Dutch policy and society.

### **2.1 NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP**

Citizenship can be understood as a state regulated mechanism of in and exclusion playing an important role as instrument in the (inter)national management of populations (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Citizenship can be explained in at least three ways. The first explanation of citizenship is that it is a legal status, defined by civil, political and social rights. With civil rights the right to property, protection and individual freedom is meant. Political rights relate to the

right to vote for citizens and to participate in public and political processes. "Here, the citizen is the legal person free to act according to the law and having the right to claim the law's protection" (Leydet, 2011, as cited in Wolthuis, 2012, p. 59). Social rights refer in this case to the right to education, healthcare and housing. The duties corresponding to citizens' rights are "the duty to serve in the armed forces in order to protect state sovereignty against exterior threats, the duty to pay taxes, to acknowledge the rights and liberties of other citizens, and to accept democratically legitimated decisions of majorities structure the internal sphere" (Faist, Pitkänen, Gerdes & Reisenauer, 2010, p.23). The second explanation of citizenship considers citizens specifically as political agents, actively participating in a society's political institutions. Following Leydet "It need not mean that the citizen takes part in the law's formulation, nor does it require that rights be uniform between citizens" (Leydet, 2011, as cited in Wolthuis, 2012, p. 59). The third way of understanding citizenship refers to citizenship as a "...membership in a political community that furnishes a distinct source of identity" (Leydet, 2011, as cited in Wolthuis, 2012, p. 59). This last explanation touches the debate of the increased moralization of citizenship and will be used in this research. The political dimension of citizenship and citizenship as a legal status will be of less importance.

According to Tambini (2001, p. 196) "the institutions of national citizenship first emerged as a compromise between historical forces and agents under conditions peculiar to modern Europe". In Europe the status of citizen has been given to individuals according to their ethnicity, or national identity. "This new national status gradually replaced kinship, town, guild or gender as the main determinant of access to resources, rights and to the institutions of political participation" (Tambini, 2001, p. 196). Only those who are defined as citizens get access to rights, obligations and practices of participation in a nation. But not only this bureaucratic features are related to the status of citizenship, also cultural, ethnic and linguistic characteristics together with myths and shared historical memories create the definition of national citizenship. Or as Smith (1991) puts it: a nation is a "named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (as cited in Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 42). Citizens are members of the national community, and following Smith's definition of a nation, citizens have somehow shared norms and values. Hence the concept of the nation and citizenship fall under the domain of identity and belonging. The idea of citizenship as a collective, national identity has become the norm in Europe and in the rest of the world. Tambini (2001) shows how different researchers interpreted the rise of this nationalistic approach to citizenship:

*“The process can be seen as the endogenous development of rights in a liberal attempt to contain class conflict (Marshall 1950); as the result of an interplay between state (military, legitimacy and economic) interests in social closure and pre-existing cultural idioms of belonging (Brubaker 1996); or as the result of state/ruling class strategies of governmentality or control (Foucault 1994; Mann 1996). Others stress the role of the struggles of social movements (Giddens 1996; Turner 1997); state-industrial interest in linguistic and cultural homogeneity (Gellner 1983), or forms of communication that permit the imagination of community on the national scale (Deutsch 1953;1 Anderson 1983)”* (Tambini, 2001, p. 196).

Taking these different theories together means that citizenship has developed as a solution for problems of and between states by creating a new form of legitimacy, loyalty and collective action. Next to this it offers a solution for established social powers and interests, while workers also expected to profit from the national welfare in some way (Colley, 1992, as cited in Tambini, 2001, p. 197).

The institutionalization of citizenship has also structured the discursive field. “The social sciences were captured by the apparent naturalness and givenness of a world divided into societies along the lines of nation-states” (Berlin, 1998, as cited in Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 304). Citizenship became “...the key structuring idea of modern industrial democracies” (Tambini, 2001, p. 197). But citizenship as well as other *nationalist concepts* like nation, ethnicity and culture, can’t be seen as the focal point for social sciences. Processes of globalization and the increasing mobility of capital and people are treated as threats to the vivacity of citizenship and national identities. Some researchers have shifted their attention from the nation-state to the global system as the proper unit of analysis (Faist, 2000; Levitt & Jaworski, 2007; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In the following section I will explain this shift in attention and touch upon the undermining of the viability of the nation-state and the nationalistic approach to citizenship.

## **2.2 DETERRITORIALIZATION VERSUS RETERRITORIALIZATION**

Popescu (2011, p. 69) explains that “deterritorialization and reterritorialization are spatial manifestations of contemporary changes occurring in the territorial organization of social life”. Deterritorialization and reterritorialization within geography refer to complex issues emerging from the confrontation between state borders and global flows. Two French social theorists, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, created these concepts and illustrated how the interaction between capitalism, power, and identity constantly defines and redefines social structures and processes (Popescu, 2011). Nowadays deterritorialization and reterritorialization are mostly

studied in the light of globalization. Globalization processes have “...loosened the bonds that tied economics, politics, and culture to fixed spatial configurations such as national territories” (Popescu, 2011, p. 70). Globalization flows, suggesting borderless mobility, are perceived as replacing the space of places of the nation-state, which entailed bounded territoriality. As Dijkink & Knippenberg (2001) explain, we can speak of a division between territory and authority: activities are less bound to one territory or to one national state. Multinationals don’t have to obey control of nations and some national competences are transmitted to the European commission or decentralized into local authorities (Dijkink & Knippenberg, 2001, p. 18). At the same time nations didn’t just fade away, and the world still consists of borders. Globalization flows have to engage with territorial states and their borders. For example internet sites can be blocked by national governments as is the case in North-Korea. According to Popescu (2011, p. 76-77) there is now an “...emergence of a new global architecture of territorial power with multiscalar and overlapping sovereignties that are shared between territorial states and nonstate structures wielding territorial power such as global cities, TNCs, supranational organizations, transnational social networks, and subnational regions”. So we should we should understand deterritorialization and reterritorialization as processes that unfold simultaneously. Some spaces can experience deterritorialization while others may experience reterritorialization, or the same space may experience both of these processes at the same time (Popescu, 2011, p. 73).

### **2.2.1 Deterritorialization and the transnationalization of migration**

The most noticeable early development underscoring the pressure on nations consists of an overall opening of borders. National borders still exist but they have become increasingly enterable to cross-border exchanges (Castles & Miller, 2009). Also cultural and social issues are increasingly playing out in the global arena, rather than within state borders (Castles & Miller, 2009). Migration flows and information technologies have created transnational networks of diasporic communities and have breathe new life into local and regional identities that are now enacted globally (Castles & Miller, 2009). People can communicate across borders with more ease today and in more direct and personal ways via a large variety of information technology mediums, including e-mail, mobile phone, video messengers, blogs, and sites like Facebook and YouTube (Popescu, 2011; Castles & Miller, 2009). Citizens are more than ever confronted with news and events abroad. NGO’s like Pink Ribbon or the recent ‘ice bucket challenge’ for ALS are able to influence the public debate and mobilize people transnationally. So people and especially migrants can be engaged in more societies than the one they take up residence (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Because of the increase in mobility and the increase in cross-border relations of people and – most important in this context – migrants, a ‘new’ trend developed in migration studies. In the last ten years *transnationalism* became a prominent research lens through which to view the aftermath of international migration (Faist, 2010). According to Basch et al. (1994, p. 6) transnationalism is “a process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multistranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders”. A *transmigrant* could thus be seen as somehow ‘deterritorialized’ and works through multiple social spaces and places. This implies that transmigrants are considered to have more than one geographical space to identify with and it could be argued that their perception of belonging becomes fragmented. It is believed that transmigrants have “messier relations to states” (Hyndman & Walton-Roberts, 2000, p. 245). As such processes of deterritorialization and transnationalization of migration pose a great challenge on nation-states longing for their citizens to feel part of a homogenous collective emanating the same national identity.

### 2.2.2 Reterritorialization and renationalization

Is this then the “end of geography” meaning that territoriality and borders will be of little influence on social life from now on? According to multiple authors the answer on this question is no (Popescu, 2011; Edensor, 2002; Schinkel, 2009). Geography is still there, nations didn’t just fade away, and the world still consists of borders. Feelings of fear and insecurity call for a protection of national sovereignty (Ghorashi, 2013). States use multiple instruments like the intensification of border controls and the enlargement of possibilities to deprive someone’s citizenship. As a reaction to the place-less feeling and hybridization-effects caused by globalization and increased mobility, people are also reaffirming the sovereignty of the nation-state which we can describe as a form of reterritorialization. For example a financial crisis can lead to protectionism. Hence the monitoring of and control on national borders and the national identity gets more weight than local or global identities (Ghorashi, 2013). “Crucially, the historical weight of national identity means that it is hard to shift as the pre-eminent source of belonging, able to draw into its orbit other points of identification whether regional, ethnic, gendered or class-based” (Edensor, 2002, p. 35).

Keeping the cultural or ethnic character of the nation-state is prominent in integration policy. The requirements for national citizenship are accentuated in the Netherlands (as well as in other Western European countries) and the identity dimension of citizenship is highlighted more in assimilation courses and naturalization procedures (Schinkel, 2009). As such nation states protect the borders of their political community (Benhabib, 2007). Dutch government has



presented the obligatory renunciation of the original nationality, to prevent migrants of having double loyalties. Dutch citizenship is increasingly related to feelings of belonging and loyalty. Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) speak of this as a *culturalization of citizenship*:

*“By the term ‘culturalization of citizenship’ we point to a process by which culture (emotions, feelings, cultural norms and values, and cultural symbols and traditions, including religion) has come to play a central role in the debate on social integration” ... “As feelings as such cannot be easily witnessed in strangers, some actions can be taken as symbols of such feelings; in the Netherlands, a double passport is such a symbol (of lack of loyalty to the Dutch culture)” (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011, p. 3).*

Forms of renationalization also appear in the guiding and maintaining of transnational identities. States like the Netherlands have showed their interest in so called *circular migration* in which the connection with expats and diaspora is recognized in offering an education for example (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2008). By giving diaspora certain rights, like the maintenance of double passports, and duties as paying taxes, national governments try to control transnational identities. So nations are important actors in stimulating transnational identities as well as protecting the national identity. It is precisely this tension between global flows and the continuing importance of national control that gives different forms of belonging such a powerful impact on, among other things recent developments in migration studies and policies (Geschiere, 2009, p. 22). I would like to show this in the next section in which the developments of deterritorialization and reterritorialization are reflected in the development of Dutch citizenship.

## **2.3 DUTCH CITIZENSHIP THROUGHOUT THE YEARS**

Since the 1960's the Netherlands is perceived an immigration country, while the amount of immigrants towards the Netherlands exceeds the amount of people leaving the Netherlands (Nicolaas, 2006, p. 33). Till 1980, Dutch government saw migrant guest-workers as temporary citizens, who would go back to their country of origin after a period of work in the Netherlands. Migration policy was therefore focused on retaining one's cultural identity, so it would be easier for migrants to return home (Ghorashi, 2013). But the expectation of the return of guest-workers appeared unrealistic and Dutch government shifted its attention to the integration of immigrants. A balance was created between the recognition of cultural differences and migrants' integration into Dutch society, therefore Dutch integration policy was called *minority policy* (Ghorashi, 2013, p. 42). The state held itself responsible to support minority groups and the

focus in policy was on emancipating minorities into society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 701). From 1990 onwards the Dutch minority policy changed into *integration policy* in which the differences between the 'traditional other' and 'emancipated us' became more dominant. Especially differences between European and Islamic cultures came in the spotlight of social debate, in which the fear was presented that the latter forms a threat to Dutch culture. According to Ghorashi (2013) the basic idea behind this fear is that the dominance of traditional views of migrant minorities, would threaten "Dutch attainments like the equality of men and women" (p. 43). Also the idea of double nationalities was presented as a problem in public as well as in political debate. "It was argued that not discarding the original nationality meant that migrants were not focused on Dutch society but focused on their own ethnic group and that this would block integration in Dutch society" (Fermin, 2009 as cited in Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 702). Instead of emancipating minorities, the concept of citizenship became the leading principle in integration policy (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). From 1998 migrants were obliged to follow a civic integration course to be able to stay in the Netherlands. Throughout the nineties the state stepped back and asked for more responsibility of citizens themselves in their integration process. The ability to cope for oneself in society dominated Dutch integration policy during this period.

From 2000 onwards Dutch policy and discourse took a so-called assimilationist turn (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Peeters, 2013; Duyvendak & Scholten, 2012). Not only was the formal inclusion in the state emphasized, also the moralization of citizenship got increased attention. Therefore a distinction can be made between *formal citizenship* and *moral citizenship* in the Netherlands. Formal citizenship relates to the "... juridical status as membership of a juridico-political order (a nation-state), which entails civic, political, social and cultural rights and duties" (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 697). Moral citizenship is a normative concept which deals with ideas on how to be a "good citizen" (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 698). This entails the engagement of migrants in assimilating to Dutch norms, values and traditions. In the Netherlands it is thus assumed that migrants need to earn their citizenship. This is stressed as being an *active citizen*, which implies that migrants are held responsible for their participation in, and assimilation to society (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010; Duyvendak & Scholten, 2012). Hence, it can be the case that someone is in possession of formal citizenship, but is approached as someone who is no proper citizen at all. This is possible if it turns out that this person lacks in 'integration' in some way (e.g. lacking language skills, cultural knowledge or insight in Dutch law). 'Full citizenship' in the Netherlands is thus dependent on the extent of active participation of the individual in assimilating to Dutch society or as Matejskova and Leitner (2011, p. 736) put it: "The acceptance of immigrants into the local community by native-born residents thus unfolds on the ground as an individualized and individuating process through which an

immigrant becomes a citizen-like subject in the eyes of local members of the national majority". According to Schinkel and Van Houdt (2010) this idea of individual responsibility can be understood as a form of neo-liberalism, which works through a double helix together with the assimilation of migrants. In this double helix the loyalty to Dutch society and its values and norms comes together with an emphasis on individual responsibility and participation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 710). The double helix of cultural assimilation points to the above mentioned *culturalization of citizenship* in the Netherlands. Logically, if the concept of citizenship is mostly related to notions of culture and norms and values, the question how Dutchness, or Dutch culture should be defined, comes up. In integration policy a Dutch citizen is presented as someone who is tolerant, respecting and willing to participate (Integration Note, 2011). Next to this, every citizen is expected to contribute to Dutch society by taking responsibility for their own livelihood and for society as a whole (Integration Note, 2011). Moral citizenship plays a more important role than formal citizenship in this context and it seems that the endeavor of immigrants to integrate is becoming a duty. As such integration is not seen as the responsibility of the public authorities, but rather as a responsibility of those who settle in the Netherlands. So formal citizenship – which can be attained through an extensive naturalization test – is regarded as only the beginning of becoming a Dutch citizen. "That is to say that their citizenship status is *virtualized*: instead of being an actuality, as status, it becomes a virtual possibility, a status yet to be attained" (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 706).

So a change occurred from cultural pluriform policies in the 1980's towards cultural homogeneous policies today. The approach that a strong national identity can be a solution to integration-problems has become generally accepted in Dutch migration policies. Being Dutch is linked to a community of people with shared norms, values and traditions, with the *loyalty* to the Netherlands only. But for migrants it is hard to develop such emotional bonds with the national scale: "the nation is an entity that has little meaning to them since they do not travel much in the country, their social and economic needs are fulfilled at other levels, and they experience little connection to national public debates" (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011, p. 5). Stressing the nation excludes migrants more than it includes them; on the one hand migrants are pushed to integrate and on the other hand they are constantly reminded that they are foreigners. As such, the nation becomes a 'political claim' instead of an 'imagined' community emanating the same beliefs, norms and values. Societies have become more than ever a mosaic of people with manifold cultural backgrounds (Ghorashi, 2012, p. 41). As such holding on to an exclusive idea of citizenship as is the case in Dutch integration policy, makes it hard to include all citizens concerned. The culturalization of the integration debate seems to enhance polarization and exclusion to Dutch citizenship (Ghorashi, 2012). This means that different forms of belonging and loyalty develop. The changing meaning of citizenship creates questions about the

importance of other territorial identities and ways of belonging (Fenster, 2005; Pries, 2013). In the next part of this chapter I will examine the identity construction of migrants in relation to Dutch citizenship and other territories. After an explanation of different forms of identity, two territorial frameworks will be presented in which migrants could sense a feeling of belonging. Those frameworks relate to: 1) the loyalty to different nation-states; the relation between a transnational and a national collective identity is discussed, and to 2) the identification with a local or urban space as a solution for the restrictive character of Dutch citizenship.

## **2.4 IDENTITY, TERRITORY AND BELONGING**

Before theorizing the territorial frameworks presented above (local, national and transnational identity construction), it must be clear what is meant by identity in this research. As is stressed in the introduction of this thesis the following three forms of identity are generally recognized: personal identity, social identity and collective identity (Snow, 2001). Personal identities are “...meanings attributed to oneself by the actor; they are self-designations and self-attributions regarded as personally distinctive” (Snow, 2001, p. 2). In contradiction to personal identities, social identities are formed or imputed by others, to situate others in social space. “They are grounded typically in established social roles, such as “teacher” and “mother”, or in broader and more inclusive social categories, such as gender categories or ethnic and national categories...” (Snow, 2001, p. 2). With a collective identity the “shared perception of belonging to a specific social group” is meant (Pries & Pauls, 2013, p. 22). Next to this feeling of ‘we-ness’ collective identities also relate to a sense of collective agency: “The shared perceptions and feelings of a common cause, threat or fate that constitute the shared “sense of we” motivate people to act together in the name of, or for the sake of, the interests of the collectivity” (Snow, 2001, p. 3). These three different forms of identity should not be understood as distinctive entities, they can compete against each other or peacefully overlap and sometimes there could be a form of hierarchy of identities (Pries and Pauls, 2013; Edensor, 2002). For example, I can identify myself with the local community of the village I live in, but the inhabitants of the village are able to deny that I’m one of them. The other way around, I can be identified with a certain group that I don’t (want to) identify myself with. So there are some limitations in the liberty to choose your own identity. Personal and social identities “...should be conceived as utterly entangled, for individual identity depends on thinking with social tools and acting in social ways whether reflexively or unreflexively” (Edensor, 2002, p. 24). For the same matter identification is simultaneously a personal and a collective act. By emphasizing the national identity as a collective identity we can’t neglect the impact of personal identities: “the nation is the metaphorical space in which people locate their personal histories and thereby their identities (Eriksen, 2002, as cited in

Christou, 2006, p. 44). Important to understand is that identifying yourself as a member of a certain community, doesn't imply that you also identify with that community. Being born in the Netherlands and thus having Dutch citizenship, doesn't mean that someone has to identify with Dutch identity. Sometimes there are expectations of a person's identity, and those expectations can lead to positive and negative stereotypes. For example, saying that you live in the Diamantbuurt in Amsterdam, can give negative reactions while this particular area has been labeled as a kind of ghetto (see: De Koning, 2012). Consequently you will also be related to the identity of the place, even if you don't identify yourself with it.

It is clear that identity is not easy to define, identity is not a given fact, instead we should think of identity "...as a production which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside representation" (Hall, 1990, p. 222). It is always being reconstructed in a process of becoming by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial contexts (Edensor, 2002, p. 29). Especially the spatial context of identity construction is of relevance in this research. As Pile (2002) suggests: "narratives of the self are inherently spatial; they are spatially constituted. That is, stories about the self are "produced" out of the spatialities that seemingly only provide that backdrop for those stories or selves" (as cited in Christou, 2006, p. 32). So geographic space could be seen as a marker of personal, social and especially of collective identification. This opinion is shared by Pries and Pauls' (2013) argument in which they interpret collective identity as "...a group of people born or living in a certain territory (such as Corsicans, Catalans or Americans), or of those who use a specific location as a meeting point or space of control (such as street gangs and neighborhood groups)" (p. 23). The role of place within collective identities also comes to the fore in Malkki's research about the "*rooting of peoples*" in which is stated that "people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness" (Malkki, 1992, p. 27). This becomes clear when thinking about the metaphors we use in our ordinary language that refer to the ties of people to territories. For example terms like 'motherland' and 'fatherland' suggest that a nation is genealogical tied to people like a genealogical tree, and evidently one can't be part of more than one genealogical tree. Consequently, the idea of loyalty to one nation state is fuelled in our daily language. Malkki (1992, p. 26) gives more examples of this by referring to the tradition in which bodies or ashes of persons who have died on foreign soil, are transported back to their 'homelands' or places of birth. These (language) traditions lead to a commonsense thinking about linking people, and especially migrants, to place or territories.

It is generally understood that migrants have multiple relationships to different places on account of their "migratory journeys from a source to a destination area, the likely network of social, symbolic and material ties retained to their homelands, and the newer sets of social relations formed in a current place of residence" (Attias-Donfut et al., 2012, p. 56). Migrants are

therefore commonly observed to experience simultaneous feelings of belonging to different places. While citizenship rights are core to a certain identity, feelings of belonging are critical to processes of identity construction for migrants. “They are about emotional attachment, feeling ‘at home’ and ‘secure’, but equally about being recognized and understood” (Attias-Donfut et al., 2012, p. 7) People can ‘belong’ in a variety of different ways and to many different objects of attachments (Yuval-Davis, 2006). So when talking about concepts as citizenship and identity, the concept of belonging can’t be neglected, it is a deep emotional need of people. Just like citizenship and identity, belonging is not a static concept. Migrants are likely to be creating complex practices that negotiate feelings and emotions of belonging to both homelands and host-countries. “Further, the instrumentalist impulse of policymakers’ current preoccupation with fostering a sense of belonging should not detract from the recognition that belonging is also of central importance to people’s sense of their own identities, their multi- positioned subjectivities and often to their very well-being” (Attias-Donfut et al., 2012, p. 61). So having multiple identities also implies that people can feel different levels of belonging. This is linked to Fenster’s (2005) suggestion that we pay attention to the different realms of belonging: 1) *senses* of belonging; 2) everyday *practices* of belonging and 3) formal *structures* of belonging. Senses of belonging can be understood as emotional attachments to a place or expressions about feeling African and feeling Dutch for example. Everyday practices of belonging refer to the impact of people’s daily life and people’s use of a city, nation or a transnational social field on their feelings of belonging. For example a daily walk in the neighborhood or daily phone calls with family abroad could increase someone’s feeling of belonging. With formal structures of belonging Fenster (2005) refers to the concept of citizenship and emphasizes that migrants can feel excluded from the city, the nation and/or the transnational social field that one identifies with. These three levels of belonging will be used in this research as a tool for analyzing the identification process of my respondents. By addressing migrants’ senses, everyday practices and formal structures of belonging in relation to different territories, I can demonstrate their perception of multiple identifications. The different territories that are at stake are the nation in relation to a transnational social field and the relationship between the nation and place of residence. In the following section I will dive into the multiple ways of identification with and belonging to those places.

#### **2.4.1 Territorial identification**

Processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization enforce us to differentiate different territorial identities. A person can identify oneself to different territorial spaces like a neighborhood, place of residence, country of residence, country of origin, a continent or even to the whole world. As already stated in the previous section those identities can clash or overlap

(Pries & Pauls, 2013). Multiple identifications imply that one part of people's identity is rooted in the culture in which they were born and raised, and another part is influenced by the new culture in which they live in (Van Meijl, 2008). Balancing multiple identifications is necessary to guarantee mental stability, when valuation of one identification is missing, a person can always fall back on another. People with multiple identifications can also function as bridge builders between cultures. This may increase the trust between groups, which ultimately can lead to peaceful coexistence. On the other hand there can also be tensions or conflicts between them because not all identifications are reconcilable (WRR, 2007).

The relations between different territorial identities can be differentiated in horizontal and vertical relations. Places that belong to the same scale, relate to each other in a horizontal way, for example experiences with different cities. Vertical relations between different territories are relations between territories that don't belong to the same scale. As such simultaneous identification with a transnational social field and with the neighborhood one lives in shows a vertical relationship between those different ways of identity construction. Throughout Dutch migration policy it has become apparent that there is an expectation that citizens put their national identity before all others. Loyalty to the state, should be more dominant than loyalty to any other territory. Transnational migration, globalization and glocalization undermine this expectation (Pries & Pauls, 2013). Globalization and its reality of migration challenges the way we think about feelings of belonging and has contributed to rethink the meaning of citizenship as well. According to Fenster (2005) thoughts about citizenship should be rescaled. There are two directions in which this change of scales could occur: "...either upscaling, such as EU citizenship which results in new forms of cosmopolitan citizenship and global democracy, or downscaling citizenship, which refers to shifts to subnational scales such as municipalities, neighbourhoods, regions, and districts, especially in global cities" (p. 218). This rescaling means that we can speak of a sense of intersectionality of different spatial scales working through peoples' identity. I agree with Valentine (2007) that: "The sense of self constantly emerges and unfolds in different spatial contexts and at different biographical moments" (p. 15). At one moment one could feel loyal to a national community, for example when following the Olympic Games. Another moment one can resemble oneself with the village or region one lives in and in some other construction a cosmopolitan, globalized identity is apparent when dealing with climate change for example. Also horizontal relationships between different national identities are interesting. In the Netherlands the possibility of having double nationalities is already declined because of possible competing rights and duties between the country of origin and the Netherlands ([www.rijksoverheid.nl](http://www.rijksoverheid.nl)). In this thesis I will use the idea of rescaling that Fenster uses for the concept of citizenship. I will use the rescaling model in analyzing identity construction. So upscaling of citizenship means the identification with a

transnational social field and the downscaling of citizenship refers to migrants identification towards the local scale, in this case the city will be used while migrant communities have mostly concentrated in cities and can recognize themselves in the urban 'superdiversity' (Crul, Schneider & Lelie., 2012). Using this model of re-scaling let us think about the transnational, national and local collective identification "as socio-geo-spaces placed one inside the other, similar to Russian *matryoshka* dolls or the layers of an onion" (Pries & Pauls, 2013, p. 29). I will also point to a relational understanding of space, while I agree with Pries and Pauls (2013, p. 29) that "collective identities are not necessarily built upon a coherent and contiguous geographical space, but may emerge *across* various geographical spatial containers". An example of this is the popularized term of *glocalization* that Robertson (1994) introduced in which global processes are implemented or treated locally.

### *Upscaling citizenship: transnational identification*

As mentioned, we live in an era in which a growing number of migrants can be seen as 'transmigrants'; this is the process of the transnationalization of migration, which is undeniably interlinked with the phenomenon of globalization. Even though the last phenomenon doesn't have a clear definition, it is popularly described as "the shrinking of the world"; it is a process of accelerating and intensifying global integration which influences the social, cultural, political and economic systems of the world (Castles & Miller, 2009). For transmigrants the technological developments produced by processes of globalization bring the advantage that it's easier to get into and stay in contact with other migrants and with non-migrants living in the home country, and to arrange financial transactions and maintain social-cultural connections (Faist, 2000). With the increase in contact, interconnections become stronger which "...is provoking a new experience of orientation and disorientation, new senses of placed and placeless identity' (Morley and Robins, 1995, as cited in Duyvendak, 2011, p. 7). A transnational identity lacks a clearly defined motherland or substantial socio-spatial point of reference (Pries, 2013, p. 31). As such transnational identification means that people identify themselves with others who do not live in the same place. "They are distributed geographically/spatially across different places or 'containers' where no part of this pluri-local network can be characterized as a clear centre of reference and defining power" (Pries, 2013, p. 31). Mostly the engagement in a Transnational Community (TNC) increases this transnational feeling of belonging while it mobilizes collective representations and symbolic ties. Migrants who identify with the transnational social field "...come from a nation-state, where they have lived for a relatively long time, returning periodically, and then investing part of their income in their village of origin, which they, or at least part of their family, do not plan to quit for good" (Bruneau, 2010, p. 43). This way of identification also points to the idea of a *diaspora identity*, but the difference is that with a



transnational identification no “uprooting from the territory and society of origin, nor trauma as in the case of diasporas” is included (Bruneau, 2010, p. 44). Transmigrants never actually leave their place of origin, thanks to the growth, regularity and safety of communications with which they retain family and community ties (Bruneau, 2010). Consequently by upscaling citizenship, or the identification process I mean identification beyond that of the nation.

### *Downscaling citizenship: local identification*

*“According to Anthony Giddens, globalization and the increasing pace and impersonality of post-modern life have led to a sense of rootlessness and meaninglessness. People lack a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose in their lives, which is leading to a search for a sense of identity and belonging in the private sphere of the home” (Clapham, 2005, as cited in Duyvendak, 2011, p. 10).*

Not only the emergence of transnational identity has been of increased interest in geographical research; also the local scale plays an important role in migrants feeling of belonging (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011; Van Leeuwen, 2008). Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) suggest that the identification towards the city a migrant lives in is much stronger than the identification towards a country. The urban population is understood as “...not ethnically or culturally homogeneous, which means it does not display continually recurring signs or symbols that give us something to go by. The magic of the metropolis is linked to the impossibility of complete predictability, calculability and familiarity” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 159). Especially such a disordered urban space offers the possibility to get in contact with others. A messy city, offers more cultural interaction while an imperfect design leads to questions and possibilities to encounter one another (Prof. Pijpers, personal communication, 25-11-2013). Or as Hannerz (1990) puts it: “This is the place where we can encounter unfamiliar things or practices without specifically looking for them” (p. 203). This is particularly comforting for migrants who do not feel like belonging to a homogenous group but are positioned betwixt and between multiple identifications (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Not only global cities are on the frontline of the integration of migrants, also smaller cities are becoming more and more diverse with “...regard to race and ethnicity, language, and religion” (Singer, 2012, p. 10). This local identification could provide an alternative for national identification and citizenship. But also identification towards the city has to do with processes of exclusion, which are expressed in discrimination, poverty and ghettos. “In such a constellation of meanings, cultural strangeness will evoke disgust and irritation, rather than amazement or joy” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 166). Fast population growth and the concentration of people with different cultural, social and religious backgrounds pose challenges

for local governments. “More specifically, local authorities must devise strategies to provide adequate housing and jobs, access to educational and welfare systems, among others, as well as how to address the reactions of local populations” (Alexander, 2012 as cited in Juzwiak et al., 2014, p. 4). Cities are increasingly recognizing migrants as active and productive members of society, who can also enhance the economic prosperity of the city. Many cities have initiatives that address the specific needs of immigrants (Roth, 2012, p.13). Also the city of Leiden focuses on the participation of immigrants in civil society. Leiden’s policy describes the following:

*“Every ‘Leidenaar’ (citizen of Leiden) participates. Everyone is working, at school or active in other domains. We stimulate citizens to develop their talents. People are capable of emancipating themselves and to better their social position. Not someone’s origin, but someone’s future counts” (Gemeente Leiden, 2012, p. 27).<sup>4</sup>*

By focusing on this initiative of the participation of migrants that live in Leiden, by letting them “emancipate themselves”, the local government shows its approval of the Dutch vision that integration is a responsibility of migrants themselves. So the idea of moral citizenship also comes in play in local policy. The idea that an urban identification is easier to claim than a national one – as discussed by Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) – should therefore not be searched for on a policy level, but on the personal level of immigrants themselves. Local and national policies on migration and integration do not differ that much in interpretation and as such the assumption of a stronger sense of belonging towards Leiden, is based on the experiences in this city apart from its policy. How this plays out for the different generations included in this thesis is explored in the next section.

## 2.5 FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

In Dutch migration policy, generation is used to show if a migrant is foreign born or native born. We mostly speak of first generation and second generation migrants, although third generation migrants are also getting more attention. In this research there will be a focus on the first and second generation migrants that live in Leiden. In general a first generation migrant is defined as being foreign born and has at least one parent that is also foreign born. A second generation migrant is a person born in the Netherlands who has at least one parent which is foreign born (definitions originate from [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)). But as clear as this concept is explained here, as vague

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<sup>4</sup> Original quote: “Iedere Leidenaar doet mee. Iedereen is aan het werk, op school of anders actief. Dit geeft mensen perspectief. We stimuleren inwoners om hun talenten te ontwikkelen. Mensen zijn in staat zich te emanciperen en hun maatschappelijke positie te verbeteren. Niet iemands afkomst, maar iemands toekomst telt” (Gemeente Leiden, 2012, p. 27)

is it when you ask migrants themselves what they perceive as 'their generation'. For example family generations are referred to: grandfather (first generation), father (second generation), son (third generation). Therefore instead of defining generation as the widely accepted distinction between people who are born abroad (first generation) and who are born in the Netherlands but have at least one foreign parent (second generation), I use *age* to define generation. This angle is chosen while I found it interesting that a lot of migrants who are categorized as belonging to a certain generation in migration policy, are actually very different as we think of generation as a genealogical concept. I doubt therefore if generation used in Dutch migration and integration policy is a right concept to organize certain policy measures. Namely, if someone is born abroad and moved as a baby to the Netherlands, he or she can have very different experiences with the Netherlands than his or her parents, who are just like the baby first generation migrants. The African migrant population in Leiden is very heterogeneous. The age difference between different first generation migrants is so big, that I found it interesting to see how African migrants in Leiden, with different ages perceive their territorial identification. First generation migrants and second generation migrants are groups with great heterogeneity; people migrate out of different places, out of different reasons and at different ages. In this research I want to explore if there are different interpretations of belonging and identity as a consequence of age and consequently the duration of stay in the Netherlands. Hence I use the terms first- and second generation migrants, but I don't use these concepts as explained in Dutch migration policy. As such first generation migrants refer to the age group of *adults* who are between 35 and 65 years old. In this research second generation migrants belong to the age group *young-adults* who are 18 to 35 years old and thus came to the Netherlands as children.

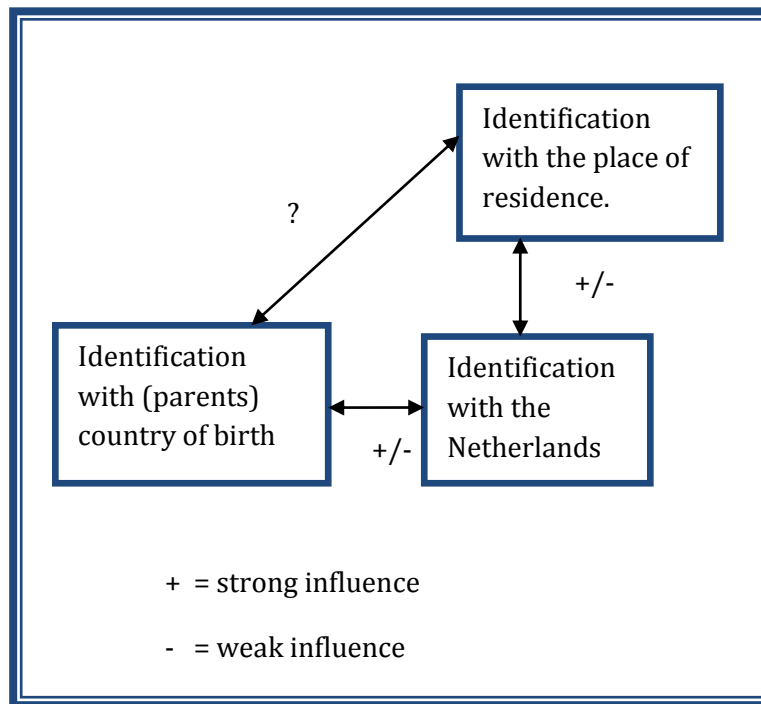
By studying the formation of collective identity of my definition of first and second generation migrants, still the same questions come in mind: how engaged are second generation migrants in forming a local, national and transnational collective identity? Following a transnational perspective, migrants feel 'at home' in both the country of origin and of residence and transnational ties and activities enable those transmigrants to combine being 'here' and 'there'. This hybridity is mostly understood as a threat to the social cohesion of a country, but what is actually happening to immigrant young adults? Is Geschiere (2009) correct when he stresses that the second generation isn't interested in integration and therefore endangering social cohesion? And is Lee (2011) correct when she poses that the second generation expresses that they are "unwilling to maintain their parents' level of commitment to supporting the homeland" (p. 296). It was normal to think that the immigrant youth would also assimilate into their (parents) country of birth, but this does not have to be the case (Quirke, Potter, Conway, 2009; Lee, 2011). So, where are second generation migrants positioned then, if they are believed not to relate to their parents country of birth or Dutch society? Is there no feeling of a

transnational collective identity or a national collective identity at all? Is the second generation floating between both international and national identities? And could the local context create an alternative in creating a sense of belonging? It is important to notice that we should not take for granted that first generation migrants feel related to their country of birth, or to Dutch society. Also the first generation may exhibit multiple connections or affinities to other domains than nation-states. With this thesis I like to contribute to such questions and create understanding about the complexity of migrant identity formation of first and second generation migrants, with the three different territorial scales: (parents) country of origin (transnational identification), the Netherlands (national identification) and Leiden (local identification).

## **2.6 CONCEPTUAL MODEL**

In sum, the previous chapter dealt with different debates and concepts. I hope that this chapter has made clear that identification of first and second generation migrants can be influenced by the places and spaces that they live in. Therefore, it is important to be able to understand the significance of different territories when dealing with concepts like citizenship and identity construction. First it is understood that the second generation has a different way of engagement with their (parents) country of birth. It is stressed that the second generation has less strong ties to those homelands and as a reaction to this their identification towards the Netherlands could be stronger. At the same time, the idea that having strong connections with the country of origin, which is expected to be the case for first generation migrants, the connection to the Netherlands could be weaker. So in this research it will become clear if the respondents have ties to their (parents) country of birth and how the degree of this connection has consequences for their identification with the Netherlands.

The next discussion that is at momentum is the idea that a weak feeling of belonging towards the Netherlands, means that first and second generation migrants use the city as a way to create a self-identity. The other way around it can thus be argued that having a strong connection with a Dutch identification, an urban identification is of less importance for those migrants concerned. In sum, two frameworks are at interest in this thesis: 1) the relationship between the degree of transnational belonging and the identification towards the Netherlands and 2) the relationship between identification towards the Leiden and the Netherlands. By thinking of those frameworks, it should also be kept in mind that the degree of belonging towards the (parents) country of origin can also have an influence on local identification construction and the other way around. Having these concepts in mind I illustrated a conceptual model in Figure 1 below, to illustrate the different relationships between the two frameworks of interest.



**Figure 1. Conceptual model**

# 3 Methodology

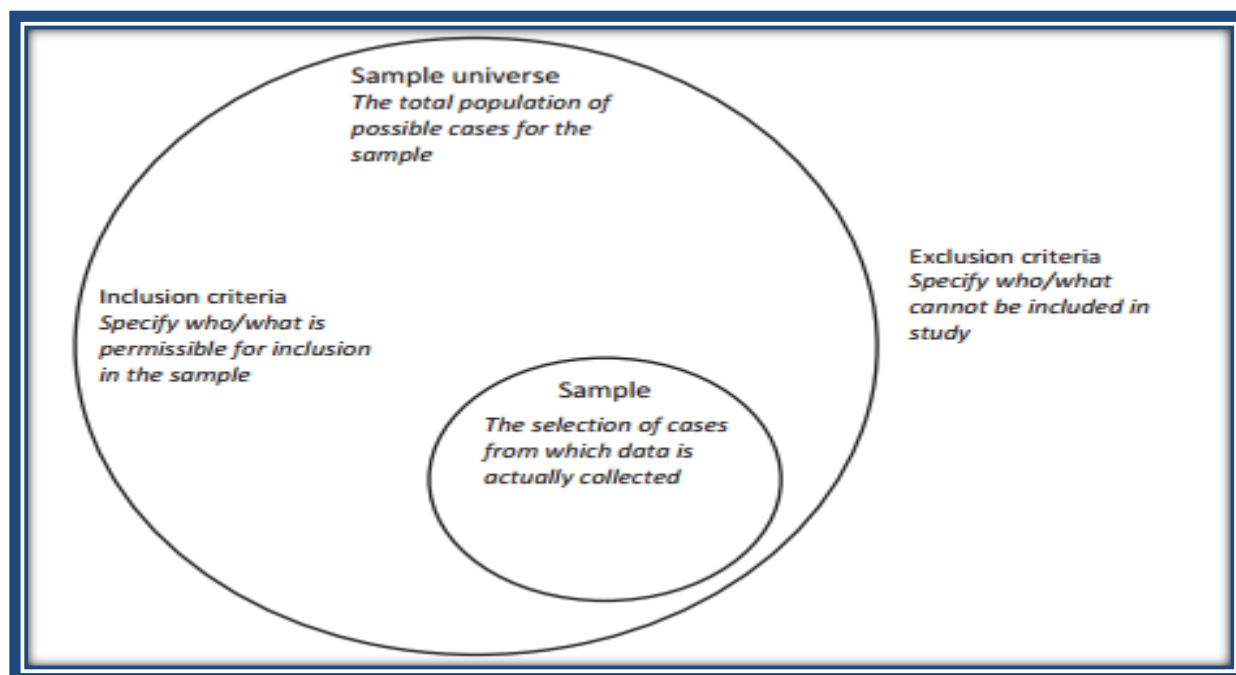
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Based on the theory and research questions presented in the previous chapter this research consists of two parts: a theoretical and empirical part. The focal point of the preceding theoretical part was showing that the commonsense thinking about identity formation of migrants in the Netherlands is mostly seen as loyalty to a nation-state (either the country of residence or the country of origin) (e.g. Schinkel 2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Ghorashi, 2013). But research shows that it becomes increasingly important to take also into account the transnational (e.g. Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; Penninx et al., 2008) as well as the local level (e.g. Singer, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 2008) when trying to get a grip on identification processes. To answer my research questions I take an *emic perspective* (Eriksen, 2010) in which I try to explore people's own interpretation of their multiple identification. The empirical part of the research will get attention in this chapter, which is approached as a qualitative study. Qualitative research methods enable me to study a phenomenon in natural settings, with real people (Boeije 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 253). Before elaborating on those methods the following part explains who are included in this research.

## 3.1 RESEARCH SAMPLE

A first step in defining the research sample is creating a *sample universe*. "This is the totality of persons from which cases may legitimately be sampled in an interview study" (Robinson, 2013, p. 25 – 26). To define the sample universe, criteria of inclusion or of exclusion must be specified. In my sample universe I have developed two criteria of inclusion based on geography. First, all participants have to live in Leiden to be of interest in this case study. Secondly, all the respondents must have roots in the African continent: either being born there, or having parents who are born in an African country. Most migrants in Leiden are of European origin, but as is stated in the introduction the amount of non-western migrants is bigger and remains bigger in the future. When it comes to integration and participation of migrants mostly non-western migration is seen as a problem in recipient societies. I choose to reflect on the citizenship of non-western migrants therefore and more specifically of that of African migrants while Leiden based first generation migrants with African roots vary greatly in age. Mostly migration from Africa to Europe is portrayed as an invasion in which "...desperate Africans fleeing poverty at home in search of the European 'El Dorado' crammed in long-worn ships barely staying afloat" (De Haas, 2008, p. 2). Forms of irregular migration from the African continent to Europe are increasingly addressed as a security problem. Therefore European governments increase border controls in

cities like Melilla and try to discourage Africans to migrate to Europe. Because a discourse of fear has developed, African migrants are victimized as desperate, unprepared, poor, 'boat migrants', illegally trying to escape from "African misery" (de Haas, 2008). But this profile is not correct. Most African migrants are well-educated and move via legal pathways (de Haas, 2008). I believe that negative stereotyping of Africans, which is apparent in most European countries, can influence the self-perception of African migrants and their children which can lead to feelings of exclusion on both a local as a national level. While Dutch government is willing to create one collective identity for all its citizens (see the preceding chapter), negative stereotyping and exclusion form a challenge for migrants to identify with this national identity. In this thesis I do not dive into experiences of discrimination or stereotyping, but I want to state the importance of showing the migration story of African migrants themselves. Together, the criteria of 'living in Leiden' and having 'African roots' draw a boundary around the sample universe, as is illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2. Sample universe as illustrated by Robinson (2013, p. 27).**

The sample in my sample universe is developed through *purposive sampling* and more specifically through *stratified sampling*. "The rationale for employing a purposive strategy is that the researcher assumes, based on their a-priori theoretical understanding of the topic being studied, that certain categories of individuals may have a unique, different or important perspective on the phenomenon in question and their presence in the sample should be ensured" (Robinson, 2013, p. 32). I developed a specific framework of variables during the preparation for the fieldwork, based on the available literature. In stratified sampling "...the

researcher first selects the particular categories or groups of cases that he/she considers should be purposively included in the final sample” (Robinson, 2013, p. 32). I want to understand the perceptions of first and second generation migrants towards multiple territorial identification, therefore *generation* is the main variable in this thesis.

Six first generation migrants and six second generation migrants are involved. Except for one respondent who is born in the Netherlands, all of the respondents were born abroad. Therefore instead of defining generation as the widely accepted distinction between people who are born abroad (first generation) and who are born in the Netherlands – but have at least one foreign parent (second generation) – I use *age* to define generation. Parents and children generally do not perceive themselves to belong to the same generation, as becomes clear when children refer to their parents as another generation. Therefore the heterogeneity of different generations could get more interest in the case of migrants with African origins. The first generation migrants with African origins in Leiden have an age ranging from nearly 1 year old to 100 years old.<sup>5</sup> As such I will look at generation at a different way. I include representatives of first generation Leiden-based African migrants who are defined as those who belong to the age group of *adults*. Adults in this research are people with an age between 35 and 65 years old. Second generation Leiden-based African migrants are defined as *young-adults* and have an age varying from 18 to 35. I make this distinction departing from the idea that the respondents migrated in a different time in their lives, namely as adults or as children/young adults. The first generation migrants in this research migrated to the Netherlands when they were adults already and, logically they had more years to think about their self-identity before their movement, than second generation migrants, who have migrated at a younger age. In general first generation respondents came to the Netherlands at an age ranging from 25 to 44 and are educated in their countries of origin. After their journey to the Netherlands they coped with finding a job and taking care of their children who migrated with them. The second generation migrants were children at the time when they came to the Netherlands, with an age ranging from 1 to 20, and moved to the Netherlands with their parents. They went to school or straight to university after they migrated, and experienced a transition from child to young adult in the Netherlands. This research shows the different life-spheres that first and second generation cope with after their migration experience, and I will investigate if these are of influence on their identification towards Leiden and the Netherlands, and towards their (parents) country of origin. A more detailed introduction to my respondents will follow in this chapter.

To be able to properly compare first and second generation African migrants living in Leiden and to obtain relevant data to answer my research question(s), I included the same number of first generation respondents and second generation respondents in the sample. My

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<sup>5</sup> Data gained at Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie Leiden (GBA).



sample consists of 12 participants, 6 belonging to the first generation and 6 belonging to the second generation. This number is chosen according to the idea of a saturation point:

*“While the number of participants you determine for your study is often influenced by issues of time, cost, and other practicalities, the most ideal approach is to continue recruiting participants until you feel that the interview data are no longer producing new thematic patterns. In other words, there’s a kind of saturation point” (Galletta & Williams, 2013, p. 33).*

Moreover, I have chosen eligible participants through a gatekeeper (my internship supervisor) who facilitated introductions with the great majority of my respondents and was very helpful in guiding me through Leiden, showing me places in the city where I could find possible respondents. Due to time restraints I relied on his personal social network and the wide social network that he created with his organization CCoLA. At this point it is also relevant to stress that the criteria that I have set for this research, were causing problems for me and my gatekeeper. As I wanted a ratio of 50% female and 50% male respondents, we were facing difficulties in finding suitable respondents for the study. This is the reason why the number of male first generation respondents is higher in comparison to female, and why the number of female second generation respondents is higher compared to male respondents. There is thus a gender bias in both the age groups and therefore this research will not focus on gender as a variable to clarify the identification towards the local, national and transnational social field.

### **3.1.1 Case study: Leiden**

My case study is located in Leiden a small city in the western part of the Netherlands. Due to time restraints this research can’t go into a comparison between different (small) cities, but is focused on just one city. The dynamic character of a city could fuel the creation of hybrid identities and therefore a city is an interesting place to study in the light of integration and identity-issues in times of ‘post-nationalism’. I employed a single case study approach as a research strategy. A case study focuses on specificity and complexity of a single case under unique circumstances and enables to gain rich understanding about the people who participate in the research (Zucker, 2009). Due to its in-depth approach, a single case study approach is a proper strategy for identifying certain issues, which might not be seen as automatically relevant and gives an emphasis on the participants’ perspective (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Zucker, 2009). Likewise, with a case study one can get an insight into real-life situations and to “test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 235). But the downsides, on the other hand, include factors such as time-consuming fieldwork, lengthy

interviews and complicated transition from transcriptions to a coherent and holistic analysis (Zucker, 2009). Also the subjectivity of the researcher and the impossibility to generalize are seen as negative outcomes of a case study. While it is not my wish to create general, context-independent theory with this research, but interpretative knowledge, the case study is especially well suited. A case study produces a type of context-dependent knowledge, while all case studies are conducted within a specific context, with a particular researcher's state of mind (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This case study should thus be perceived as a narrative and thought of as presenting different things to different people (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 238).

### **3.1.2 Profile of respondents**

The citizens that I will talk about are thus six first generation migrants and six second generation migrants who live in Leiden. While I follow an interpretative paradigm in this research, I find it important to introduce you to my respondents. As such the data presented in the analysis can be related to the individual experiences and characteristics of my respondents. Reality is multifaceted and the respondents all create their own story of their own reality and I would like to dive into their personal stories to increase the notion of the analysis that follows in the next two chapters.

The persons I interviewed distinguish among each other in terms of gender, time of arrival, age, origin, religious principles, working situation, and in terms of different educational backgrounds and family situation. I describe the first and second generation apart from one another in the light of my research topic and more detailed data can be found in the table of Figure 5 at the end of this section. The age of the first generation interviewees varies between 40 and 57 and the second generation respondents are between 21 and 35 years old. All the first generation migrants have children and despite two of my second generation respondents also have children, I still see them as second generation migrants. This is because Fouad came to the Netherlands when he was fifteen years old and Hanan when she was twenty. Judging on their stories, the life path of Fouad and Hanan is more in common with the other second generation migrants, than the first generation migrants who already had children before they migrated towards Leiden. But their parenthood and slight age deviation should be kept in mind when making conclusions about the first and second generation migrants in this research. Another point to stress is that five second generation migrants have finished primary school in their country of birth, under which Amisi who is born in the Netherlands. Thus only two of the respondents have experienced their basic education in the Netherlands. As gender is not one of the variables in this thesis, so is not the country of origin of the respondents. Still I tried to ensure diversity of the participant's home country, to get a greater idea of the 'African' community that lives in Leiden. Namely, by choosing diverse countries of origin, I wanted to

avoid getting information that would uniquely refer to certain situations and experiences specific for one migrant community or ethnicity. The origin of my respondents is shown in figure 3, whereby the first generation respondents are visualized as blue dots and the second generation as orange triangles.



**Figure 3. Origin of first and second generation respondents**

Respondents' perceptions, feelings, as well as civic participation in the host society are doubtlessly influenced by their background stories – filled with important details of what they have seen and experience – as well as their relationship with the country they left. Therefore I like to dive into some of the migration paths of my respondents. Firstly, Aliou (one of my first generation respondents) is someone to refer to, while he lives in the Netherlands because of his work opportunities here. He migrated out of Senegal on the age of 18 for a study in Milan, Italy. After this study he could work in England and he moved to England. After some years in London he left England and moved to Vienna in Austria. Also his wife has an international orientation when it comes to jobs, which made him move to India and Botswana as well. Throughout his life Aliou has lived in more than 10 countries, all out of work reasons or because he followed his wife who worked abroad. This is important to notice in order to understand Aliou's opinion about his identity formation and his feelings of belonging towards geographical locations and spaces. Because of his movements he has been confronted with a lot of different cultures and citizenship-regimes, for that he could look at his Dutch citizenship in a different way than other respondents who haven't migrated that much. Another first generation informant I spoke to is

Marcel who is a refugee and still waiting on his official residence permit in the Netherlands. As such his bond towards the Netherlands can be different than that of the other respondents who all have a Dutch passport. He could have other feelings of belonging when he thinks of Dutch citizenship, while he is still in the process of getting it in contrast to the other respondents in this research. Next to his 'status' as a refugee, he fled out of a dangerous situation in his home country. Leaving a violent situation is different than migrating out of a safe situation, in the sense that it is more conceivable to return to a safe environment than a dangerous one. I think that the urge to return to a country of origin is bigger if there are no risks. As such Michelle's, Marcel's (both first generation) and Elisabeth's' (second generation) situation, who all fled out of a difficult situation in their home countries, should be kept in mind when trying to make conclusions based on their connection with their country of origin. Those ties could be perceived as a sensitive concept for these respondents and it can be the case that they can't give me thorough information about their experiences in their home country. Four of the second generation migrants came to the Netherlands with their parents and the movement to the Netherlands was thus not their choice. Hanan and Elisabeth (second generation) form a counter case, as they both went to the Netherlands to create a better life for themselves. The conscious choice of Hanan and Elisabeth to migrate can be of influence on their perception about Dutch citizenship and their feelings of belonging towards their country of origin. I can state that for the other four second generation respondents it is a given that they live in the Netherlands and in Leiden, which makes it a taken-for-granted situation in which they create bonds to some degree with the Netherlands and Leiden.

In short, the respondents went through different situations in search for a safe haven, a nice working environment or a better place to life. It is this context one should have in mind when researching or solely reading the results of this type of research. As such the heterogeneity of my research sample should be taken into account. In the following sections I further elaborate on the chosen methods and explain in greater detail why I consider those methods as the optimal choice to deal with the different personal characteristics of my respondents.

Name	Sex	Age	Origin	Work	Education	Year of arrival Netherlands	Year of arrival Leiden	Children yes/no
Salama	Male	50	Egypt	Owner of shop	BA Economy	1995	1995	yes
Ibrahim	Male	40	Burkina Faso	Teacher high school/university	MA History	2000	2001	yes
Aliou	Male	45	Senegal	Economist Dutch government	MA Economy	2009	2010	yes
Marcel	Male	57	Rwanda	No. Searching for work	BA	2009	2009	yes
Michelle	Female	42*	Nigeria	Owner transport company	MBO	2005	2005	yes
Gustave	Male	55	Congo	Pastor	HBO Journalism Bibleschool	2000	2000	yes
Fouad	Male	35	Morocco	yes	High school	1995	1995	yes
Hanan	Female	32	Morocco	No. Searching for work	BA French	1995	1995	Yes
Megane	Female	21	Congo	No. Still in School	MBO	1994	2005	No
Elisabeth	Female	28	Cameroon	yes	MA	2002	2002	No
Khadija	Female	28	Morocco	No. Searching for Work	HBO	1999	1999	No
Amisi	Male	25	Congo	Owner advertisement company	MBO and HBO ICT	Born in the Netherlands	Born in Leiden	No

\* Michelle didn't want to tell me her real age; therefore her age is an estimation.

In case the symbol - is shown, the topic is not spoken of.

**Figure 4. Personal characteristics of my respondents**

## 3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

This thesis is a qualitative research meaning that issues, thoughts and questions are explored in the settings in which they arise. This way qualitative research strives to understand and interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings the studied groups and individuals bring to them (Delyser, 2008). Hence I have taken an *emic perspective* (Eriksen, 2010) in which I try to explore people's own interpretation of multiple identification. The goal in qualitative research is to define, interpret and explain the behavior, experiences and perceptions of people without disturbing their natural environment (Boeije et al., 2009, p. 253). Consequently the researcher can understand and study peoples' lived experiences. Those occur within a particular historical and social context and it's crucial to take that into account. The context in which people live is often decisive for their perceptions, behavior and attitude (Boeije et al., 2009, p. 249). Because I want to understand the perceptions of migrants about their identification towards multiple places, I need to recognize the context in which these perceptions are created. So rather than speak of 'generalizability' (where data or interpretations are understood to be directly transferable to other places or situations), qualitative researchers more often use an interpretative approach (Delyser, 2008, p. 234). The interpretation of the people who are studied is central and that's why qualitative knowledge can't be blindly used in other related issues. Within qualitative research a variety of methods can be used like in-depth interviews, participant observation, field notes, archival texts and photographs. In the next sections I present the methods that are used in this qualitative thesis.

### 3.2.1 Literature study

In order to "provide the foundation on which my research is built" and to "develop a good understanding and insight into relevant previous research and the trends that have emerged" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009, p. 61), I have conducted a literature study before and during my empirical research. Flick (2009, p. 49) notes that instead of using the existing literature to derive hypothesis, as in quantitative research, in qualitative research literature is used to gain insights and information as context knowledge, which you use to see statements and observations in your research in their context. With the writing of my literature review, I aim at linking the different ideas that I have found in the literature to form a 'coherent and cohesive argument', which sets in context and justified my research, as advised by Saunders et al. (2009, p. 66). In my case the literature that is elaborated on in chapter two, defines the frameworks along which I will interpret my gained data. The literature that I have read consisted mainly out of articles from refereed academic journals and books. Those texts have formed the theory of my

research and therefore it creates understanding about the debates and theoretical frameworks that I deal with in this research.

### 3.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

“Characteristic of its unique flexibility, the semi-structured interview is sufficiently structured to address specific dimensions of your research question while also leaving space for study participants to offer new meanings to the topic of study” (Galletta & Williams, 2013, p. 1 – 2). According to Longhurst (2010) talking with people is an excellent way of gathering information. Interviewing is about talking with people and we can roughly differentiate three types of interviews. If the content of questions and the way of asking questions are predetermined we speak of structured or standardized interviews. At the other end of the continuum are unstructured forms of interviewing, wherein the conversation is driven by the participant rather than by the researchers’ set of questions. In the middle of this continuum we find semi-structured interviews, which have a partly predetermined character but still create room for the informant to address issues (Boeije et al, 2009, p. 267). The semi-structured interview “...creates openings for a narrative to unfold, while also including questions informed by theory” (Galletta & Williams, 2013, p. 2). This type of interviewing leaves space through which a researcher together with the interviewees might explore the contextual influences evident in the narratives which are not always narrated as such (Galletta & Williams, 2013).

During semi-structured interviews the researcher uses a *topic list*. The topic list mostly consists of a number of main questions alternated with themes and examples for probing questions. The interviewer will not follow the order of the questions written in the topic list, but tries to follow the informants when they talk about particular topics (Boeije et al., 2009, p. 268). As such the interview questions and the topics concerned may vary from interview to interview. According to Galletta and Williams (2013, p. 24) the flow of the conversation is a kind of reciprocity, or give and take, which results in a sphere wherein the researcher can probe participant’s responses for clarification, meaning making, and critical reflection on the topics that are of interest. This is of importance in my research while my concern is to understand the meanings and perceptions that participants ascribe to various phenomena. This also means that I, as a researcher, should position myself open to discuss themes which I did not consider to be of importance for the participants, but which are of relevance for my understanding of the topic. Informants may use words and ideas in a certain way, and the opportunity to probe these within a semi-structured interview, will add depth to the collected data (Galletta & Williams, 2013).

The semi-structured interviews that I conducted were mainly face to face. According to Opdenakker (2006, p. 3) face to face interviews takes its advantage of social cues, such as voice,

intonation, body language etc. Such cues can give the interviewer extra information about the answer given on a question. And “since there is no significant time delay between the question and the answer, the interviewer can directly react on what the other says or does. An advantage of this synchronous communication is that the answer of the interviewee is more spontaneous, without an extended reflection” (Opdenakker, 2006, p. 3). Unfortunately, I also interviewed one informant by telephone. I chose to conduct that interview by telephone, while we could not find a moment in our schedules to talk face to face. It was a pity that the large distance between my place of residence and that of my interviewee was of influence on our meeting, but by interviewing her by telephone I still managed to have an in-depth interview with her.

### **3.2.3 Participatory Appraisal: H-form**

Another method in which the perspective my respondents comes to the fore is in participatory appraisal. Participatory appraisal is an umbrella term for various participatory methods, from which I used the H-form. The main goal of participatory appraisal is “...that the people whose lives are being studied should be involved in defining the research questions and taking an active part in both collecting and analyzing the data” (Beazley & Ennew, 2006, p. 191). Chambers (1994) has made the concept of participatory appraisal popular and is most influential with the development of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). “PRA techniques are primarily visual, designed for use with illiterate rural communities, although they are now increasingly being used in urban communities” (Beazley & Ennew, 2006, p. 191). Although I’m not researching a rural community in this thesis, PRA techniques generate more specific information and grasp insights into how communities or individuals think.

The H-form that Chambers (1994) has presented is used in this research. After, and sometimes during an interview, I have exercised this method as an instrument to control that I’ve clearly understood the participants’ story. With the H-form the shape of the letter H is drawn on a piece of paper. At the left and right end of the horizontal line I set two extremes. While I want to create understanding about multiple territorial identifications of migrants I posed the three territorial identities as opposites at each H-form. The two frameworks that I’ve presented in the theoretical chapter of this thesis have determined the content of the H-forms and as such the relationship between the local and national identification, and the relationship between national and transnational identification is discussed in this method. When using the technique of an H-form a question is needed to decide how people feel about the continuum that is created on the horizontal line. As is illustrated in Figure 5 below, one of the H-forms deals with the question: do you feel more Dutch than e.g. Cameroonian, Moroccan (the country of origin concerned)? I created a second H-form and posed the question: do you feel more Leidenaar than Dutch? While these H-forms were created directly after or during the semi-structured



interviews, I can compare and combine the participants' answers about territorial identification given in the interview to their opinion given during the drawing of the H-form. As such I can properly clarify their perceptions on multiple territorial identifications.<sup>6</sup>

<b>Do you feel more Dutch than transnational?</b>		
Dutch	<div style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	(parents) country of birth
<b>Do you feel more Leidenaar than Dutch?</b>		
Leidenaar	<div style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	Dutch

**Figure 5. Model of the two used H-Forms**

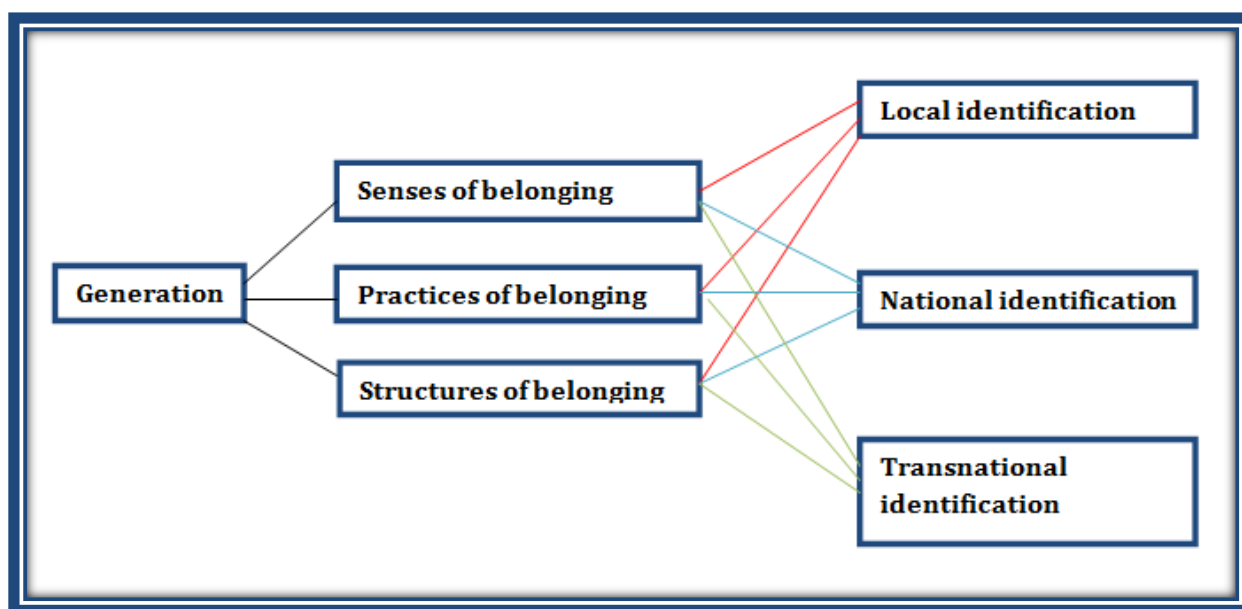
### 3.3 ANALYSIS

To be able to define conclusions in this research an analysis of the gained data is needed. I used content analysis method to “identify important themes or categories within a body of content, and to provide a rich description of the social reality created by those themes/categories as they are lived out in a particular setting” (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 11). To carry out the analysis, I did not use any computer-based programs for qualitative data analysis, but I used markers instead. The first step in my analysis is *open coding* which means that I read my in-depth interviews thoroughly and organized the material into different categories. Such an open coding leads to an exhaustive understanding of the gained data, and by dividing the interviews into different fragments and categories, the information becomes manageable and accessible (Boeije, 2014). So I systematically reviewed the transcripts of the in-depth interviews and ordered them into different categories. Thereafter, I compared categories to identify patterns and possible connectedness between them. Or as Strauss & Corbin (2007) put it, I engaged in the process of *axial coding* which is a “set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories” (p. 96). During this process I explored

<sup>6</sup> Because I spoke with one of my respondents via telephone, we couldn't make the H-form the way I did with the other respondents. Still I guided her via the telephone, and asked her to draw the H-form herself. As such we still had a conversation about where she would position herself within the two different H-forms.

which categories are important to understand the research topic, as such it becomes clear what topics and categories will play the leading part in my thesis. After this process I was able to determine the focus of the research by studying some topics more in depth, than others. One of the strategies of doing this is to compare how categories are perceived by the different respondents. As such exceptional cases will stand out, and by exploring those, researchers get a better insight in the correctness of their insights and findings (Boeije, 2014). If a researcher is not able to understand the exceptional cases, the theoretical framework of the research is undermined. Therefore comparing all the different data and exploring and explaining also exceptional cases strengthens the research. By subjecting the data to the analysis I didn't choose to translate the respondents' answers into theoretical concepts that form the framework of the research. I made use of verbatim statements from the in-depth interviews to stay as close to the narratives of the respondents. Especially in a research about identity construction, I think it is of great importance to comprehend personal opinions about this process to truly understand their own story.

Below, figure 6 shows my model of analysis, which I used as a support after the process of open coding. While I see identification as influenced by senses, activities and formal structures of belonging, I tried to look for statements about those realms of belonging. That way I made clear how the first and second generation respondents identify with Leiden, the Netherlands and their (parents) country of birth.



**Figure 6. Model of Analysis**

### 3.4 REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY

I like to dedicate a few words to the description of possible biases in my research, to prevent the reader to misinterpret the data and to increase the credibility and reliability of my findings. As already stressed in the section of *research sample* I would've liked to speak to more respondents to counteract the gender bias in my research sample. As such also the variable of gender could be taken into account while analyzing the data, which is not possible within my research. Next to this it is important to strive for reflexivity. It is important that researchers understand how their own ideas and opinions influence the collection and analysis of data (Boeije, 2014). Different personal characteristics such as age, social class, sex, religion and skin color should also be taken into consideration when discussing biases (Mays & Pope, 2000). So I need to stress that as a young Dutch woman, who doesn't live in Leiden, the respondents could have acted at a certain way as a consequence of these personal characteristics. So the fact that everyone has a clout on the outcomes of a particular situation should be kept in mind. Despite potential differences between me and my respondents, I did not face any problematic situations that would make conversations uncomfortable during my contacts with the respondents. All the respondents seemed to be at ease when they talked to me. One of the reasons for this feeling could be influenced by my gatekeeper who introduced me to some of my respondents. Since Joseph, gave me the contacts to different persons, the respondents could see me as a colleague of him and it could make them feel more comfortable and less reluctant to speak to me honestly. While I did an internship at CCoLA I got an insight in CCoLA's interpretation about my research topic, however, as my supervisor did help me with forming my research sample he did not try to influence my research process and findings in any possible way. As such the principle of neutrality is strengthened and lowered the risk of getting biased results. I believe that the internship at CCoLA did not influence me, in a sense of being more biased.

To increase the reliability and validity of my research I made use of triangulation, in the context of using more methods to gain data. In my case in-depth interviews are combined with an H-form. On the one hand it is believed that every method has its weaknesses and that using more methods compensates those weak points (Boeije, 2014). So combining more methods can be seen as a form of reliability in which data is enriched by generating it with other methods. On the other side different methods can also point to different elements of a topic, which creates a more complete image, and points to the validity of the research (Boeije, 2014). Still I do not want to arouse the suggestion that triangulation of methods forms an unambiguous portrait of complex reality. With this triangulation I rather want to show the interpretative paradigm; the multifacetedness of reality is the point of departure. Although I think that the data I have gained is rich, the use of a topic list and the H-forms made that not every topic is talked about in every interview to the same degree. This has to be taken in mind when people want to conclude or

generalize out of this research. Next to this the use of a focus group could have enhanced my research findings. "Focus groups allow participants to use their own language, rather than react to an interviewer" (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011, p. 4). The method of focus group discussions creates a relatively safe atmosphere debating identity matters, which might be considered dangerous when talked about face-to-face with an interviewer. It is not that the results out of the interviews and H-form are meager in terms of content, but with a focus group discussion I could have triggered the respondents even more in thinking about the topic and consequently I would've gained even more understanding of their multiple identifications.

## 4 Homeland nostalgia

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### *An exploration of the transnational ties of the first and second generation*

*“Increasing mobility; growth of temporary, cyclical and recurring migrations: cheap and easy travel; constant communication through new information technologies: all question the idea of the person who belongs to just one nation-state or at most migrates from one state to just one other (whether temporarily or permanently)” (Castles, 2002, p. 1157).*

As comes to the fore in the second chapter, and as is mirrored in the above quote of Castles (2002), Dutch policymakers are worried about the consequences of the globalization of migration, which have led to debates on the “significance of transnationalism and transnational communities as new modes of migrant belonging” (Castles, 2002, p. 1157). While a transnational community is characterized as a group that does not attach to a specific territory, transnationalism presents a challenge to traditional ideas of nation-state loyalty and belonging. Governments of recipient countries like the Netherlands do worry about the outcome of transnational ties and transnational engagement of migrants for their integration into society. This fear can be explained by a liberal paradox that is at momentum. Additional to the idea of increased mobility for people in the “age of migration” (Castles & Miller, 2009), a migration-security nexus seems to be in play, which deems migration and migrants a threat to the safety and stability of countries of destination and origin (De Haas, 2006). The social cohesion of a country would be disturbed by the mere presence of migrants, resulting in ‘threatening’ spaces of in-between cultures and other hybridization-effects (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001, p. 130). We can speak of a liberal paradox while societies constituted as nation-states are opening themselves up to an economically driven world society, but simultaneously there is a desire of a renewed closure of this global society as well (Garapich, 2008). As an outcome of this feeling of fear of the possible hybrid identity of migrants, Dutch government has seek for measures to stem and regulate migration like the obligatory renunciation of the original nationality, to prevent migrants of having double loyalties. Although these measures are implemented, “scholars increasingly recognize that some migrants and their descendants remain strongly influenced by their continuing ties to their home country or by social networks that stretch across national borders” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1002). This transnational approach “...shifts the focus from concerns about the dynamics of migration, the origins of immigrants, and the latter’s adaption to and integration into their new country towards the continuing ties migrants maintain across borders connecting the societies of both origin and immigration”

(Faist, Fauser & Reisenauer, 2013, p. 88). So the simultaneity of double loyalties – towards the destination country and country of origin –, and loyalty towards a broader structure that can span across the globe, is a possibility that needs to be explored (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Out of this context this chapter deals with the transnational identification of first and second generation migrants and its effect on their identification with the Netherlands. To explore transnational identifications I engage in an investigation of the importance of the respondents' country of birth for their feelings of belonging. The questions if first and second generation African Leidenaren have contacts with people in their home country and if the respondents visit their country or origin will be the point of departure to examine further transnational ties. These two transnational practices – maintaining social relations and visiting the country of origin – are elaborated on in the first part of this chapter. Not only the practice in itself is formulated, also the meaning of these activities for the respondents' transnational identity formation is explored. The second part of this chapter goes into migrants' emotions of attachment to the (parents) country of origin including expressions of feeling at home and prospects about possible migration wishes. These two different parts together form the senses, activities and structures of belonging important for identity construction (Fenster, 2005).

#### **4.1 TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES**

First, it has to be clear what exactly is meant with transnational practices. A wide array of practices is all being described as transnational: social movements, mass media, economic relations and – most important for my research – migrants' ties to their homelands (Rusinovic, 2008). Itzigsohn et al. (1999) define transnational practices depending on the “degree of institutionalization, degree of movement within the transnational field, or the degree of involvement in transnational activities” (p. 323). In this research I will employ the empirical data after comprehending what my respondents apprehend as transnational practices. As such I gain information ‘from below’ and can grasp the personal experiences of the respondents themselves. So it becomes clear if the first and second generation in this research have transnational ties and how they experience them.

In what follows, I will explore and compare transnational activities of the first and second generation respondents I spoke with. Two different thoughts arise when we think about the different generations and their identifications. Second generation migrants could lack connection to people and places in their (parents) country of birth (Alba and Nee, 2003 as cited in Rusinovic, 2008). On the other hand, from a ‘transnationalist’ perspective it could be expected that transnational activities and networks are transmitted to the second generation, and therefore remain of importance for the second generation as well (Levitt and Glick Schiller

2004). However, the extent to which both first generation and second generation respondents will engage in transnational practices is the open question central in this section.

#### 4.1.1 Social network

All the respondents I talked to are still in contact with family or friends from (parents) their country of birth, although not all to the same degree. Everyone has relatives who live in their (parents) country of origin, and especially the first generation respondents keep in touch regularly with their family members. For Ibrahim and Salama (first generation) contacting their family is a basic need. Salama states that calling or emailing his family is important for him, especially because he hasn't been able to travel back last year. They contact their family members on a daily basis via telephone, and sometimes via e-mail. Ibrahim does not only make phone calls to his country of origin, but also to family members who live abroad. Ibrahim's family is scattered over West-Africa and Europe, and he stresses the importance of keeping in touch with his family:

*"Yes, I call almost every day. To one of the countries, almost every day. And sometimes three or four countries a day. Yes, I feel like I just have to. I have to, because my family is so dispersed and I'm the second of a family of 30 children. I have 29 brothers and sisters and I'm happy that they also have spread, some are in Mali and some are in Burkina Faso, and yeah I think that you must have contact with brothers and sisters".<sup>7</sup>*

As becomes clear out of this citation, Ibrahim has a lot of keeping up to do if he wants to keep in contact with his big family. This way he seems to have loyalty towards a broader structure that spans across the globe. Most of the first generation respondents have contact with their family to know if they're alright, but some also have a social network which is based on work-relationships. For example Gustave (first generation) maintains a social network in Congo, not only because of his attention for his family, but also for his colleagues. Gustave runs an organisation dealing with humanitarian work in Congo and therefore he calls and e-mails daily to his home country to keep his organization running. As well as Gustave, also Aliou (first generation) has next to family relations, work relations that span from the Netherlands to his country of birth – and to the rest of the world. He has set up a farm in Senegal and as a consequence he has to communicate with the people who are working there. But for Aliou his

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<sup>7</sup> Original quote: "Ja ik bel bijna elke dag. In één van die land. Dat is bijna elke dag. En soms drie a vier landen per dag. Ja het moet bijna voor mij. Het moet, omdat de familie ook zo verspreid, en ik ben tweede van familie van 30 kinderen. Ik heb 29 broers en zusje en gelukkig zijn de zusje en de broertjes ook zoo van verspreiden sommige zijn in mali sommige in bf, en ja moet contact met mijn broer zussen."

social network doesn't centralize within Dutch and Senegalese borders. Aliou was in Senegal till the age of eighteen and he has always moved over the world since he graduated from his studies in Italy. He has lived in more than ten countries throughout his life, driven by working possibilities. Because of this, a lot of his close friends are expats who come from different countries and travel to many countries for work. Aliou has contact with his family in Senegal, but he communicates more frequently with friends and colleagues, or family members that live in Europe and North America. For example he contacts his nephew who lives and works in the United States of America, and he still has a social network in Italy, gained throughout his studies and by meeting his Italian wife. So when maintaining his friendships, his calls and e-mails have to cross many borders. Only Michelle and Marcel (first generation) can't really tell me a lot about their social network in their home countries. Marcel talks about a friend that he emails, but only once in a while. The hesitation to talk about their social life in their country of origin is influenced by their migration history which is that they both fled out of a dangerous situation which is not solved yet. For them having contact with family or friends who live there is impossible at the moment and because of the sensitivity of the topic, I haven't gained more information about their transnational social network.

The second generation migrants are less in contact with family or friends abroad, than the first generation respondents in this research. Amisi and Megane (second generation) state that most of the news they hear about their family in Congo is via their mothers who maintain contact with their relatives. Amisi tells me that his mother has been back to Congo and as a consequence she keeps in contact with their family. This way Amisi indirectly stresses that his mother has stronger ties to family members who live in Congo, because she has visited the country before. Amisi has never visited his mother's country of birth yet, which could explain while he has less strong ties to his Congolese family members. Along with Amisi, Megane (who did went to Congo once to visit her family) doesn't have any contact with family or friends that live in her country of origin: "No, I have family, but ehm... I don't speak to them often. You can't just go visit your aunt like here in the Netherlands. That's terribly expensive en ehm, no I don't really have contact with them".<sup>8</sup> Also Khadija (second generation) tells me that she is not really up to date when it comes to news in the family: "I try to call regularly, but that's not always working. Sometimes a month has passed and then I think ah, I have to call my grandmother. That are things I will always keep doing".<sup>9</sup> Apart from her grandmother, Khadija is not interested in the people that she used to know when living in Morocco. She has built up a life in the Netherlands now, so the time she has left next to studying and working, she likes to spend with

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<sup>8</sup> Original quote: Ik: "Nee, ik heb wel familie, maar ehm ja, ik spreek ze ook niet zo vaak, niet net zoals hier in NL dat je ff bij je tante op bezoek kan. Het is hartstikke duur en ehm, nee ik heb niet echt contact met ze."

<sup>9</sup> Original quote: "Ja, ik probeer regelmatig te bellen, maar dat gaat ook niet altijd goed. Soms gaat een maand voorbij en denk ik ohja, ik moet mijn oma effe bellen. Dat zijn dingen die je nog altijd blijft doen."



her family and friends that live in the Netherlands. As a contrast to these three second generation respondents, who don't really keep in contact with family that lives abroad, the other three second generation respondents do keep in touch with relatives in their country of origin. Hanan describes that she has contact with her family that lives in Morocco. She states that with the current technologies that lead to cheap means of communication like Viber, Whatsapp and Skype, it is easy to be in contact with each other. Because of this ease, she has daily contact with her parents that live in Morocco. Also Elisabeth stresses the importance of keeping in touch with her family that still lives in her country of origin. Elisabeth tells that her social network mostly consist of people who live in the Netherlands, but she does have contact with her parents who still live in Cameroon. So contrary to the above mentioned Amisi, Megane and Khadija, Hanan's and Elisabeth's parents live abroad. While the principal reason to maintain border-crossing contacts, is to keep in touch with family for my respondents, it could be clarified this why Amisi, Megane and Khadija are less engaged in maintaining such social relations. Their parents also live in Leiden and at this point they differ from the other respondents who still have contact with their parents that live in their country of birth. Besides, the difference between the first and second generation could be explained by their age. The second generation migrants moved to the Netherlands as kids, causing that they didn't have the same amount of time to create a social network as first generation migrants who moved to the Netherlands when they were adults.

Furthermore, all first and second generation migrants are up-to-date with the current happenings in their homeland, longing for daily news from their country of origin. Thus, besides talking to relatives and friends, they also watch news on the television and check the internet regularly. Only Khadija (second generation) is an exception compared to all the other interviewees:

*"I'm always the last one to find out about something. There are enough people in my environment who read papers, Moroccan papers, or checking websites to know what's happening and really follow politics. They know exactly who is the prime-minister or whatever they have there, oh I think they have a king haha. And then I think alright, whatever, I don't have much to do with it. I'm not going to waste my time to such things as it doesn't mean anything to me. If it interests me, of course I would follow it, but I don't care".<sup>10</sup>*

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<sup>10</sup> Original quote: "Nee, ik ben echt altijd de laatste die iets te weten komt. Er zijn genoeg mensen in mijn omgeving die kranten lezen van Marokkaanse kranten, of op websites gaan kijken wat er dan gebeurt en echt de politiek volgen en weten precies wie de minister president is weet ik veel wat ze daar hebben, ohja een koning volgens mij haha. En dan denk ik ohja het zal wel, ik heb er weinig mee ik ga mijn tijd niet verspillen aan dat soort dingen terwijl ik er niets mee heb. Als ik er iets mee had, tuurlijk dan zou ik het volgen. Maar mij doet het niets."

Where most of the second generation respondents say that they occasionally check the news about their home countries, Megane (second generation) is a striking example of someone who counteracts this incidental character. As is presented above, Megane doesn't have any contact with her family that lives in Congo, nevertheless Megane is extremely interested in the situations that occur in her homeland. In contrast to other respondents who say that they are aware of what happens via their social network, and sometimes look up some information via the internet, Megane says that she is always aware of what happens in Congo. She tells me that she thinks it is important to know where you come from. She even talks about her wish to pass her knowledge about her Congolese culture to her kids if she decides to have them in the future. Her dedication to Congolese culture also comes to the fore in her title of Miss Congo NL 2013. This type of involvement in the 'culture of origin' doesn't come out of any of the other interviews. The difference between the two generations is not that big in case of checking the news and Megane is even more interested in the situations of her country of origin, than my first generation respondents. This competes the idea that first generation migrants are more engaged with their country of birth than second generation migrants. Still, a varying degree in keeping in touch with relatives is to be found on the base of generation, while second generation migrants do not know their relatives as well as the first generation migrants do. However, not much generalizations should be made based on these findings, since the above quotes and examples given by my respondents show the varying degree of engagement in maintaining transnational ties both between as within the two generations.

#### **4.1.2 Visiting country of origin**

Identification towards a country of birth can be formed and strengthened by visiting it. It is not a given that all migrants ever visit their homelands. Four of the respondents I spoke have never been back to their (parents) country of origin. Two of the respondents, Michelle and Marcel (first generation), are unable to return for a visit because of the dangerous situation they left behind. So the unsafe character of their home countries make them feel hesitant to go back. But they both tell me that if the situation in their home countries will become better, they would like to go back. Also Amisi and Elisabeth (second generation) haven't visited their home countries yet (in Amisi's case, his parents country of birth). The biggest reason is the cost of the trip, a plane ticket isn't cheap, so if they want to go they should save money. Next to this they built up a life here, one busier than the other, which till now made that there was no urge to visit their countries of birth. Megane (second generation) did go to Congo once, and she also states that when she has saved enough money, she likes to visit Congo again to get to know the country where she is born. The other respondents I spoke to all try to go to their home countries once a year, with the main

reason to meet their relatives who live there. Gustave (first generation) visits his country of birth twice or even three times a year because of his humanitarian work. The idea of contributing to the country of birth is a reason for more respondents than Gustave to return at least once a year. For example Aliou (first generation), who set up a farm in Senegal to increase working possibilities there, visits the farm during his time in Senegal. Also Megane (second generation), who hasn't been back to Congo for a while, points that she likes to see how her contributions to a Congolese charity are spend. Next to contributing to the country of birth, the respondents share the opinion that it is important for them to remind where they are originally coming from. Especially Ibrahim (first generation) likes to get in touch with his roots, while he feels that a visit to West-Africa is also a spiritual experience. With his interest in natural religion he wants to get in contact with the plants and flowers of his home ground. As such when he goes to West-Africa, first he comes to visit his family but the second reason to visit is to preserve his African spirituality.

Not being able to visit the homeland is seen as a regret by the respondents. For example Salama (first generation) says that he hasn't been able to go to Egypt for three years now, which is way too long in his opinion. Although my respondents feel sorry if they are not able to visit their country of birth, or their families once a year, visiting the country of origin regularly doesn't mean that there is an automatic close connection to the country or a feeling of being at home there. For example Khadija visits Morocco once a year, but she doesn't feel engaged to Morocco or at home at all:

*"It's strange, and a lot of people are unable to understand, especially people who are Moroccan. It's like you've become a betrayer, and people look at you quite negatively, but I don't have it. I lost the engagement and I could think a lot about it, to understand where it comes from, but I just don't have it".<sup>11</sup>*

A lot of my respondents experience their visit as being an outsider. Especially the second generation respondents emphasize that, when they are there. They enjoy seeing what has developed in their home towns and how their family is doing, but they also feel treated as foreigners or as outsiders. Hanan (second generation) point to the feeling of being on a family visit instead of a visit to home, or a vacation. She really goes because her family lives there, but a connection to her birth ground is weak: "you're a foreigner, and you have lost your relations there [...] Actually you miss the developments there, because you're busy here and you continue

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<sup>11</sup> Original quote: "Dat is hetel gek en veel mensen kunnen dat niet begrijpen vooral mensen die Marokkaans zijn. Het voelt alsof je dan een verrader bent, er wordt best negatief naar je gekeken, maar ik heb het niet. Ik ben die binding kwijt en ik kan me heel moeilijk gaan nadenken waar dat vandaan komt, maar ik heb het gewoon niet" (Khadija).

here”.<sup>12</sup> Another respondent who refers to the feeling of being a foreigner in his country of origin is Fouad (second generation) when he says: “there they say ‘les immigré’ which is French for immigrant. So also there I’m in between”.<sup>13</sup> By stressing “also there” Fouad shows that in the Netherlands he feels treated as a foreigner. Not only first generation respondents have uttered these feelings, also first generation respondents, expressed that they felt as outsiders when they visit their country and residence of origin.

### *Migration wish*

Although not all of my respondents feel totally at home in their country of origin, many respondents think about returning to their country of birth someday. For example Gustave (first generation) says that:

*“When I’m done working, I would like to go to Congo. The weather is nice there and then I can go outside. Here, when it’s winter it’s cold and then you have to sit inside all the time, that doesn’t sound good to me. In Congo everybody lives outside and talks, yes there is more social life there”.*<sup>14</sup>

For Aliou, Marcel and Michelle (first generation) it’s an open question where they are going to live in the future. They moved out of their country of birth for a reason, which is especially the case for Marcel and Michelle who fled out of Rwanda and Nigeria. Aliou tells that he doesn’t know if he’s able to live in Senegal again, while he is not happy with the political situation in Senegal. He literally says: “they are far, far left behind” and with his experience in all different countries that he lived in, it would be hard to go back to a country which is not as “far” as the other countries he lived in. Also Amisi (second generation) is interested in a life in his home country but he’s not sure if he will ever live there. Amisi is willing to look if there are working possibilities there, because only if he could work he would return to his parents’ country of birth. Still he would not want to leave the Netherlands for good: “If the possibilities to work are there, exactly. And then I would go back and forth. So in the summer I will be here, and the rest of the year I will be there. Yes, that, I like nice weather haha”.<sup>15</sup> Also Megane (second generation) is interested in a life in her country of birth. She doesn’t want to move right now, but when she is

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<sup>12</sup> Original quote: “Je bent een vreemde, je bent ook je relaties kwijt [...] Die ontwikkeling daar die mis je ook eigenlijk, want je bent hier bezig en gaat hier door” (Hanan).

<sup>13</sup> Original quote: “Daar zeggen ze ‘les immigré’ dat is Frans voor immigrant. Dus ook daar zit je er tussenin” (Fouad).

<sup>14</sup> Original quote: “Als ik klaar ben met werken, dan wil ik graag naar Congo. Daar is het mooi weer en dan kun je lekker naar buiten. Hier in de winter is het koud en dan moet je alleen binnen zitten, dat lijkt me niet leuk. En in Congo is iedereen buiten en praten, ja het is meer sociaal leven dan om daar te zijn”.

<sup>15</sup> Original quote: “Als de mogelijkheden voor werk er zijn, precies. En dan zou ik heen en weer gaan. Dat ik in de zomer hier ben en de rest van het jaar daar. Meer dat, ja ik houd van lekker weer, haha”.

done with school and has had a job in the Netherlands, she hopes to go back and live there for the rest of her life. An interesting perspective of one of the second generation migrants is that of Elisabeth. Religion is an important marker for her self-identification, it leads her through her life and therefore she tells me that she can't predict what the future will bring for her. She does want to see Cameroon, because she can't remember much of her life there, but she tells me that God will decide her faith and as a consequence also her future life and possible migration wishes. Both Hanan and Fouad have young children which makes it more difficult for them to make the decision to migrate now. They want their children to grow up in the Netherlands while they are already living here their whole life. Still Hanan wonders about the future: "maybe if there will be a nice opportunity for work somewhere, or for the children. That are things that influence life. But for now, it's here".<sup>16</sup> Ibrahim, Salama (first generation) and Khadija (second generation) are very clear about where they see their future: they want to stay in the Netherlands and more specifically in Leiden and nowhere else. They are proud of their city and proud of their Dutch citizenship, which they do not want to replace for a life in their homeland or another city. Especially Khadija has resigned emotionally from her Moroccan background and can't cope with the way children are treated in Morocco. As such her cultural norms and values are changed by growing up in the Netherlands, which makes it impossible for her to imagine herself living in Morocco.

In sum, on the one hand the respondents feel recognition in their countries of birth and they have a connection with their relatives who live there. But on the other hand, they are foreigners in their homeland. Still some respondents daydream about a life in their country of origin. In the next section the transnational practices of maintaining a social network and visiting the country of origin are related to the respondents senses of belonging when they think about their (parents) country of birth.

## **4.2 FEELING TRANSNATIONAL?**

All respondents, both first generation and second generation, agree on the fact that they are automatically tied to their (parents) country of birth, because they are simply born there, or because their family lives there. Amisi (who had never been to his father's homeland) states that he feels Congolese:

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<sup>16</sup> Original quote: "Misschien komt er wel een leuke gelegenheid voor werk ergens, of voor de kinderen. Dat blijven ook dingen die komen en beïnvloeden het leven. Maar voorlopig hoe ik het nu zie, is het hier".

*"Me: Do you feel Congolese?"*

*Amisi: Ehm, basically yes, but I see myself also... well I'm born here and I've been brought up with two cultures and I'm raised here. I also understand Dutch culture, but we also have Congolese culture at home*

*Me: Do you really feel this as a fifty-fifty deal? Or do you consider that you are more Congolese or more Dutch in a way?*

*Amisi: Especially when I'm with my family I feel Congolese and if I ever go back I think I will also feel Congolese. But when I'm in the Netherlands with work and stuff like that, yeah then I see myself as Congolese, but a little bit like a 'Vernederlandste' (a Dutch-like) Congolese. That's how you should look at it."<sup>17</sup>*

Also Elisabeth and Megane (second generation) state that they are proud of where they originally come from. Elisabeth says that no matter what she thinks or does, she will be an African, that's something she's born with. The association with African culture comes to the fore in almost all the interviews with second generation migrants. Mostly the social aspect of the African culture is appreciated. In stories about combining different cultures the warm and social side of African culture is mentioned many times as a characteristic that they have and appreciate. This warm side is something which they have, and is distinct from Dutch culture. As such the feeling of exclusion of Dutch culture comes to the fore. Amisi reckons that he is raised within two cultures and mixes two cultures. This is not only the case for Amisi, also Megane and Hanan (second generation) refer to their way of combining two cultures. For example Hanan who says that she doesn't feel a distance between her identification towards the Netherlands and to her home country Morocco. She tells that she has both cultures as one within her, because she finds a balance every time:

*"I'm here now, living in this society and I work and develop at my own pace so I can find a balance I'm at ease with. So I won't get irritated. Because, of course I sometimes misunderstand things like 'kerststuk' (Christmas bouquet) and 'hutspot' (Dutch stew), that's Dutch culture [...] Those things are all self-evident in the Netherlands, but new for me. But*

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<sup>17</sup> Original quote: Ik: Voel je jezelf Congolees? Amisi: Eh, in principe wel, maar ik zie mezelf ook als, ja ik ben hier geboren en heb twee culturen en ben hier opgegroeid. De Nederlandse cultuur begrijp ik ook, daar kan ik in thuis zijn, maar de Congolese cultuur hebben we ook thuis. Ik: Is dit dan ook een gevoel van fifty-fifty? Of heb je het idee dat je je meer Congolees of meer Nederlands voelt op een bepaalde manier? Amisi: Nou als ik bij familie ben voel ik me vooral Congolees en ik denk als ik daar terug ben gegaan dat ik dan ook wel Congolees ben. Maar als ik in Nederland ben met werk en dat soort dingen ja, dan ja... ik zie me wel als Congolees maar een beetje vernederlandste Congolees. Zo moet je het zien."

*now I know, so now I have combinations of Morocco and the Netherlands. Next to Moroccan bread there is 'hutspot' and with some Moroccan spices it will taste good, haha."*<sup>18</sup>

Megane tells that she values both her Congolese culture as her Dutch culture but it depends on the situation she's in: "When I'm home I stick to the rules of my mother and to the culture. And when I'm at school or at work for example, I will obey the rules of work and school".<sup>19</sup>

Within the second generation only Khadija states that she has truly distanced herself from her home country. She doesn't deny her roots, because it's a fact that she is born there, but she just doesn't have a bond with her country of origin. She explains:

*"Well, it is a gut feeling that I feel more Dutch. Mainly, because I feel more connected to the Netherlands than to Morocco. I live here, I am here and yeah, I think about my future in the Netherlands and I also have a history in the Netherlands. I did live in Morocco for twelve years and those years are crucial years, my youth, but I am who I am because of me living here and having an education here and having friends and family here."*<sup>20</sup>

Times have changed since she left Morocco and she tells that she just lost the connection with Morocco. She says that she could be making serious considerations why she has this specific feeling, but she tells me that she just doesn't feel connected to Morocco. Although all the other second generation migrants concluded that they do feel connected to their home countries, still not all of them do especially feel at home in their country of origin. As is stated in the previous section, Fouad says that also in his home country he is seen as an outsider or a foreigner, which makes him feel unaccepted. Still he does feel Moroccan and not Dutch at all. According to Fouad this has to do with discrimination he deals with in the Netherlands:

*"You try to integrate, but you will never fit in. For example with the World Cup, then I wear orange and I also participate with 'Koninginnedag and Koningsdag' (national Dutch*

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<sup>18</sup> Original quote: "Ik ben nu hier en ik kan op mijn gemak in de maatschappij leven, werken en ontwikkelen, probeer ik zoveel mogelijk op mijn gemak een balans te vinden. Zodat ik niet geïrriteerd wordt. Tuurlijk mis ik wel eens iets. Bijvoorbeeld kerststuk en hutspot, dat is de Nederlandse cultuur. [...]Het zijn allemaal dingen die vanzelfsprekend zijn in Nederland, maar voor mij is het nieuw. Maar nu weet ik het wel, dus dan heb je toch nog combinaties van Marokko en Nederland. Naast Marokkaans brood is er dus ook hutspot, en met een beetje Marokkaanse kruiden smaakt dat ook. Haha.

<sup>19</sup> Original quote: "ik hecht waarde aan beide, maar dat hangt af van de omgeving waar ik ben. Als ik thuis ben houdt ik me aan de regels van mijn moeder en aan de cultuur. En ben ik bijvoorbeeld op school of op werk, dan houdt ik me weer aan de regels van werk en school."

<sup>20</sup> Original quote: "Nou het is wel gevoelsmatig dat ik me meer Nederlands voel. Het heeft vooral te maken met het feit dat ik, dat ik me meer verbonden voel met Nederland dan met Marokko. Ik woon hier, ik ben hier ik ehm ja, ik denk aan mijn toekomst in Nederland, ik heb een verleden in Nederland. Ik heb wel 12 jaar in Marokko gewoond en dat zijn wel cruciale jaren in een leven, de jeugd, maar ik ben verder wie ik ben doordat ik hier ben gaan wonen en onderwijs heb genoten en vrienden en familie hier heb en ja" (Khadija).

*tradition), but in those situations I don't feel Dutch. How do people say it? Yes, 'als een dubbeltje geboren worden, wordt nooit een kwartje' (being born in a minority-group/low range in hierarchy, means you will never get out of that situation). Well, that's the case with Moroccans who migrate".<sup>21</sup>*

Feelings of discrimination are talked about a lot by the second generation migrants when explaining why they do not feel truly connected to the Netherlands. Some examples the second generation gave referring to discrimination and stereotyping they deal with: statements of Geert Wilders (a Dutch politician who is the leader of a right wing party); the refuse of entrance at clubs and bars based on skin color; discrimination within the work environment based on name or skin color; negative news about immigrants instead of positive news about immigrants; negative news about Muslims; the 'Sinterklaasfeest' (a Dutch celebration in December, where children get presents by a Dutch variant of Santa Claus: Sinterklaas), especially the case of 'zwarte piet' hurts them ('zwarte piet' could be translated as black pete and is the help of Sinterklaas which has been criticized every year for referring to slavery). Examples like these could enhance a certain politics of difference in which the longing for one single identity for a nation leads to feelings of polarization and exclusion (Taylor, 1994; Ghorashi, 2008).

Also Aliou (first generation) doesn't feel as much attached to the Netherlands as to his home country Senegal. This doesn't have to do with feelings of exclusion and discrimination, but with his vision about citizenship and belonging. He says that he doesn't feel Senegalese, but more cosmopolitan because he has travelled around the world and lived in a number of countries, which he never really felt engaged with: *"I'm not Italian, Dutch or Senegalese, I'm just a cosmopolitan citizen and I just want to take the good things I see here and in Italy"*. He explains that he likes to cook Italian, but is also still a bit Senegalese while he doesn't drink alcohol and feels that his daily behaviour is more Dutch. These statements express that although he doesn't feel at home in Senegal he still combines his Senegalese culture with other cultures. A similar view is of Michelle (first generation) who says that she does feel Nigerian but not that much. She tells that a person is just a person no matter where he or she is coming from. As such she seems to have a similar view as Aliou who says that he's a cosmopolitan citizen and that the place of residence or of origin is not that important to take into account. Another adult who feels connected to more places than only his country of birth is Ibrahim (first generation). He was born in Burkina Faso, but his family comes from, Togo, Ghana, Mali, Benin and Ivory Coast. As such when he thinks about his country of birth he thinks of West-Africa instead of Burkina Faso

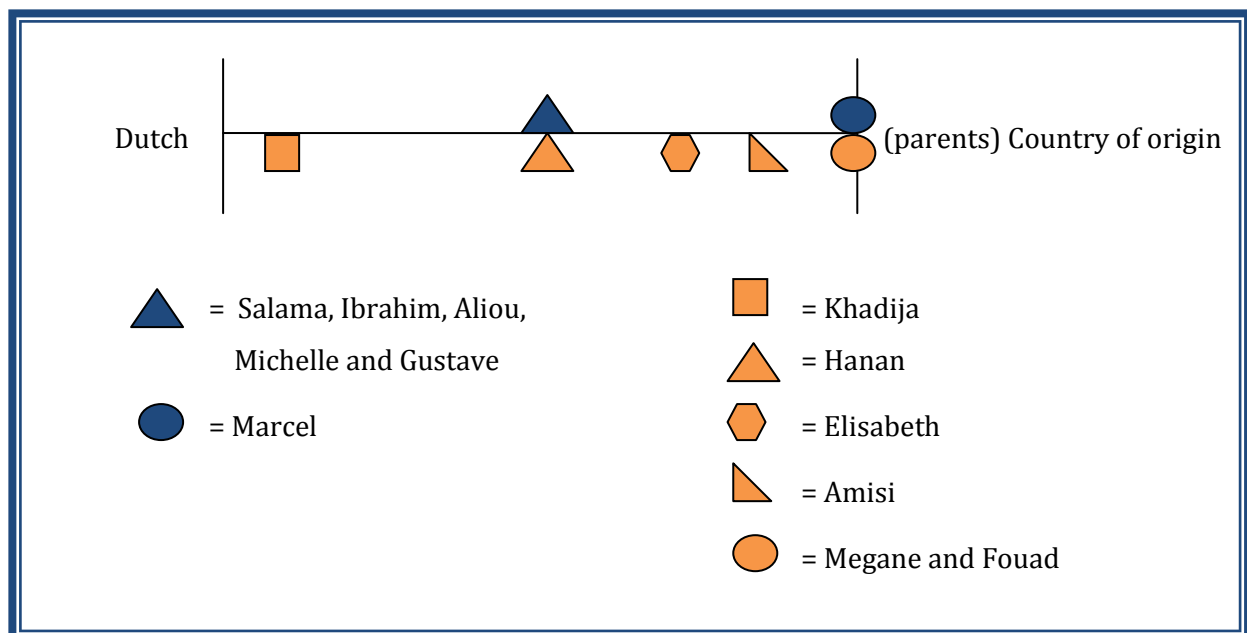
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<sup>21</sup> Original quote: "Je probeert te integreren, maar je hoort er nooit echt bij. Bijvoorbeeld in het WK, dan heb ik wel oranje aan en ik doe ook mee aan Koninginnedag of Koningsdag. Maar dan voel ik me niet per se een Nederlander. Hoe is het spreekwoord? Ja als een dubbeltje geboren worden, dan word je nooit een kwartje. Kijk zo is het Bij Marokkanen die migreren" (Fouad)



alone. He doesn't speak of the concept of cosmopolitanism, but he calls himself a West-African with a Dutch lid on it.

The other four first generation migrants I spoke with, all feel that they can't forget where they originally come from and that they are somehow balancing between their Dutch and foreign background. For example Gustave (first generation) says that: "Sometimes it's more Congolese and the other time Dutch, but that changes very fast. It's automatic and it is quite funny because in the Netherlands I feel Congolese and when I'm in Congo, sometimes I feel more Dutch".<sup>22</sup> This quote shows how the feeling of being a foreigner all the time – emphasized in the previous section – develops. Also Marcel emphasizes this balancing act, although he feels more Rwandese than Dutch: "Look, I'm everything of my land, I'm born there and I've grown there, so me and there, culture, everything, everything, everything. But for the Netherlands I have to learn more and more. I have to balance a little bit".<sup>23</sup> While he says that Rwanda is "my land" he shows his emotional attachment towards his country of birth. To increase the understanding of the different senses of belonging that the first and second generation experience I created an H-form to discuss their position between different identifications more thoroughly. In Figure 7 the H-form is presented in which the blue figures above the central line represents the position of the first generation respondents and the orange figures beneath the central line, the second generation that participates in this research.



**Figure 7. H-form: feeling more Dutch than transnational?**

<sup>22</sup> Original quote: "De ene keer is het meer Congolees en de andere keer Nederlands, maar dat wisselt heel snel. Dat gaat automatisch en het is wel grappig want in Nederland voel ik me ook wel Congolees, en als ik in Congo ben voel ik me weer soms meer Nederlands".

<sup>23</sup> Original quote: "Kijk ik eh, ben van alles van mijn land, ik ben daar geboren en gegroeid, dus ik en daar cultuur, alles alles alles. Maar voor Nederland ik moet meer en meer leren. Beetje balanceren moet ik zo".

The H-form shows the remarkable position of my first generation respondents. They all state that they can't position themselves between the two extremes in this H-form, because they feel all kinds of identities at the same time. Aliou (first generation) literally says that he feels that he has a hybrid identity. He thinks that he has more in common with Dutch people maybe than with Senegalese people, because of his everyday behavior and the way he thinks. This has to do with his education in Italy as he states that he has organized its life via a "more or less western standard". Because he doesn't feel a very big difference between the North of Italy and the Netherlands he feels that his attitude is more Dutch than Senegalese. Still he says that he positions himself in the middle of the H-form at the zero point, while his cosmopolitan senses of belonging make him identifying with everything and everywhere he has been. His senses can't be outlined on the base of bordered territories. The same is true for Michelle as she says that she feels free, a human being is a human being, she doesn't have the feeling of being Dutch or being Nigerian. She just thinks that a person is just a person no matter where he or she is coming from.

Another interpretation of identifications than that of a hybrid identity is that of Ibrahim (first generation) who emphasizes the importance of language on his senses of belonging: "For me behind every language is a culture, a way of thinking and a way of solving problems. If someone comes in my mother language and says 'I have a problem with a woman', than I start to identify with African, otherwise I can't solve it. A Dutch person would say 'damn go away, if she's not fun, you split'. No I wouldn't say that. You should say I'm sorry to you wife, go to her and talk to her. But a Dutch person says, go sit around the table and talk. That's a different way of handling the situation".<sup>24</sup> For Ibrahim his different languages influence how he handles in different situations. He says that when he is doing business he mostly thinks like a Dutch or English person, he thinks of things like 'time is money' which is typically English. Next to this, if he wants to tell something romantic, he thinks like a French person, while he thinks that this is a very romantic language. And if he deals with something sensitive, like with family or a problem, than he thinks as a West-African. So the combination of different cultures as is spoken of throughout this chapter also comes to the fore in this example of Ibrahim. The situation he is in, decides in what way he will think and how he identifies at that moment. Still as for the most of the respondents who have positioned themselves in the middle of the H-form, Ibrahim says that his West-African roots are at the core of his identification. He says that he is West-African and that 'Dutchness' is added, not to destroy his feeling of being West-African, but to be able to live. His identification towards West-Africa is the fuel for his Dutch identification. The same goes for

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<sup>24</sup> Original quote: "voor mij achter de taal zit een cultuur, zit een manier om te denken, zit een manier om problemen op te lossen. Als in mijn moedertaal iemand komt en zegt 'ik heb een probleem met een vrouw', dan begin ik me te identificeren met Afrikaans, anders kan ik niet oplossen. Nederlander zou zeggen 'godverdorie rot op, als ze niet meer leuk is ga je uit elkaar'. Nee, ik zou dat niet zomaar aanpakken. 'Zou je niet pardon zeggen en naar vrouw gaan om praten'. Maar nee Nederlander zegt 'ga aan tafel zitten om te praten'. Dat is een andere manier om aan te pakken"(Ibrahim).

Marcel (first generation) who says that all of Rwanda is inside, and that his Dutch identification is building up step by step. Still he positions himself totally on the side of his country of origin. This has to do with his idea that he still needs to integrate into Dutch society. He lacks the Dutch language and hasn't found a job yet. Therefore he feels like an outsider, and doesn't identify with the Netherlands yet.

More variation is found in the positioning of the second generation respondents in the H-form of Figure 7. No second generation migrant has positioned themselves in the middle, or at the zero-point of the H-form, which means that they do have more senses of belonging towards or the Netherlands or their (parents) country of origin. To start in the far left with Khadija, the most Dutch identification is found. Still the awareness of the foreign roots as explained by Ibrahim and Gustave is apparent in Khadija's senses of belonging when she says: "Yes, I do call myself Dutch, with a Moroccan background". [...] "Of course I speak the language and I go back once a year. So it would sound very weird if I don't feel Moroccan at all. There are some thing within me, but they do not predominate, they are balanced in other words".<sup>25</sup> So balancing between the two identifications she leans more towards a Dutch identification as she has totally resigned her senses of belonging towards Morocco. The fact that she is born there is the only given for her that she has some Moroccan feelings as well, which she is aware of via small cultural differences between Morocco and the Netherlands. She refers to the hospitable character of Moroccan culture which she misses in the Dutch culture and toward the raising of children in the Netherlands which she prefers over the raising of children in a Moroccan way. So she concludes: "It is more intuitive that I feel more Dutch. Mainly it has to do with the fact that I feel more connected with the Netherlands than with Morocco. I live here, ehm, I think of my future in the Netherlands and I have a history in the Netherlands. I did live in Morocco for twelve years, and those are crucial years, my youth, but I'm am who I am because I live here, and I'm educated here, I have friends and family here so yeah, I position myself more to this side (Dutch side in the H-form)".<sup>26</sup> Also Hanan (second generation) talks about the balance between the two identifications of this H-form. She says that these two identifications are actually one, in a sense that she doesn't feel a distance between her identification towards the Netherlands and her identification towards Morocco. She has the attitude of a Moroccan, but she lives in the Netherlands. She also feels that balancing between this Moroccan and Dutch culture makes who

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<sup>25</sup> Original quote: Ja ik noem mezelf een Nederlander ja, met een Marokkaanse achtergrond. [...], ik spreek natuurlijk de taal, ik ga één keer in het jaar terug. Dus het zou wel heel raar klinken dat ik me helemaal niet Marokkaans voel. Er zitten bepaalde dingen in mij, maar ze overheersen niet en ze zijn in balans zegmaar.

<sup>26</sup> Original quote: "Het is wel gevoelsmatig dat ik meer Nederlands voel. Het heeft vooral te maken met het feit dat ik, dat ik me meer verbonden voel met Nederland dan met Marokko. Ik woon hier, ik ben hier ik ehm ja, ik denk aan mijn toekomst in Nederland ik heb een verleden in Nederland. Ik heb wel 12 jaar in Marokko gewoond en dat zijn wel cruciale jaren in een leven, de jeugd, maar ik ben verder wie ik ben doordat ik hier ben gaan wonen en onderwijs heb genoten en vrienden en familie hier heb en ja. Het voelt toch wel meer aan die kant" (Khadija).

she is, instead of that one of the cultures has more influence on her self-identity than another one. Still as she talks about her identification to the Netherlands, she doesn't feel any connection. This way she has more senses of belonging towards Morocco, while she has taken over this culture completely, but her practices of belonging are more positioned in Dutch society, in her everyday behavior. More respondents discuss with themselves how they should position themselves while just like Hanan they feel they are belonging to both the Netherlands and their country of origin. Elisabeth is an example of someone who had some difficulties deciding where she would place herself in the H-form. She said to me that it was hard to explain: "It's difficult because I've grown up here. I feel both. It also depends on where I am. If I'm with Africans only, than I feel African. If I'm with Dutch people, I feel more Dutch. But it doesn't matter what I think or do, I remain being an African. I don't know, it's something I'm born with".<sup>27</sup> So also in the case of Elisabeth her African roots are creating more senses of belonging, while her activities of belonging are maybe more Dutch while she grew up here and works in the Netherlands. Combining these two forms of belonging create her identification as a little bit more African than Dutch on the H-form that she has drawn.

The next figure in the H-form represents Amisi (second generation) who stated that he feels 80% Congolese and 20% Dutch. He based this proportion on the cultural norms and values that he appreciates the most. He says that he really wants to associate with the Congolese culture and especially the way people deal with each other: "The Congolese culture is very warm [...] Africans are just warm, you can enter somewhere for a conversation and you don't have to make an appointment. It's less formal and very patient, they have less stress. [...] Dutch people say: 'oh you're coming at a wrong time, please come back in an hour'. That kind of things, culture things, I have the African culture".<sup>28</sup> Next to Amisi, also Megane substantiates her position in the H-form based on culture: I feel that my own culture is important, and I also feel Dutch, I don't have anything against Dutch people, but I do think that it's important to, how do you say it? Not to forget my culture. [...] I'm just proud that I'm from there".<sup>29</sup>

The only person who refers to certain structures of belonging as defined by Fenster (2005) as feelings of exclusion, is Fouad (second generation). He explains his position on the H-

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<sup>27</sup> Original quote: "Dat is lastig ik ben hier opgegroeid. Ik voel het allebei. Het ligt er ook aan waar ik ben. Als ik met alleen maar Afrikanen ben, dan voel ik me Afrikaans. En als ik met Nederlanders ben, ben ik meer Nederlands. Maar het maakt niet uit wat ik denk of wat ik doe, ik blijf een Afrikaan. Ik weet niet dat is iets aangeborens" (Elisabeth).

<sup>28</sup> Original quote: "Congolese cultuur is heel warm [...] Afrikaans ja het is gewoon warm, je kunt gewoon ergens binnen lopen voor een gesprekje je hoeft niet snel een afspraak te maken. Het is minder formeel en het is heel geduldig, ze zijn minder stress [...] Maar Nederlanders zeggen van oh je komt net op de verkeerde tijd, kom maar een uur later. Dat soort dingen. Die cultuurdinngen, de Afrikaanse cultuur die heb ik" (Amisi).

<sup>29</sup> Original quote: "ik vind me eigen cultuur ook gewoon belangrijk en ehm, ik heb niks, ik voel me ook gewoon Nederlands ik heb helemaal niets tegen Nederlanders zelf. Maar ik vind het belangrijk om mijn cultuur, hoe noem je dat, niet te vergeten [...] ik ben gewoon trots dat ik daar vandaan kom" (Megane).

form by stating how he is not feeling Dutch, instead of emphasizing his Moroccan senses of belonging. When I asked him if he feels connected to the Netherlands he states that: “I do feel a connection, but higher authorities exclude you. Like the boundary between ‘autochtone’ and ‘allochtone’. Top down it is tried to break down the connection. And that is because of the media. Because you actually have to say ‘nieuwe Nederlanders (new Dutch), but you won’t hear that term. Also on the streets they say foreigner”.<sup>30</sup> So as comes out of this quote, Fouad doesn’t feel the possibility to identify with the Netherlands as governments and other public discourses discourage him to create feelings of belonging towards the Netherlands.

So out of the H-form as well as out of the interviews it seems that all respondents have stronger senses of belonging towards their country or origin, than towards the Netherlands. When the respondents talk about their Dutch identification, mostly the formal aspects of Dutch culture come to the fore, which are used in the daily activities of the migrants. More emotional statements are given when the respondents think about their connection to their country of birth. They all imply that their African roots have an impact on their lives, either by reinforcing those roots in their identities, or by feeling excluded from the Dutch society. The respondents seem to deal with their identifications by balancing between one and the other, but at the same time emphasizing that they are one person, in which multiple identifications work at the same time. The situation is very decisive in making clear for the respondents how they feel and act. Language and culture are labeled as the most important identity markers to construct their identities. Only Aliou en Michelle are coming close to the ideal form of a transnational identity in which they feel that they are cosmopolitan or hybrid in a sense. Their lives are not bounded by borders of nations and they can create their identity without a clear centre of reference.

#### **4.3 CONCLUSION: BALANCING BETWEEN ROOTS AND THE NETHERLANDS**

Most of my respondents have a strong social-cultural identification with their (parents) country of origin: they stay in contact with relatives, friends or colleagues, they follow the news over there, they regularly visit the country, and they think of the possibility to live there in the future. First their country of birth is about family, but it is also a country which reminds them of their culture. Feelings of being e.g. Cameroonian, Moroccan or Congolese are mostly based on senses of belonging and culture. Especially the warmth and hospitality of the African culture is referred to as something that the respondents appreciate but miss in Dutch culture.

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<sup>30</sup> Original quote: “Die verbondenheid voel je wel. Maar je wordt van hogerop ook weer buitengesloten. Zoals de grens tussen autochtoon en allochtoon, van bovenaf wordt geprobeerd om de verbondenheid te verbreken. Dat komt ook door de media. Want eigenlijk hoor je nu te zeggen nieuwe Nederlanders, maar die term hoor je niet. Ook niet op straat, daar hoor je mensen zeggen buitenlander” (Fouad).

The difference between the first and second generation in their transnational ties is that the first generation is in direct contact with relatives and friends as opposed to the second generation who do not have contact with their relatives or only hear about their families via their parents who tell them about the situation there. Next to this there is a difference within the group of second generation respondents, while there are respondents who have no contact at all, but there are also respondents who have almost daily contact with their families in home countries. As is explained in this chapter the variation between the second generations degree of keeping in touch with relatives and friends in their (parents) country of birth is based on the place of residence of their parents. The respondents whose parents still lived in their country of origin, had more contact with their relatives abroad than the respondents whose parents lived with them in the Netherlands and in Leiden.

All the respondents feel more hesitant to call themselves Dutch as opposed to their identification with their country of birth. It seems that the roots of the respondents all remind them of being 'different' than other Dutch people. Therefore some respondents are creating a balance between their two cultures. They don't organize these identifications into a hierarchy, like is presented in the H-form, but they feel as much Dutch as e.g. Moroccan or Egyptian. They see this combination of identifications not as a problem, while it defines their connection to both countries they relate to. Michelle, Aliou and Ibrahim feel connected to more countries than their country of birth and country of residence and as such they can have the 'the best of both worlds': they can choose the elements which they find important and construct a hybrid identity.

Next to this some respondents do feel a kind of hierarchy and feel more Dutch or do relate more to their (parents) country of birth. For example Fouad discussed his feelings of exclusion by explaining the discourse that is present in Dutch society, in which migrants are always seen as foreigners or as 'allochtones'. Those terms make Fouad feel that he isn't Dutch, although he feels at home in the Netherlands. So although he is Dutch, he doesn't feel Dutch, which is an experience that is shared by more of my respondents. As such we can agree with Crul et al. (2012) that "The discursive context represents a complex field, whereby a constant tension is found between the second generation's personal feelings of belonging and the political, media and social representations of their position in society" (p. 32).

In sum, this chapter has shown that there are different strategies of identification towards different nations namely the country of origin and the country of residence and the meaning that transnational activities give to them. It is clear that the respondents who engage in transnational activities the most, also have the most identification with their country of birth, or they have constructed a more hybrid identity. On the one hand there are people who recognize differences and therefore create a hierarchy in their senses and activities of belonging, and there are people who do not create a hierarchy out of the differences but a mixture of different

cultures. As such the scale balances between belonging to all different territories and cultures at once, or the scale leans somewhat more to feeling Dutch or feeling African.

# 5 Being and becoming a ‘Leidenaar’

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## *About the local and the national scale in identification processes*

Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) suggest that the identification towards the city a migrant lives in is stronger than the identification towards a country. In cities you find more diversity, and because no group is the clear majority in a city, it is easier for migrants to claim their place in the city and identify with this city (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011). This chapter will show if this is also true for the first and second generation respondents who live in the city of Leiden. What does their identification towards Leiden and the Netherlands mean to them, and how are those identifications experienced by the two generations? To answer such questions this chapter consists of three parts. The first part goes into the perception of the respondents about Leiden. A general portrait is sketched, in which some pro’s and con’s of Leiden come to the fore. Experiences with their local citizenship will be analysed first and will be set in perspective by also relating to the opinions of the respondents about their identification towards the Netherlands. In the second part the senses of belonging to Leiden and the Netherlands are presented. This way the vertical relationship<sup>31</sup> between a local and national identification becomes clear; or to put it differently: the feelings of being a ‘Leidenaar’ and being Dutch are compared. After this analysis, a last part forms a conclusion of the chapter by formulating the different findings about identifying with the place and country of residence.

### 5.1 PORTRAIT OF THE CITY

All of the respondents, both first and second generation, stress that they feel at home in Leiden. Leiden is portrayed as a peaceful, beautiful and safe city. Especially first generation migrants appreciate that Leiden is an old city with a long history, the beauty of the university, the canals and other old buildings in the city center make the respondents feel proud about their city. Although the second generation migrants sometimes call Leiden a boring city, they also state that they like the peace and quiet of Leiden. In Leiden there is not that much traffic, but still there are enough activities in the city and there are enough shops and organizations to fulfill the citizen’s needs. In every interview Leiden is compared to other cities in the Netherlands, mainly to clarify how peaceful Leiden is, for example Michelle (first generation) argues that “compared to The Hague or Amsterdam, it’s quite here”.<sup>32</sup> This peaceful sphere is appreciated and especially

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<sup>31</sup> More information about scales of identification organized as vertical or horizontal relationships can be found in section 2.3.1. Territorial identification (page 28 – 32).

<sup>32</sup> Original quote: “vergeleken met Den-Haag of Amsterdam is het rustig” (Michelle).



in relation to the upbringing of children. For example Aliou (first generation) works in Amsterdam, but doesn't want his children to grow up in such a big city. Both the first and the second generation respondents mention that Leiden is a good city to raise children in or to grow up in, while it isn't that noisy and busy as in other cities in the Netherlands.

The proximity to other cities is not only mentioned to compare the difference in quietness between different cities, while living in Leiden doesn't stop at the borders of the city. According to the interviewees Leiden is such a nice place to live, because of its central location nearby Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. While Leiden is a small city, the respondents can go to a city like the Hague for the needs that they can't fulfill in Leiden. The proximity to other cities is crucial for especially the second generation migrants, to do everything they want to do. For example Megane (second generation) says that for her the only downside of Leiden is the shopping area:

*"The people who really want to do some shopping, have to go all the way outside of town. And ehm... I think that we, at any rate most of the Africans, if they want something like African food, because we eat that a lot, then we have to drive all the way to The Hague, to the 'Hague market'. We always get our food there, because you can't buy it in Leiden. There are special things, like food and stuff that is imported from Africa to sell it here. And we don't have that in Leiden".*<sup>33</sup>

Although she complains about the absence of stores that sell African food and products in Leiden she still says: "I don't think that I could live in The Hague or in Amsterdam, that's all too busy. Leiden is just central, so if I want to go to The Hague or Amsterdam I'll take the train and that's it".<sup>34</sup> Shopping and other activities like work are a reason to feel connected to other cities too, just like keeping up a social life that span the borders of Leiden. For Amisi (second generation) his friendships in Amsterdam are just as tight as the friendships he has made within Leiden. It seems to be the general opinion for all the respondents, that other cities also play a part in their life as Leidenaren. So there seems to be a paradox in feeling at home in Leiden, while mobility can be seen as a source to actually feel settled and at place in Leiden. I think that this could be an outcome out of the fluid character of migration. Opportunities and challenges do not have to be

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<sup>33</sup> Original quote: "de mensen die echt willen winkelen, moeten helemaal buiten de stad. En ehm, ja ik vind bijvoorbeeld ook, wij als tenminste, de meeste Afrikanen als ze wat willen hebben qua Afrikaans voedsel want dat eten we vaak, dan moeten we ook helemaal naar Den-Haag rijden, naar de Haagse markt. Daar halen we altijd het voedsel, want hier in Leiden kun je dat niet kopen. Je hebt daar speciale zaken die dingen, voedsel enzo vanuit Afrika importeren om het hier weer verder te verkopen. En dat heb je hier niet in Leiden" (Megane).

<sup>34</sup> Original quote: "ik zou niet in Denhaag kunnen wonen of in Amsterdam, dat is allemaal veel te druk. Leiden is gewoon lekker centraal, dus als ik daar naartoe wil neem ik de trein en that's it" (Megane).

dealt with in one place alone. The respondents can make use of other cities to be able to live the life they want. Faster and cheaper means of transportation on a global level also work out on a local level in this case; it enables migrants to work and live in more than one place and travel frequently within and between countries and cities (Niessen, 2012, p. 19). I agree with Niessen (2012) and also Schapendonk (2011) that migrants should be understood as if they are in transition. Migrants are believed to construct multiple relationships that cross geographical, cultural and political boundaries (Faist, 2000) and as such I can argue that it is especially a quality of someone who migrated to be easily connected to multiple or other places than just to their place of residence. It is thus the question if native citizens of Leiden will have a different opinion about the closeness of other cities as an important marker of their local identification. So actually we can take the 'transit migrant approach' to the local level. Even though a person can feel settled in the country of destination, in this case in the Netherlands in Leiden, the continue importance of other places, and freedom to move between places determines that people create a feeling of settlement or a feeling of belonging. Especially the transition between different cities makes the respondents feel at home in Leiden. Hence, movement or mobility is an important identity marker for the respondents.

### 5.1.1 Diverse population

Not only the peaceful character of Leiden and the ability to move between cities, are seen as pro's of the city of Leiden. Also diversity is highly appreciated by both the first and second generation respondents. They both express that a lot of people with different nationalities live in the city and also that the population is young due to the university. Because of this diversity and the continue flow of (international) students that come and go, the city seems to be active and tolerant. All the respondents agree that Leiden is 'broad-minded', in which all citizens treat each other with respect. Gustave (first generation) is very pleased with Leiden's diversity and calls the city truly multicultural. He gives an example of the tolerable character of Leiden by describing his neighborhood: "I live in this complex for 12 years and Turkish, Dutch, Moroccan, African, Ghanaian, Burkinese, Congolese people live here and I've never saw any arguments".<sup>35</sup> Also Ibrahim (first generation) expresses his pride of Leiden because of its reputation as a social and tolerant city. According to Ibrahim the citizens in Leiden are very social and he relates this behavior to two things:

*"An advantage of Leiden that I experience is the university, which is an international university. That's one, but also when I look back at the history of Leiden, it really was a*

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<sup>35</sup> Original quote: "Ik woon al twaalf jaar in dit complex en er wonen Turken, Nederlanders, Marokkanen, Afrikanen, Ghanezen, Burkinen, Congolezen en ik heb nog nooit ruzie gezien" (Gustave).

*social city. The Spaniards were here and Italians, a lot of foreigners, so Leiden is used to people. It's one of the cities in which such social things are well organized".<sup>36</sup>*

Ibrahim is the only one who refers to the history of Leiden in relation to diversity and tolerance of the *Leidenaren*, which can be explained by his interest in history while he studied history at university. Although all respondents agree that people with different cultural backgrounds go well together in Leiden, this image is also under pressure. The second generation sees more tensions between different communities within Leiden than first generation migrants. Although some first generation migrants admit that they sometimes deal with prejudices or negative stereotypes, they feel that the citizens in Leiden are respecting each other. It is only the second generation, excluding Elisabeth and Megane, that directs to a division and increasing tension between foreign citizens and Dutch citizens. For example Amisi (second generation) states that in Leiden there are no boundaries between migrants from different origins (especially compared to other cities), but a boundary does exist between native Dutch citizens and foreigners:

*"Yes I feel a kind of connection (between people within Leiden), and it's because yeah if you're in Amsterdam for example and your African than you will be around other Africans. If you are a Moroccan there, then you meet other Moroccans. That's different here and in some other places, for example where there are less Dutch people. But in Amsterdam really are differences and an ethnic feeling, but in Leiden there are just 'autochtone' (native Dutch people) and 'allochtone' (foreign people). There are just those two groups. Dutch people mostly meet Dutch people and 'allochtones' mostly meet 'allochtones'. That's because it's small here. You meet each other, because Leiden is small and everything is more mixed. If you are here in your youth you definitely have Turkish friends, Moroccan friends, some Dutch friends, so you are with all 'allochtones'. But in Amsterdam there are places where only dark people live and then you will mainly hang out with other dark people in your youth. [...] So it's really mixed here, all 'allochtones' socialize with each other".<sup>37</sup>*

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<sup>36</sup> Original quote: "Voordeel van Leiden dat heb ik meegemaakt aan de uni. Is internationaal universiteit. Dat is één, als ik ook kijk terug naar de geschiedenis van Leiden. Was echt een sociale stad, Spanjaarden waren hier Italiaanse. Heel veel buitenlanders, dus Leiden is gewend om mensen. Een van de stad dat sociale dingen goed geregeld was" (Ibrahim).

<sup>37</sup> Original quote: "Ja, je voelt wel een soort van verbintenis en dat komt doordat, ja in andere steden is het gewoon bijv. in Amsterdam als je daar Afrikaan bent, dan ga je voornamelijk om met andere Afrikanen. Als je daar Marokkaan bent, ga je om met andere Marokkanen. En dat is hier anders en op sommige plekken, bijvoorbeeld waar ehm weinig Nederlanders leven. Maar Leiden is meer zo, ehm, in Amsterdam heb je echt verschillen en een etnisch gevoel, maar Leiden is het gewoon je hebt autochtoon en je hebt allochtoon. Je hebt gewoon die twee groepen. Je hebt Nederlanders en die gaan voornamelijk met Nederlanders om en je hebt allochtonen zegmaar en die gaan met alle allochtonen om. Hier is het gewoon zegmaar meer bij, het is gewoon zo omdat het zo klein is hier. Je ontmoet elkaar, Leiden is klein en alles is een beetje door elkaar heen, dus je bent als je kind bent hier, dan heb je sowieso in je jeugd en heb je Turkse vrienden en Marokkaanse vrienden

This quote shows that although he feels that the population in Leiden is mixed and that there is no segregation like in Amsterdam, he still feels a division between the 'allochtone' and 'autochtone' population of Leiden. Allochtones and autochtones are words that are used in Dutch language to refer to foreigners and natives respectively. In his eyes, migrants do not really meet up with native Dutch people and the other way around. Nevertheless, when I asked him about his own social network, he said that he had friends from multiple backgrounds, including Dutch friends. Not only Amisi speaks of a growing distance between people with different cultures and ethnical backgrounds. Also Khadija and Fouad (second generation) feel that there is a growing distinction between migrants and Dutch people in Leiden. Fouad explains that "in the years of '96 and '97 the Dutch community was more friendly than now. Back then there was more respect, there was not that much of an idea of 'right' (right wing politics), but I don't see that now in Dutch politics".<sup>38</sup> He claims that Dutch media plays a big part in the decline of the encounter between migrants and native Dutch people in Leiden:

*"Look, people believe everything they see on television or on social media and internet. And if it is good news, than you won't hear a thing, but if it's bad news, than the name of Morocco comes with it. It's just 5% who spoil the atmosphere for the other ones, and everybody is been generalized as the same person".<sup>39</sup>*

Khadija feels the same way as Fouad does and says that she always has an 'us-and-them' feeling:

*"They never get the chance to have a look at us, it is really two separated doors, and nobody is allowed to come near the other. Imagination and prejudices, and the media play a big part in that. On the one hand I regret this, but I can't blame them. It's the same for both parties".<sup>40</sup>*

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paar Nederlandse vrienden gehad, dus je bent met alle allochtonen. Maar in amsterdam heb je plekken waar alleen maar donkere mensen leven en dan ga je voornamelijk in je jeugd alleen met donkere mensen om [...] En hier is het wel echt gemixt. Alle allochtonen gaan met elkaar om" (Amisi).

<sup>38</sup> Original quote: "Laat ik zeggen, de jaren '96-'97 toen was de Nederlandse gemeenschap vriendelijker dan nu. Toen was er meer respect en was er niet zoveel van dat idee van 'rechts'. Maar dat zie je nu niet terug in de Nederlandse verkiezingen" (Fouad).

<sup>39</sup> Original quote: "Kijk mensen geloven alles wat ze zien op tv of op social media en internet. En als er goed nieuws is, dan hoor je niks en als er slecht nieuws is, dan hoor je opeens Marokko erbij. 5% verpest het voor de rest en wordt iedereen over één kam geschoren" (Fouad).

<sup>40</sup> Original quote: "Het is altijd het jullie en wij gevoel. En zij krijgen nooit de kans om bij ons te komen kijken. Het is echt, twee gescheiden deuren, en niemand mag kunnen in de buurt komen van de ander. En verbeeldingen en vooroordelen die je hebt en de media speelt daar een belangrijke rol in. Maar aan de ene kant vind ik het jammer, maar ik neem het ze ook niet kwalijk. Het is voor beide partijen zo" (Khadija).

These quotes add to Amisi's feeling that there is not much interconnection between different communities within the city. How this feeling of 'othering' (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001) could be prevented or counteracted is unclear for the respondents. One of the ideals of the interviewees is to live in a mixed neighborhood. Both the first and second generation migrants appreciate the cultural diversity of Leiden as something positive, despite their experiences with discrimination and stereotypes. They all agree on the fact that having more than one culture is something valuable and people should learn more about the differences, while differences between people do not need to be seen as something negative. Aliou (first generation) explains why he thinks it's important for him to have different nationalities and cultures living together:

*"And now the world is completely different and it is, things are much more, ehm I would say changes are faster now than in the past. So I think that the next coming 20 years there will be a lot of changes I mean there will be no places where people want to go which will be intact and unchanged you know. The world is really fast to live with, surrounded by different cultures and different people and Leiden is a just an experience of what will be tomorrow the normal situation".*

The respondents agree that if people would live together, they will also come together. This opinion conforms to the contact hypotheses that assumes it is ideal for a neighborhood to have as much mixture as possible (Veldboer et al., 2007). Increased contact between different communities could positively influence the mutual image of those communities. Hence, the distance that some of the respondents feel between native Dutch citizens and citizens with a foreign background, should be overcome by meeting each other. This can be a action point for the local government of Leiden, while some of the respondents feel that the neighborhoods in Leiden are segregated. Especially Khadija (second generation) has this feeling, when she talks about neighborhoods 'de Kooi' and 'Merenwijk'. She states that it seems like the municipality is placing people with the same background in one neighborhood on purpose:

*"I do feel a change in the last years, not only in 'de Kooi', also in the 'Merenwijk'. Last year a lot of 'allochtones' came to live there, especially Moroccans, that's just absurd! Why is the municipality doing that? I don't think it's smart to put all identical people in the same place. But I guess I have to be in the city council then".<sup>41</sup>*

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<sup>41</sup> Original quote: "Ik voel toch wel een verandering in de laatste jaren en niet zo zeer in de Kooi, maar ook in de Merenwijk, daar zijn afgelopen jaar zoveel allochtonen gaan wonen, met name Marokkanen dat is gewoon absurd! Waarom doet de gemeente dat, het lijkt me niet slim om allemaal dezelfde mensen op de zelfde plek te zetten. Maarja ik moet gewoon in de gemeenteraad gaan zitten dan" (Khadija).

Also the municipality of Leiden admits that they see an increase in segregation in Leiden. They state in their organization-plan for 2025, that Leiden will enhance the social cohesion and control in its neighborhoods by developing more neighborhood-management and an upkeep of parks and playgrounds (Gemeente Leiden, 2012). So after 2025 Khadija should have changed her opinion about the segregation in the neighborhoods 'de Kooi' and 'Merenwijk'. Still I don't know if beating segregation or having contact with migrants will decrease the 'us-and-them' feeling between migrants and natives in general. I agree with Matejskova and Leitner (2011) that having contact with individual migrants can create positive attitudes, but they do not have to be generalized to the whole immigrant community. I believe that there are more broader frameworks that keep up unequal relations or discrimination, and those frameworks should be also the focus of local governments next to creating mixed neighborhoods. An example of such a framework is the media – as Fouad and Khadija point to – that is spreading more negative news than positive news about migration, integration and migrant minorities according to some of my respondents. Another framework that should be overcome is mentioned by Amisi (second generation). He reflects on Dutch primary and secondary schooling curricula which only mention Africa in relation to colonialism and slavery. According to him the current image of Africans in schooling systems is an image that points to poverty and dependency. I can see where Amisi is coming from, while my internship organization also has organized a research about stereotypes of Sub Saharan Africa in primary schools in Leiden. Taking these two frameworks – media and schooling systems – into account as reasons for discrimination and stereotyping according to some of my respondents, the local government of Leiden should include some insights about these frameworks in their structural vision for 2025, to be able to let migrants feel part of the city. Not only local government should be involved in such broad based frameworks, also on a national scale the way African culture is presented in media and schooling systems should change to make people with African roots feel at home in the Netherlands. To create more understanding about the respondents feelings of exclusion from Leidenaren I asked them about their opinions of their participation in Leiden and their possibilities to participate. The next section shows that although feelings of distance are felt between native Leidenaren and foreign Leidenaren, this does not relate to the possibilities of participation for migrants in Leiden.

### **5.1.2 Participation in Leiden**

Leiden is portrayed as an active city in trying to participate its citizens into society. The main theme of the structure-vision for 2025 of the local government is that everybody counts, and everybody participates. As also the municipality of Leiden name local organizations as assistance for their citizens to integrate and participate into the society of Leiden, also the respondents

refer to multiple local organizations when I ask them about their possibilities to participate in Leiden. The respondents name the following organizations: The Bakkerij, the Raad en Daad shop, football clubs and community houses as their instrument to get the information they need and to come together with other Leidenaren. All the respondents agree with the idea that Leiden is a city which cares for all its citizens and especially for those who need more help than others. But according to Khadija (second generation) there could be a problem with the participation of migrants; not because of a lack of support from the local government, but because the migrants themselves are unaware of the possibilities they have in Leiden to fully feel part of the city. By saying this, Khadija argues that it is a migrants' own responsibility to integrate, which shows her approval with the recent integration debate in local and national politics, in which it is emphasized that integration and participation of a migrant in society is his or her own responsibility. She explains:

*"I think that there are enough possibilities for migrants to feel at home in Leiden, but the question is if they really go for it" [...] "In my opinion the municipality does enough, they give newcomers all the information they need. But if you don't know the language and you don't know the system and everything is new, than it's the last thing you think about and then it takes time to get to the moment that you feel one with the city, or with the whole country, from that moment you will look for information and enrich yourself I think".<sup>42</sup>*

Hanan (second generation) also refers to information that is sometimes missing because migrants don't actively look for it. As such she likes to see more initiatives for migrants where they can meet and talk to each other. She gives the example of a place where especially migrant women should meet:

*"Then you see how someone else's life looks like, and you will automatically move along if you want to be like that person. That asks for much energy to go beyond your group and to do something only for yourself. But if there's a place where women can meet and help and stimulate each other, maybe they think: why do I have to stay home or be a housewife? Maybe they ask the question, and they can find a reason to do something".<sup>43</sup>*

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<sup>42</sup> Original quote: "Ik denk dat er wel genoeg mogelijkheden zijn, maar de vraag is of zij dat wel met beide handen pakken" [...] "in mijn ogen doet de gemeente wel voldoende als je hier nieuw bent krijg je alle informatie die je nodig hebt, maar als je de taal niet machtig bent en je kent het systeem niet en alles is nieuw voor je, dan is dat het laatste waar je aan denkt en dat komt met de tijd en op het moment dat je je één voelt met de stad of met het hele land hoor, dan ga je zelf op zoek naar informatie en jezelf verrijken denk ik hoor" (Khadija).

<sup>43</sup> Original quote: "Ja, dan zie je soms hoe het bij een ander kan zijn. Als je niet zelf wilt veranderen, maar als je iets wilt zoals het bij een ander is, dan ga je daar automatisch in mee. Het vraagt veel energie om buiten de

So the contact between people with different backgrounds, as well as the contact with people who are in the same position (who are also citizens with a foreign background) is important to overcome challenges and barriers for identification with the city. By meeting one another, people can try to understand each other and learn from the differences they have, or similarities that they share. Again the respondents seem to be supporters of the contact hypotheses explained above. Regular and close encounters with racialized and 'othered' subjects are desirable, to increase understanding between citizens and participation into society. But as comes to the fore in this section, it is not the local governments responsibility to create a bridge between different communities in Leiden. According to the respondents they feel that Leiden does enough to include all of its citizens, and they give enough information to migrants who want to live in the city. All feelings of exclusion that the respondents experience are because of a lack of positive media about immigrants, the stereotypes in schooling systems and sometimes the ignorance of some native citizens.

For first generation migrants the bringing up of children helps them to participate into Leiden. Bringing children to school and to sports clubs for example, results in making contacts with parents of other children and also in knowing one's way in the city. Walking, cycling and driving through town to bring their children to friends or a music club makes them really get to know the city. While also two of the second generation migrants have children, they could relate to these ideas. For Fouad his children are an example of his own integration while he talks Dutch with them. For Hanan the school of her children makes her aware of Dutch culture, like the time that she had to make a Christmas bouquet she never heard of before. So in the case of participation into society not only generation is of importance, also the difference in having, or not having children is of influence on feelings of being part of the city of Leiden.

## **5.2 LEIDENAAR AND/OR/NOR DUTCH?**

When I asked the respondents if they feel at home in Leiden, everybody answered that they did feel at home, but when I asked them if they identify with the city, more complex answers were given. I asked all the respondents if they feel or call themselves a 'Leidenaar', which creates a big pool of information about opinions of their identification with the city. The first thing that I noticed under the answers is that I can pare up the six first generation migrants, based on their identification with Leiden. First I deal with Ibrahim and Salama who definitely call themselves Leidenaren. For Ibrahim this is the case while he is proud of the beautiful city he lives in:

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groep te gaan en wat voor jezelf te doen. Maar als er een plek is waar die vrouwen bij elkaar kunnen komen en elkaar kunnen helpen en stimuleren, misschien hebben ze dan zoiets van 'waarom moet ik thuis blijven of alleen een huisvrouw te zijn?' Misschien stellen ze de vraag en vinden ze toch een reden om wat te doen" (Hanan).



*"A Leidenaar is someone who loves the third of October (annual festival celebrating the Siege of Leiden). We've got our ritual, Leidenaren also think that they are central in the history of the Netherlands, I have that too. It's because the king has studied in Leiden and Leiden was one of the oldest universities of the Netherlands. Leiden also got one of the most beautiful streets in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Rapenburg. Leiden has canals, old canal, white canal... and Leiden yes. I'm really proud".<sup>44</sup>*

For Salama there is no question that he feels Leidenaar. For him it's self-evident, while he lives and works in Leiden, so he is a Leidenaar. Still he does also have a more emotional attachment to Leiden than only his official local citizenship which is constituted through his work. Salama has his own copyshop/hair-salon and therefore has a lot of contact with his costumers who mainly live in Leiden too. Having these social relationships with his costumers, and before with the people he met when he had his own café make him really feel at home in Leiden. When he had a café he spoke a lot with students and with a diverse mix of citizens. Therefore he feels that he is connected to all the people that live in Leiden, from young students, to more elderly people who want a haircut. So the social life of Salama (mainly created throughout his working experiences) is of great importance to be able to feel part of the city and to identify as a Leidenaar.

The next couple shares the meaning that they don't feel Leidenaar yet, but they don't keep at bay that this feeling of belonging could develop over the years. This is the case for Aliou and Marcel who hesitate to call themselves a Leidenaar for different reasons. Aliou came to the Netherlands in 2009 because of work, he is an expat. While his work doesn't ask of him to learn the Dutch language, he never learnt to speak Dutch and because of that he doesn't feel like a Leidenaar right now. He said, he mostly frequents other expats and as such he hasn't much contact with other people from Leiden. So in Aliou's case his social network together with language creates a barrier between his identification as a Leidenaar. For Marcel also language influences his identification with Leiden. Marcel told me that he can't say that he is a Leidenaar because he doesn't feel independent. He doesn't have work and he doesn't speak the language enough to be able to say that he's a Leidenaar. Marcel still feels that he has to integrate as he said:

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<sup>44</sup> Original quote: "Nou, een Leidenaar is iemand die dol op 3 oktober. We hebben ons ritueel, Leidenaren denken ook dat ze echt centraal zitten in de geschiedenis van Nederland, die heb ik ook. Dat komt de koning heeft in Leiden gestudeerd en Leiden was een van de oudste universiteiten van NL. Leiden heeft ooit een van de beroemdste mooiste straat in Europa in 17<sup>e</sup> gekregen: rapenburg. Leiden heeft de Singel gehad, oude singel witte singel.... En Leiden ja. Ik ben echt trots beetje heb ik ook"(Ibrahim).

*"I need to be independent. To be independent, you need work. So if you have that, then you will feel a bit 'Leidens', otherwise you're a littlebit... well I have to learn more. I have to do a lot to get better, to find a job, my language, yes I try to develop myself".<sup>45</sup>*

So being integrated which includes mastering the Dutch language is considered a logical step among the respondents, not only to feel Dutch but as the above quotations show, also to be able to identify as a Leidenaar. This way the demand to learn the Dutch language by the Dutch government and that of the city of Leiden is reasonable for my respondents.

Another opinion about local identification is shared by Michelle and Gustave. They argue that the identity Leidenaar is not really necessary for them to feel at home in Leiden. Both Michelle and Gustave feel some distance between themselves and people from Leiden while they are not born in this city. Michelle says:

*"Well, I'm not connected to Leiden, no I feel more Nigerian in that case and maybe that my children feel more connected with Leiden, but not me. Neither to the Netherlands. But I am proud of Leiden, but I'm not born here".<sup>46</sup>*

Gustave adds that he is proud of Leiden: "in my heart and head is Leiden".<sup>47</sup> He argues that he definitely doesn't want to live anywhere else but in Leiden, still he says that he won't necessarily call himself a Leidenaar. For him his fourteen year of stay in Leiden, is not enough to truly feel connected to the city as a Leidenaar. But even if he lives in Leiden for a longer period, his foreign background will always remind him of being different than a Leidenaar.

Under the second generation migrants also different opinions arise when they think about themselves as being a Leidenaar. Only Fouad and Elisabeth clearly explain that they do call themselves Leidenaren. They both feel like a Leidenaar because they live in Leiden for a certain amount of years, respectively twenty and thirteen years. Or as Elisabeth puts it: "I live in Leiden since 2002. It's nice and quiet, so I do really feel Leidenaar yes".<sup>48</sup> Both Fouad and Elisabeth are happy with their life in Leiden and they wouldn't want to live anywhere else.

More hesitation in identifying with Leiden is found in the opinions of Amisi, Khadija, Megane and Hanan. Both Amisi and Khadija state that they only ever think about themselves as

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<sup>45</sup> Original quote: "Ik moet een beetje zelfstandig zijn. Om zelfstandig te zijn moet je werken. Dus als je dat hebt, dan voel je je een beetje Leidens, anders ja ben je een beetje... ja ik moet nog leren. Ik moet nog teveel doen om me te verbeteren, baan te vinden, mijn taal, ja probeer me te ontwikkelen" (Marcel).

<sup>46</sup> Original quote: "Nou, ik ben niet verbonden met Leiden, nee ik voel me dan meer Nigeriaans juist en misschien dat mijn kinderen wel meer verbonden zijn met Leiden maar ik niet. En ook niet met Nederland. Maar ik ben wel trots op Leiden, maar ik ben er niet geboren" (Michelle).

<sup>47</sup> Original quote: "In mijn hoofd en hart zit Leiden" (Gustave).

<sup>48</sup> Original quote: "Nou ik woon al sinds 2002 in Leiden. Het is prettig en rustig. Dus ik voel me wel echt een Leidenaar ja (Elisabeth).

being a Leidenaar if they meet people from other cities. Amisi says: “I wouldn’t call myself a Leidenaar, but if someone says ‘I’m a Rotterdammer’ then I say actually I’m a Leidenaar. But it’s not like I say I’m a Leidenaar when I introduce myself”.<sup>49</sup> When I ask him if he feels Leidenaar he answers: “No not really I think. When I do something, it’s mostly outside of the city”.<sup>50</sup> Amisi explains that there is a kind of a culture in Leiden, which is a bit reserved, and he doesn’t relate to that: “I think that Leidenaren are easily pleased with the situation here, he doesn’t have to try new things somewhere else [...] I notice that they are less adventurous”.<sup>51</sup> By stating this example of the culture of Leiden, Amisi distances himself from this culture, and also from the identity of a Leidenaar. Not only because he has other cultural norms but also because he has a social network outside of Leiden. So for Amisi the ties he has in other cities, decrease his identification to the place he lives in. In contrast to Amisi who doesn’t really feels Leidenaar, Khadija does feel like a Leidenaar, although she only is aware of this feeling if she meets people from other cities. Still she thinks that she’s a Leidenaar because of her connection to the city:

*“I don’t think of a culture of Leiden, but just the fact that I come from here, that I live here for a long time and because I have a bond with the the city insofar I can’t and don’t want to live anywhere else. That makes me a Leidenaar”.<sup>52</sup>*

For Megane and Hanan, the word Leidenaar is not fitting their identity. They both state that they are Leidenaar, but they do not immerse themselves in the culture of Leiden. According to Megane, Leidenaren have a certain way of speech, and an accent which she doesn’t has. If she hears the accent, she knows that those people are ‘real Leidenaren’. Megane hesitates to identify with Leiden, while she doesn’t speak the way the ‘real Leidenaren’ speak and as such she makes clear that there is a distinction between her identity and that of Leidenaren. “I participate, like in the Three October Festival, than I join, but if I feel super ‘Leids’...”<sup>53</sup>. For Hanan the word Leidenaar is overrated for her: “Leidenaar-Leidenaar is too big of a word for me. But I participate and I live here and I’m open to the life here. So ehm... I am engaged with Leiden, but

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<sup>49</sup> Original quote: “Ik zou me niet zo snel een Leidenaar noemen, maar als iemand zeg ik ben een rotterdammer, dan zeg ik wel van ja eigenlijk ben ik een Leidenaar. Eigenlijk, ja, maar ik zeg het niet als me voorstel van ja ik ben een Leidenaar” (Amisi).

<sup>50</sup> Original quote: “Ja ik denk het niet eigenlijk. Als ik iets ga doen, dan doe ik het meestal buiten de stad” (Amisi).

<sup>51</sup> Original quote: “Ik denk dat Leidenaren heel snel tevreden zijn hier, hij hoeft niet per se nieuwe dingen te proberen ergens anders [...]dan merk ik dat ze minder avontuurlijk zijn” (Amisi).

<sup>52</sup> Original quote: “Nou ik denk niet zo gauw aan een Leidse cultuur, maar gewoon het feit dat ik hier vandaan kom, dat ik hier al heel lang woon en dat ik binding heb met de stad eigenlijk dat ik nergens ander zou kunnen of willen wonen. Dat maakt me een Leidenaar” (Khadija).

<sup>53</sup> Original quote: “Ik doe wel mee, bijvoorbeeld met 3 oktober feesten dan doe ik mee, maar of ik me echt super Leids voel...” (Megane).

Leidenaar-Leidenaar still is too big for me”.<sup>54</sup> The fact that she repeats the word Leidenaar, could mean that she does identify with Leiden to some degree, but that she doesn’t fully feel like a Leidenaar. She argues that she has a connection to Leiden, and in that case she feels like a Leidenaar, but not fully. According to her a Leidenaar is someone who is born in Leiden, so she can’t be a Leidenaar.

The hesitation to call oneself a Leidenaar also appears when the respondents think of themselves as being Dutch. Most of the respondents don’t feel Dutch. A variety of reasons is given for this sense. The second generation migrants refer to a feeling of exclusion, there are moments in which they do feel Dutch, but other moments make them feel different. One of my respondents said: “I do feel Dutch, I do everything that a 100% Dutch person would do, but I have my own culture and combine both of them” (Megane, second generation).<sup>55</sup> This statement shows that however she does feel Dutch, she does not totally identify with the Netherlands. Her point that there are 100% Dutch people hints that her perception is that migrants are always less than 100% Dutch. She clearly states that she combines a national identification with the Netherlands with other identifications. Also other second generation respondents argued that they do not totally feel Dutch, like Elisabeth when she answered the question “do you feel Dutch?” She said: “No not really. Wherever I go... it’s difficult to explain. I’m not really born here. And I’m African also from the outside, but also from the inside. I’m born there, but I’ve grown up here. But I don’t see myself as a true Dutch person. I still have an African background”.<sup>56</sup> Khadija (second generation) adds to this that she does have a connection with the Netherlands. According to her she is part of the country and she could not live anywhere else, that makes her Dutch. Still she also refers to the combination of this feeling of being Dutch with her Moroccan background. It’s something she can’t just get rid of, she has that in herself, and combines it with all the Dutch norms and values she has learnt by growing up here. In contrast to these three respondents the other three respondents don’t identify with the idea of calling themselves Dutch. Hanan clearly states that she doesn’t feel Dutch at all:

*“It is just not right, the culture the whole package it just doesn’t make sense. The culture, the religion, the background... that are things that, if you put them together then you can’t*

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<sup>54</sup> Original quote: “Echt Leidenaar-Leidenaar is toch een te groot woord. Maar ik woon hier en ik doe mee, ik leef mee en ik ben wel open voor het leven hier. Dus ik ben toch wel betrokken in Leiden. Maar Leidenaar-Leidenaar is toch een te groot woord” (Hanan).

<sup>55</sup> Original quote: “Ik voel me wel Nederlands, ik doe alles wat een 100% Nederlander ook zou doen, maar ik heb wel mijn eigen cultuur en combineer beide” (Megane).

<sup>56</sup> Original quote: “Nee, niet echt. Waar ik ook ga. Hmm het is moeilijk uit te leggen. Ik ben er niet echt geboren. En ik ben een Afrikaan van buiten ook. Maar ook van binnen. Daar ben ik geboren, maar ik ben hier volwassen geworden. Maar ik vind mezelf niet een echte Nederlander. Ik heb toch een Afrikaanse achtergrond” (Elisabeth).

*make a Dutch man or woman of it. But it doesn't say... I'm open to the other. I eh, I don't have any difficulties in getting to know the other or to participate, but that is just me, I do that out of my own".<sup>57</sup>*

With this quote she means that being herself doesn't combine with the culture, the background and religion that is Dutch in her eyes. Next to this she literally talks about 'the other' with which she means Dutch people. This refers to a structure of belonging which she excludes herself from. This thus means that even that she doesn't want to leave the Netherlands, it is not necessary to feel Dutch. She just wants to be herself and if she can be that person, she is happy with the place she lives in. Hanan thus feels that her culture collides with the culture of the Netherlands, therefore she does not identify with the Netherlands. Next to Hanan also Amisi and Fouad point to feelings of exclusion from Dutch citizenship. They experience feelings of distance when they think about the Netherlands as their home as Amisi argues that:

*I think that every 'allochtone' (foreigner) agrees to this. You do feel at home, but at some moments you can feel less at home. I'm born here, so I belong to this country, but for example when you go out with friends and you arrive at a café or discotheque and you get bounced, and they will say that you're not a regular costumer. And then someone arrives and that person is Dutch and you know that this person has never been to this place, and that person can come inside. First you think, never mind, but if you experience this four or five times, than you know that they don't admit colored persons and at such moments I don't feel at home".<sup>58</sup>*

Fouad (second generation) adds to this that he is fully integrated, but still doesn't feel Dutch: "No, I don't feel Dutch. I'm excluded. Look, you take the initiative and you integrate to the utmost. Look, I've been integrated to the utmost, I speak the language yeah also at home with my children. But then you just get disappointed. I will give an example: in '96, '97 I could just go to a

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<sup>57</sup> Original quote: "Het is de cultuur, alles, het hele pakket. De cultuur, het principe, het geloof, de achtergrond. Dat zijn dingen, als je ze samen bij elkaar pakt dan kan je daar geen Nederlandse man of vrouw van maken. Maar dat zegt niet dat ik niet open ben tegen de ander. Ik heb er geen moeite mee om een ander te leren kennen of mee te doen, maar dan ben ik mezelf, dat doe ik vanuit mezelf"(Hanan).

<sup>58</sup> Original quote: "Ja opzich denk vooral voor elke ja allochtoon zegmaar er mee eens is. Je voelt je wel thuis, maar op momenten kun je minder thuis voelen. Ik ben hier zelf geboren, dus ik hoor in dit land, maar stel je gaat uit ergens en je bent met vrienden en je komt bij een café of discotheek en dan wordt je gewoon geweigerd en dan zeggen ze van ja je bent geen vaste klant. En dan komt iemand anders na jou en die is Nederlands en je weet die is hier nooit geweest en die komt wel binnen. Eerst denk je van ja laat maar, maar als je het nog 4 of 5 keer meemaakt, dan weet je van ja ze laten gewoon geen kleurlingen binnen en op dat moment voel ik me minder thuis"(Amisi).

discotheque, but know they tell me that only regular customers can get in".<sup>59</sup> The quotes of Amisi and Fouad are in line with Ghorashi's (2012) theory on the exclusive character of Dutch citizenship. By claiming a homogenous identity for all the citizens of the country, the more differences between people will reveal. As such people can feel more excluded from the identity concerned. In the case of the Netherlands the culturalization of citizenship seems to enhance polarization and exclusion to Dutch citizenship, instead of creating feelings of inclusion for all Dutch citizens (Ghorashi, 2012).

None of the first generation respondents refer to feelings of exclusion based on their feelings of being discriminated or treated differently than native Dutch people. Still these adults state that they are not feeling Dutch. Salama forms an exclusion from this meaning while his idea of being Dutch is related to the passports he has. Because he has a Dutch passport he says that he would call himself Dutch, he even feels Dutch although he has an Egyptian background. Still national citizenship is not a totally empty structure for Salama. His loyalty to the Netherlands is crafted through positive personal experiences of feeling welcome which he shows in his enthusiasm about sports events. At such moments he is dressed in orange and shouts for the Dutch team. These situations generate a certain sense of community.

For Michelle and Gustave it is the case that their background keeps them from identifying with the Netherlands: "I feel Dutch, I Live here, but still truly Dutch is different. I'm not born here" (Michelle).<sup>60</sup> They always have a part that is Nigerian or Congolese that influences their behavior in different situations. The one moment they feel more Dutch, whereas they feel more Nigerian or Congolese in another situation. Their combination of cultural backgrounds and their balance between different identities feels the same as that of second generation migrants Megane, Elisabeth and Khadija. Also Ibrahim (first generation) refers to his nationality which is Dutch, as the first reason for him to identify with the Netherlands. But throughout his argumentation he also considers that he has to balance his Dutch behavior with his behavior which could be seen as more African. He is always balancing and mixing culture:

*"Le monde pour moi a percé au metisse, metisse means to mix. A part of the future is of the people who can also mix culture. Who is open for another culture, who loves the good side of the culture and accepts the bad side. Because, nobody is good or perfect or 110%. You have weaknesses and strengths, people sometimes like to take the weak points or the strong points, without taking the bad sides. I don't want that. I want to be like this: there are*

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<sup>59</sup> Original quote: "Nee, ik voel me niet Nederlands. Je wordt buitengesloten. Kijk je neemt zelf initiatief en je integreert tot het uiterste. Kijk ik ben tot het uiterste geïntegreerd, ik spreek de taal ja, ook thuis onderling met de kids. Maar dan wordt je gewoon teleurgesteld. Ik noem een voorbeeld: in 96-97 kon ik gewoon in de discotheek. Maar nu zeggen ze tegen me dat alleen vaste klanten binnen kunnen komen"(Fouad).

<sup>60</sup> Original quote: "Ik voel me Nederlands, ik woon hier, maar echt Nederlands is toch anders" (Michelle).

*African things about me, you know, I feel that deeply, but I also accept the new culture and contact and the mixture. But you have to see me as a double chance, like shiva, and if you can't see that I get a little sad. Because I came here, I can't eat rice no more? Or because I am Dutch I should eat 'patat' (French fries) all the time?"<sup>61</sup>*

So in contrast to the earlier opinion of Hanan who says that her culture collides with that of Dutch people, Ibrahim shows that his cultures do not collide but that he can balance between the cultures.

For Marcel his duration of stay in the Netherlands is crucial for his identification towards a country. He lives in the Netherlands for six years, therefore he does not yet identify as a Dutch person: "... I aspire to integrate". So for his identification to the Netherlands, he feels that he first needs to integrate. This opinion could be seen as an argument in favor of Dutch policies on migrant integration towards the Netherlands. He doesn't feel Dutch while he is not integrated in his eyes, this implicates that an integration course is needed to become a Dutch citizen in his case which goes hand-in-hand with the assumption of the Dutch government about the regulation of migration on a national scale. A whole other opinion about identifying towards the national is from Aliou who doesn't identify with any country at all. He doesn't feel Dutch, or Senegalese or Italian where he has also lived. For him it isn't important where someone lives, it is important for him that he can use his space for his own needs. He lives in the Netherlands now, because he can work here, but that doesn't make him feel that much connected to the Netherlands as a way of identification of the self. He says that he is just a cosmopolitan citizen. For him the borders of a country do not shape a certain identity as he argues:

*"I mean ehm... because at the end if you go to Senegal or Zimbabwe and you frequent the professor at universities and I mean anyway they are more or less the same. If you go to school with your mates, you are learning the same thing and more or less you are wearing the same clothes and go to university and learn the same things and finally when you are thirty you're not that different. If it's Germany or Amsterdam".*

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<sup>61</sup> Original quote: "Le monde pour moi a percé au metisse, metisse is mengen. Een deel van toekomst is van degene die ook cultuur kunnen mengen. En die open voor andere cultuur die je houdt van de goede kant van de cultuur, je accepteert de slechte kant. Want het kan ook, niemand is goed of perfect 110% te zijn. Je hebt je zwakke punten en sterke punten, mensen vinden het soms leuk om zwakke punten te, of goede punt te pakken, terwijl ze zwakke punten niet wil, dat wil ik niet. Ik wil zo zijn: er zit aan mij Afrikaans, je weet dat ik dit diep voel, maar ik accepteer ook de nieuwe cultuur en omgang en het mengen. Maar moet ook mij zo een dubbele kans zien, net als shiva, als je dat niet kan zien wordt ik een beetje verdrietig. Omdat ik hier ben gekomen mag ik niet meer rijst gaan eten? Omdat ik Nederlands moet eten, allemaal patat dan? Omdat ik hier ben?" (Ibrahim).

As this example shows Aliou uses his level of education as an identity marker. He mostly frequents people who have the same level of education, which is a university-level and as such he feels that either if those people are from Italy, Senegal, the Netherlands or India, they all relate to each other and are not that different from one another. He doesn't believe in the different cultural backgrounds that are manifested in someone's identity while they won't be as important when you meet people who have the same intelligence. He states that the guy that sells products on the local market, who is perceived as not highly-educated, has a different connection towards the Netherlands than someone like Aliou himself, while he is highly educated and mostly meets other highly educated people. Next to this he refers to the effect of greater migration and that it is not really necessary to look at national identities if countries are going to deal with greater diversity:

*"Yeah, I mean generation of my father they were all 100% what they are, and today between me my cousins and nephews we are all mixed. And ehm, one of my cousins married a girl from Algeria, so Arabic and Senegalese. I married an Italian/British, nephew married a French. In some time it will be the normal thing and the challenges will be something else. Ok. Where you live oke, that kind of challenges. Hope that people will not push on becoming this fact of being mixed all together, people say now we can not hate each other because we're black or white but we be the same, but what will be the difference than? Maybe you're from south Holland or in Italy of the party, I'm afraid it's like the UK, white party, they are afraid of doing a kind of othering. It's not easy at all, the main decision makers are 100% Dutch so normal to push everything else to be more Dutch. But the day they will start having, I mean many different people coming from different cultures, I think that only with the time people will start saying, why assimilate instead of learning of what he has in his culture".*

We can see that he states that there is no reason in the future to be focused on being 100% Dutch, while migration will not stop. For Aliou it is just about the place where you are, he says that now he's in Leiden he can feel a bit more Leidenaar, but he also still feels that he is from Northern Milan and Vienna while he has lived there as well. According to Aliou he is a cosmopolitan citizen who tries to take the good things of where he lives. Cosmopolitanism is about empathy, toleration and respect for other cultures and values, it's about living together with difference (Werbner, 2008). According to Werbner (2008, p. 2) '*...cosmopolitanism insist on the human capacity to imagine the world from an Other's perspective, and to imagine the possibility of a borderless world of cultural plurality*'. So cosmopolitans are people who are open to other cultures they meet. Hannerz (1990, 240) discusses that cosmopolitans may embrace an

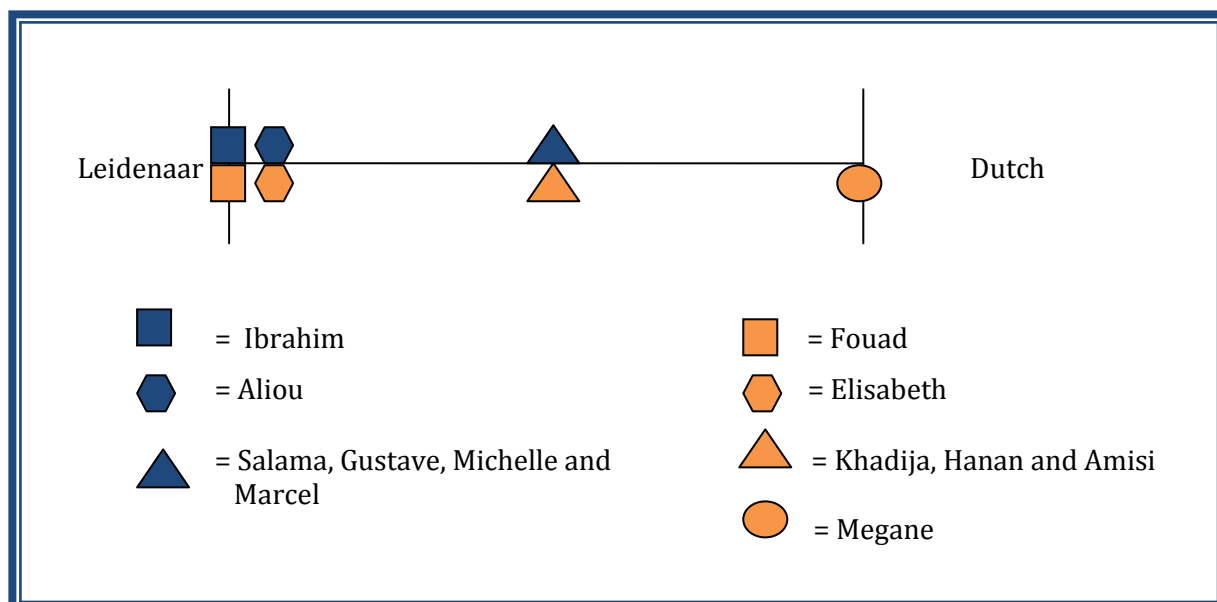


alien culture, but won't become committed to it; they always know where the exit is. Just being on the move, won't make you a cosmopolitan. You must immerse yourself in a different culture but you will not become a local. Cosmopolitans don't really have a home, they have a '*...constant reminder of a pre-cosmopolitan past, a privileged site of nostalgia*' (Hannerz 1990, 248). So in brief we could say that cosmopolitanism can be defined as the immersion of, interest in and tolerance towards other cultures. This seems to be true for all the respondents. So does this mean that migrants do not identify locally or nationally but cosmopolitan? I think that this is true to some degree. All the respondents refer to a site of nostalgia (Hannerz, 1990), but the degree of conscious cosmopolitanism is different for first and second generation migrants. The second generation migrants are more bound up to the Netherlands as they say they would not want to leave the Netherlands. Most of the first generation migrants do argue their return to the home land as the ideal way of life as an elderly person. In the next chapter this idea of cosmopolitanism will be analyzed by the respondents experiences of their connection to their country of origin. Should we still speak about cosmopolitanism or are the respondents more keen on a transnational identification?

Before I go into the discussion about transnationalism and cosmopolitanism I want to show how Tonkens & Hurenkamp's statement about the local identity as easier to claim than a national one, comes to the fore under the respondents from Leiden.. Most of the respondents would call themselves Leidenaren, instead of Dutch. Aliou (first generation) explains this by telling that he does not see a big difference between people from Leiden and Amsterdam or Haarlem. But he does see a big difference between himself and people from southern Limburg. So as such he feels more Leidenaar than Dutch. In contrast to Aliou, Megane (second generation) feels more Dutch than Leidenaar: "I mean I can be Dutch, and come from another place, but I still have the same spirit as other Dutch citizens that live here".<sup>62</sup> All of the other respondents have difficulties in differentiating their identity towards or the local or the national. As is generally accepted, it is not an or/or situation but an and/and situation. They cannot see themselves only as Dutch or only as Leidenaren. It's an identification that's a two-in-one game. Although some argue that Leidenaar is more a family and smaller identification than the Dutch identity. They can't see those two identifications as two different identities. I tested these opinions by creating an H-form in which they argue to what level they feel Leidenaar and Dutch. In the figure below I integrated all the H-forms into one diagram.

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<sup>62</sup> Original quote: "Ik bedoel, ik kan Nederlander zijn en ergens anders vandaan komen, maar toch dezelfde spirit hebben als de meeste Nederlanders die hier wonen" (Megane).



**Figure 8. H-form: feeling more Leidenaar than Dutch?**

In the above figure the different shapes represent the respondents position on the continuum between feeling Dutch and feeling Leidenaar. First generation respondents are shown as blue figures positioned above the central line and second generation respondents as orange figures positioned beneath the central line. The H-form represents the opinions and experiences that the respondents talked about during the interviews. As I could pare up the first generation migrants, there is a slight difference in their drawings of the H-form. The blue square that is placed as close to Leiden as possible, reflects the drawing of Ibrahim who already told me that they totally felt as a Leidenaar. For him Leiden feels more like a family and is his Dutch feeling of belonging more a formal structure. As such he feels more connected to his city which he really knows and feels as a home to him, than to the Netherlands. So Ibrahim is “outright proud of being inhabitants of the city” (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011). Although Salama stated in the interviews that he truly feels like a Leidenaar, during the drawing of the H-form he reflects that he also feels Dutch, much more than that Ibrahim did. Salama pointed to his balance between feeling Leidenaar, Dutch and also Egyptian. Salama can’t say that he truly identifies more with one of those locations; all those geographical places have a meaning for him and he feels that those connections are working at the same time, for the same degree as he says: “I always have all those feelings together”.<sup>63</sup> Therefore Salama has drawn his position in the middle of the continuum, there is no matter of a hierarchy in his connection to different places I the world. More respondents referred to a way of balancing when they were thinking about their position in this H-form. Actually this H-form mirrors a scale, on which the respondents balance their multiple ways of identification. For some the scale stays in balance as is the case for Gustave,

<sup>63</sup> Original quote: “Ik heb altijd alle gevoel samen” (Salama).

Michelle and Marcel (first generation) and for Amisi, Khadija and Hanan (second generation), and for others respondents, the scale inclines somewhat more to Leidenaar or to Dutch.

Both first and second generation that have difficulties to place themselves on this continuum, while some of my respondents don't see how they can distinguish being a Dutch citizen and being a Leidenaar. The thinness of the connection between a local identification and a national identification can be striking, as in the next example of Khadija and Hanan (second generation). For Khadija feeling as a Leidenaar means that she is also feeling Dutch, while Leidenaren are Dutch people. The connection for her to the city she lives in, gives her the same feeling as when she thinks about her connection to the country she lives in. Also Hanan refers to this idea while she feels that she is always one person, and she doesn't feel that one of her identities (Leidenaar and Dutch) comes more to the fore than the other. So she feels Leidenaar and Dutch at the same time, always. For the same matter she says that she also feels Moroccan and mother and a woman. Hanan gives thus an example of the idea of an intersectionality of identities (Valentine, 2007), in which she forms a balance between those identities. She always feels as one person and not as a person who consists of different parts and identities. I think that this opinion is true for all the respondents, but she says that her personal characteristics don't have an influence on her feelings of belonging. Other respondents do stress that they feel others than other persons because of their personal characteristics or their profile as being a migrant. For Hanan this is not important to create her self-identity in contrast to the other respondents. Another reasons to place oneself in the middle of the continuum is given by Amisi (second generation), Gustave and Michelle (first generation). They do not really identify with Leiden or the Netherlands, and therefore don't feel Leidenaar or Dutch. For them also the balancing of identities comes to the fore and they do not think about the importance of their feelings of belonging towards Leiden or the Netherlands for their self-identity. Amisi tells that he doesn't really feels as a Leidenaar, only when he is asked where he lives. He could easily move to another city and drops he's attachment to Leiden. Still as Amisi differentiates the behavior of allochtones in Leiden with allochtones in Amsterdam (see footnote 6) he seems to agree with Hurenkamp, Tonkens and Duyvendak (2012) standpoint that a "local identification makes it possible to maintain both an immigrant identity and one that differentiates between co-ethnics from different parts of the Netherlands" (p. 116). Also Aliou (first generation) refers to this idea when he talks about his position in the H-form, which is slightly more Leidenaar than Dutch. He doesn't give an example of co-ethnics in other cities, but compares himself with his 'co-Dutch' who live in other parts of the Netherlands. Identification towards the city can thus be seen as easier than identification towards a country:

*"Like the house next to us is full of students and they babysit for our children, and I mean I would feel more comfortable to have discussion with them then with these guys who are in Limburg next to the German border. So in this case probably I would feel more Leiden than Dutch. But Dutch is not only also Limburg, it is... I mean the people I met in Amsterdam or in Haarlem more or less I do not see a very big difference between these people and people in Leiden. So also I could see between Leiden, Amsterdam and ehh .. this area and even Utrecht I don't feel very big difference between them. But yeah of course I see a very big difference between me and people in the top north [...] Haha yeah, so yeah I think that I would feel more Leidenaar than Dutch" (Gustave, first generation).*

Gustave, Michelle and Marcel (first generation) – as is already mentioned above – do not identify with Leiden that much. For Marcel this has to do with his insecurity of getting a job and still learning the language. When he has a job and can speak Dutch he would feel more confident to speak to other Leidenaren and feel more connected towards the city. The same holds for his national identification. Therefore he has drawn his position in the middle of the H-form. For Gustave and Michelle the beauty and peacefulness of the city, make them like the city they live in. Hence Leiden is merely associated with living a comfortable life. Still more nostalgic or emotional attachments are expressed when Gustave talks about Leiden, than when he's talking about the Netherlands. Just like Ibrahim uttered, the Netherlands feels more like a safe country to live in for Gustave in which practical needs like health care or a basic income are appreciated the most, instead of a emotional bond of feeling at home. A more emotional side to his local citizenship has to do with his family. He belongs to Leiden because he lives here with his family, and because it was the first place where he was welcomed after having left Congo. Also Michelle refers to her husband and children who are all born in Leiden, as an important reason for her connection towards Leiden. So it seems that it is easier to claim an emotional bond in a local identification than in a national identification in this case. This is also true for Fouad and Elisabeth (second generation) who both attach an emotional bond towards their local identification instead to their national identification. They both point to a greater feeling of exclusion within the combination of their Dutch identification with their foreign backgrounds, than towards their local identification in combination with their African origin. For Elisabeth the fact that she isn't born in the Netherlands has much a great impact on her disconnection to a Dutch identification. Her feelings of exclusion within the Netherlands are much more apparent than when she thinks about herself as a Leidenaar, while she feels a natural distance between her African roots and her Dutch citizenship. Her African roots do not restrict her to identify towards Leiden. It is easier to enter public life on a local level than on a national level which could explain Elisabeth's senses of belonging. Also Fouad feels that his Moroccan background

clashes more with a Dutch identification than with his Leidenaar identification. He relies on experiences with the media, and because media about Moroccans has become more negative over the years, he does not generate much loyalty towards the Netherlands. In contrast to this feelings of discomfort in the Netherlands, he really express that he feels at home in Leiden. National citizenship as something that primarily has to do with 'nativeness' and everything 'nonmigrant' creates caution (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011). Longing to comply to that perspective is not the most logical of reactions, as this may appeal to rejection: "If the Netherlands shuts you out, you will never become Dutch. If I walk to someone and say that I'm Dutch, then he would laugh and say that I'm mad" (Fouad, second generation).<sup>64</sup>

A very contrasted meaning is already given by Megane (second generation), who feels that she identifies with all Dutch people. She has placed herself totally Dutch in the H-form in figure 4. She does love Leiden as a city and she wouldn't want to leave Leiden. Also the emotional attachment to her family who brought her to Leiden is given as a reason for her heart-warming feelings about Leiden. Still she disagrees with Aliou that she has a different spirit than people who live in the top-north or top-south of the Netherlands. This way Megane sees the local level as far less emotionally meaningful than the national level. This conforms to the conclusions of Tonkens and Hurenkamp (2011) who feel that can attach more a functional than an emotional value to their local identification: "The city is seen as important for work, shopping, friends or neighbors. It has much less meaning, in relation to other citizens" (Tonkens & Hurenkamp, 2011, p. 6).

### **5.3 CONCLUSION: BALANCING BETWEEN FEELING DUTCH AND LEIDENAAR**

Out of the interviews and the drawings of the H-forms it becomes clear that all the respondents feel at home in the Netherlands and in Leiden. More nostalgic and emotional attachments are expressed when the respondents talk about Leiden, than when they talk about the Netherlands. Leiden is appreciated as a beautiful, peaceful, diverse and tolerant city. Nevertheless the second generation respondents also stress that there is a growing border between the native Dutch Leidenaren and the Leidenaren with a foreign background. All the respondents seem to support the idea of local policy to create more mixed neighborhoods to overcome a distance between different communities within Leiden. They feel positive about the basic thought of the contact hypothesis: meeting people creates respect and sympathy for those people. Living in Leiden also means living in a central point between Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. This is important while some of the respondents social networks, or working opportunities are not

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<sup>64</sup> Original quote: "Als Nederland je buitensluit, wordt je nooit een Nederlander. Als ik naar iemand toeloop en zou zeggen ik ben een Nederlander dan zou hij lachen en zeggen dat ik gek ben" (Fouad).

bound to the city of Leiden only. While those three cities are big, and also ethnically diverse cities, Leiden seems as an operating base to escape the chaos of the big cities, but it is not too far from the 'superdiversity' apparent in those places.

Both the first and second generation respondents mentioned that they had some connection to the Netherlands, but during the discussions there we very reserved and hesitant to stress this connection. When they talked about their identification towards the Netherlands, they stress that their foreign background always reminds them of not really being a Dutch citizen. Positive feelings about the Netherlands are expressed, but especially functional elements are mentioned, like a well managed healthcare system, rights and duties and feelings of safety. Feelings of exclusion generated by negative news in the media about foreign born citizens, and experiences with discrimination and stereotypes, retains the first and second generation migrants to claim any emotional attachment to a national idea of citizenship. For some respondents there is no space to feel Dutch, while they are not seen as Dutch citizens by others. Especially Fouad and Amisi have expressed such feelings of exclusion. Therefore the some second generation respondents feel like they have to prove senses of loyalty and belonging to the Netherlands in some way, while at the same time they do not claim the nation as theirs. Only Megane (second generation) expresses that she does strongly identify with the Netherlands. Although she defines that there are 100% Dutch people – and consequently people who are not 100% Dutch by which she points to herself – her Congolese origin doesn't keep her from feeling part an parcel of the national, Dutch community. The only difference between the first and second generation opinions about identifying as a Dutch citizen is that the second generation expresses more examples of discrimination as reasons for their weak connections towards a national identification. In sum, the two generations do feel at home in the Netherlands, but because of their foreign background they will never truly feel Dutch, except for Megane.

Decisive in the difference in loyalty towards the local or national level appears to be the (lack of) positive experiences and direct contacts that confirm or legitimate membership of the national community or local community. It is easier to identify towards Leiden, while a city is a more comprehensible scale to identify with than a whole country. People meet Leidenaren on a daily basis, which makes it more understandable that they feel connected to Leidenaren more, than to other Dutch citizens. Aliou and Amisi who give examples of their differences between Amsterdam based co-ethnics and Limburg based co-Dutch, show that they do feel a certain disconnection to other places than Leiden. Other respondents are purely proud about living in Leiden, and participating with the yearly event of the third of October. Also on a national scale, emotional attachments are related to national or yearly events like sport tournaments and Queen's Day. On the third of October the respondents feel like Leidenaren, and on a day like

Queen's Day, they feel more Dutch. As such the respondents thus balance between their different feelings of belonging.

Local citizenship and local identifications deserve more recognition, particularly on the national level. To make this possible, it has to be thought through more properly, as the differences between local and national citizenship are about more than scale. They are about emotions versus functions, senses of belonging versus structures of belonging, inclusive citizenship and exclusive citizenship. It is the balancing between local and national identifications that the problems of the restorative, culturalization of citizenship can be overcome.

## 6 Conclusion

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Within this research multiple debates have been introduced and explained beginning with the transnationalization of migration and its influence on the idea of Dutch citizenship. Through increased cultural diversity within the Netherlands, Dutch government senses a lack of shared identity and loyalty in Dutch society. Therefore the Netherlands is focused on creating a national community that all its citizens can identify with. This community must have shared norms, values and traditions, with the loyalty to the Netherlands only. But how can policy expect more social cohesion through a culturalization of citizenship, if migrants are perceived as both rooted into their country of destination and loyal to their country of origin? The culturalization of citizenship seems to enhance polarization and exclusion to Dutch citizenship for (trans)migrants. This research has shown that other forms of belonging and identifications can develop like transnational or local identifications. Especially of interest in this thesis is the comparison between the multiple identifications of first and second generation migrants, as it became clear that the degree of engagement towards the (parents) country of origin and the Netherlands differs based on their age difference. As such I focused on the horizontal relationship between two national identifications (that of the country of origin and the Netherlands) and the vertical relationship between a local identification and a national identification. With the local identification the focus was on the city of Leiden and the national identifications point to feelings of belonging towards the country of residence and of origin. To explore these different relationships and identifications I used Fenster's (2005) distinction between different feelings of belonging: 1) senses of belonging; 2) activities of belonging and 3) formal structures of belonging. Exploring these three feelings of belonging helped me to gain understanding how first and second generation migrants who live in Leiden manoeuvre between multiple identities and helped me to answer the main question of my research:

*How do first and second generation migrants construct a local, national and transnational identity?*

The answer on my main question, which is generated through the answers on my five sub-questions is presented in this last chapter of my thesis.



## **6.1 IDENTIFICATION WITH THE HOMELAND: TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION**

I have investigated the transnational senses, daily activities and formal structures of belonging. Transnational senses of belonging came out of the interviews and the H-form and were mostly linked to the connection to the African roots that the respondents have, and the culture of their country of origin. Mostly feelings of nostalgia were apparent under the first generation of immigrants but also the second generation emphasized their strong connection towards their (parents) country of birth. A counter case is from Khadija who said that she emotionally distanced herself from Morocco. A way of confirming these senses of belonging, can be found in the way the respondents experienced (daily)activities of belonging. Most of the first generation migrants wanted to be in contact with their relatives who live abroad, and even some of the first generation migrants have constructed formal relationships which they need to keep up with to be able to contribute to their country of birth. The second generation is clearly less tied to their relatives who live abroad as they mention that they do not have any contact at all, or hear about their family through the stories that their parents told them. While some of the parents of my second generation respondents still live abroad those respondents did make use of cheap and fast means of communication to keep in touch with their relatives. Another transnational activity is visiting the (parents) country of birth. Not all of the respondents have been able to go to their (parents) country of origin, but they did stress that they would like to go to there to find out where they come from or to visit family again. All of the respondents who did go to their homelands, all agreed that they want to go there at least once a year. The reason to return for a visit or vacation are to meet family for all the respondents, but some also go out of spiritual or business reasons.

Asking about the aspiration to live in their (parents) country of birth the first generation seems to be more seriously thinking about that situation. The second generation migrants are young and are still unaware of what they are going to do in their lives, as such they do not know yet if they will be able to live there, although Elisabeth and Amisi express thoughts about a return move in the future. Under the first generation migrants it is for some unsure if they are able to live in their home countries again. This ability can be explained in two ways. First, the experiences of the respondents gained through their mobility and lives abroad make that they feel too distanced from their country of origin. Secondly, the dangerous situations that some of my respondents left behind in their county of birth, make the future plans for those respondents insecure. Only if those dangerous situations are solved, the respondents can see themselves living in their country of origin again.

The third dimension of feelings of belonging is explained as formal structures of belonging, which manifests in feelings of exclusion. Those feelings of exclusion are not really

talked about when discussing the transnational identifications of the respondents. Only in reference to Dutch identifications these feelings arise. As I will first talk about the local identification of my respondents in the next section, I will return to the relationship between the identification with the Netherlands and with the country of origin after explanation of the identification towards Leiden.

## **6.2 IDENTIFICATION WITH LEIDEN**

All of the respondents feel at home in Leiden. The portrait of Leiden as a peaceful, beautiful and diverse city comes to the fore in all of the answers of my respondents. Leiden is profiled as a caring city, although the working possibilities are scarce. Next to this the central location between cities like Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague increase the enjoyment of living in Leiden. In Leiden the respondents can live a more 'relax' life, but they can still make use of the services of the biggest cities of the Netherlands. As such the daily activities of belonging of the respondents do not stay into the borders of Leiden. Making use of the market in The Hague for example and by maintaining a social network in Amsterdam, the respondents can combine their activities with living in a more peaceful city which is Leiden. Other daily activities that increase the feeling of belonging is the participation into the city via the church, mosques, neighborhood centers, sports clubs and organizations like the Bakkerij where they feel they can meet friends and other citizens of Leiden.

Respondents express senses of belonging towards Leiden mostly as that they feel at home and they feel comfortable and relax in their place of residence. Mostly the number of years that the respondents live in Leiden are referred to when they think about their senses of belonging towards Leiden. Still not all of the respondents would call themselves a 'Leidenaar'. For some their foreign background excludes them from being a real Leidenaar, as for others they don't really feel Leidenaar because they also have connections to other cities than Leiden. Working in another city and the abovementioned social relationships that move outside of the city borders, are reasons for possible weaker senses of belonging towards Leiden. Most of the respondents do feel Leidenaar in a functional way, meaning that they are participating in the city, but they do not identify with it (except for Salama and Ibrahim). The festival of the third of October is mentioned, at that moment the respondents feel Leidenaren, but mostly through participating than because of a deeper sense of belonging. They do not relate to a culture of Leiden, but they also wouldn't want to leave Leiden. As such claiming an local identification is not that logical for the first and second generation migrants, than is assumed by Tonkens & Hurenkamp (2011). The fact that Leiden is a small city could be the reason for this result, which makes me think about the interesting point of departure for further research. Is this generally

the case for first and second generation migrants in all small cities? Are big cities and small cities or even villages creating different ways of identification for immigrants in the Netherlands and outside of the Netherlands? Back to the question of generation. In this identification towards the local level, not much variety in opinions about their Leidenaar-feeling is apparent. There can be a distinction between people who feel Leidenaar and who don't feel true Leidenaren, but that doesn't say anything about the different generations. Both first and second generation Leidenaren emphasize that they are proud to live in Leiden and both groups consists of respondents who do call themselves Leidenaren and who don't identify to Leiden to such a high degree. In the next section I will go into this identification in relation to an identification with the Netherlands to be able to explain the vertical relationship between an identification with the local level and the national level.

### **6.3 IDENTIFICATION WITH THE NETHERLANDS**

Most of my respondents feel hesitant to call themselves Dutch, except from some second generation respondents who express senses of belonging towards the Netherlands. Although identifying with the Netherlands is too strange for some of the respondents, they all state that they feel at home in the Netherlands. The rights and duties and health care system make them feel that the Netherlands is well organized and a safe country to live in. Still the senses of belonging towards the Netherlands could be perceived as weak. Most of the respondents do agree that they are Dutch, but they do not feel Dutch. When they talk about their identification towards the Netherlands they automatically refer to their African origin, which makes that they are not 'totally' Dutch. Some respondents even literally refer to the fact that there are 100% Dutch people and that their foreign culture and background is holding them back from feeling Dutch. Everyday practices are hard to define on a national scale, while things like work or hobbies are experienced on a more local level. What does get apparent in the discussion about feeling Dutch is the formal structures of exclusion, which is mostly spoken of by the second generation migrants in this research. For example Fouad discussed his feelings of exclusion by explaining the discourse that is present in Dutch society, in which migrants are always seen as foreigners or as 'allochtones'. Those terms make Fouad feel that he isn't Dutch, although he feels at home in the Netherlands. Mostly the media is spoken of, when it comes down to creating a negative image of immigrants, and also Amisi states that having a different skin color influences if you can go for a night out, or get the job you want to have. As such some second generation migrants feel that they have socially less power than someone who is a 'native Dutch'. Discrimination and stereotypes will always be around, and as such structures of belonging also create categories which the respondents can't identify with. This is an indication that the

discourses apparent in Dutch society are the most important determinant for identification here. This way the idea of moral citizenship as explained in the second chapter of this research, comes to the fore again. The discourse of earning citizenship instead of gaining citizenship is felt by the migrants as they think about their Dutch identification.

### **6.3.1 Horizontal relationship: transnational and Dutch identification**

All the respondents feel more hesitant to call themselves Dutch as opposed to their identification with their country of origin. It seems that the roots of the respondents all remind them of being 'different' than other Dutch people. The most important conclusion to make based on the identifications toward the Netherlands and towards the different countries of birth is that my respondents create an unique intersection of two identifications. It seems that there are three strategies of coping with transnational and Dutch belonging. First, there are people who feel a hierarchy in their self-identification; they feel either more connected to their (parents) country of birth or to the Netherlands. Reasons for this 'skew distribution' are 1) engaging in Dutch culture or African culture more and 2) the fact of being born abroad. The second identification strategy is that of the respondents who don't feel a certain hierarchy and they combine both identifications as one. Therefore they don't feel more Dutch than Moroccan for example but they feel as much Dutch as Moroccan. They see this combination of identifications not as a problem, while it defines their connection to both countries they relate to. The third group that I can distinguish under my respondents are the people who do not feel connected to a nation-state or certain place at all; they construct a hybrid identity for themselves, based on the specific situations they are in or have experienced in the past. Some respondents feel connected to more countries than their country of birth and country of residence and as such they can have the 'the best of both worlds': they consciously and unconsciously choose the elements which they find important and construct a hybrid identity. No hard conclusions can be based on the variable of generation in this case, while a lot of variety is especially found within the two generations than between the generations. Still the last identification strategy is only apparent under three of my first generation respondents. The first two strategies are used by both first and second generation migrants. For the second generation migrants mostly the first strategy comes to the fore, as with the first generation migrants the second strategy is more frequent.

### **6.3.2 Vertical relationship: the city and the nation**

Although the respondents in this research do not easily identify as Dutch or as Leidenaar, they still feel more connection with Leiden, than with the Netherlands. Decisive in the difference in

loyalty towards the local or national level appears to be the (lack of) positive experiences and direct contacts that confirm or legitimate membership of the national community or local community. It is easier to identify towards Leiden, while a city is a more comprehensible scale to identify with than a whole country. People meet Leidenaren on a daily basis, which makes it more understandable that they feel connected to Leidenaren more, than to other Dutch citizens. Aliou and Amisi who give examples of their differences between Amsterdam based co-ethnics and Limburg based co-Dutch, show that they do feel a certain disconnection to other places than Leiden. Other respondents are purely proud about living in Leiden, and participating with the yearly event of the third of October. Also on a national scale, emotional attachments are related to national or yearly events like sport tournaments and Queen's Day. On the third of October the respondents feel like Leidenaren, and on a day like Queen's Day, they feel more Dutch. As such the respondents thus balance between their different feelings of belonging.

Respondents express positive feelings about the Netherlands overall. Especially a well-managed healthcare system, rights and duties and feelings of safety are spoken of when they think of positive characteristics of the Netherlands. Feelings of exclusion generated by negative news in the media about foreign born citizens, and experiences with discrimination and stereotypes, retains the first and second generation migrants to claim any emotional attachment to a national idea of citizenship. For some respondents there is no space to feel Dutch, while they are not seen as Dutch citizens by others. Therefore local citizenship and local identifications deserves more recognition, particularly on the national level. To make this possible, it has to be thought through more properly, as the differences between local and national citizenship are about more than scale. They are about emotions versus functions, senses of belonging versus structures of belonging, inclusive citizenship and exclusive citizenship. It is the balancing between local and national identifications that can overcome problems of the culturalization of citizenship.

## **6.4 DIFFERENT GENERATIONS, DIFFERENT IDENTIFICATIONS?**

Based on the abovementioned relationships between the three explored territorial identifications, three key differences between first and second generation migrants are found. First of all the first and second generation migrants differ in their identification strategy. It becomes clear that the second generation migrants do not consciously construct hybrid identities, as three of my first generation respondents do. Still while the second generation respondents do not perceive themselves as having hybrid identification, by analyzing their opinions they do not differ that much from the three first generation respondents. All of the

respondents do agree that they balance between different identifications and that the situation that they're in, influences the use of their identifications.

A second difference between the identification of first and second generation migrants is found in the expressions about belonging to the Netherlands. Both first and second generation migrants agree that their foreign background makes them unable to create strong senses of belonging towards the Netherlands. Broader discourses like media are mentioned by second generation migrants as an instrument of exclusion. The negative image of immigrants and Islam that is mostly portrayed by media, makes that at some moments the second generation does not feel at home in the Netherlands. This is in contrast to my first generation respondents who speak less about feelings of exclusion via the discursive field. They do not speak about media, although they do point to situations in which they were discriminated. The first generation does not seem to be bothered that much by negative stereotypes as the second generation that I spoke with. It can be argued that for second generation migrants the future is less predictable. They still have the choice to go somewhere else if they don't feel like they belong in the Netherlands (based on negative experiences in the Netherlands). For first generation migrants it can be the case that they are feeling settled enough to neglect and accept discriminating situations they possibly experience.

Next to a different experience with Dutch identification, transnational identifications are sensed differently by my first and second generation respondents. The main transnational activities that first generation respondents are engaged in are: maintenance of contacts with their friends, family and/or colleagues that live abroad; searching for news about their country of origin via internet; and visiting their country of birth. The emotional attachment towards transnationalism is strong for the first generation respondents, while they have a certain feeling of moral duty to stay in touch with relatives they left behind. Opposed to my first generation migrants, second generation migrants are generally less interested in keeping in touch with their relatives in their (parents) country of birth or other countries. They only hear from their family via their parents that keep them up to date. Also the urge to visit their (parents) country of origin is smaller than that of the first generation respondents, mainly because they did not grow up there. However, some respondents form an exception while they still do have (daily) contact with their relatives that live abroad. Key is that those second generation respondents' parents live in their country of origin. As such the fact that close family is living near, or far away could influence the degree of engagement in transnational activities for second generation migrants.

So we can conclude that it is true that the first and second generation respondents have a different degree in identifying with different territories. But what does this mean for the idea of citizenship as presented in Dutch integration policy? As feelings of belonging towards the Netherlands are not much expressed by both first and second generation migrants, it seems that

having a Dutch identity is not of great importance to be able to feel at home. Especially transnational or a foreign identity is of influence on the identification of the respondents in this research. As such the nation-state becomes a 'political claim' instead of an 'imagined community' emanating the same beliefs, norms and values. Holding on to an exclusive idea of citizenship as is the case in Dutch integration policy is not recommended while also other forms of identification influence their national identification. Through three different identification strategies the respondents create intersections where they are able to combine different identifications. By saying this I mean that identification is not a zero-sum game: there is no such thing as a certain amount of identity, which makes that a strong identification with, for example Dutch society, is at the expense of another identification. This thesis shows that identifications can compete against each other or peacefully overlap and sometimes there could be a form of hierarchy of identities. The title of my research is *home is where the heart is*, and can be a concluding remark in this research. Some of my respondents literally pointed to their heart, when they were telling me about their feelings of belonging and where they felt at home. As such feeling or not feeling transnational, Dutch or Leidenaar is something which they perceive to feel in their hearts. My respondents did not really point at very different feelings of belonging to either their country of origin, the Netherlands or Leiden, but they showed that those different identifications form a coherence or a crossroads that determines that they are the persons that they are. It is the combination and the balance between multiple identifications and what is close to their hearts that determines their self-identity.

The importance of transnational identifications and local identifications in relation to Dutch identification deserves more recognition on the national level. Therefore this last paragraph will deal with some recommendations for further research. First of all conducting this research with a larger sample would possibly contribute to increased understanding of differences within the community based on gender, age, occupation, country of origin and maybe other factors, that can have an impact on the identification of a person. Next to this, my research is a single-cited research and I recommend to explore how first and second generation migrants that live in other small cities (similar to Leiden) identify with their place of residence (and country of residence and origin). Also including a global city in this type of research could enhance our understanding about identifying with the city one lives in. As such the idea of creating a local identity easier than a national one, could be tested more thoroughly. Next to this, a research in the Netherlands can give different insights than the same research in another country which also copes, or doesn't cope with higher diversity of cultures via increased mobility of people. It would be interesting to see how both first and second generation migrants have resembling or deferring opinions about their multiple identifications, and if the same three strategies of identification come to the fore.

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