

ÚLOHA MIEST PRI SEBAIDENTIFIKÁCII A PRIESTOROVEJ INTEGRÁCII
MIGRANTOV: PRÍPAD TURECKÝCH IMIGRANTOV
V MESTÁCH AACHEN A HAGUE

THE ROLE OF CITIES IN MIGRANTS' SELF IDENTIFICATION AND SPA-
TIAL INTEGRATION: THE CASE OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS
IN AACHEN AND THE HAGUE

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Abstract: *Spatial perspectives in migration studies have mainly focused on the distribution and housing of migrant populations or the effects of different places on wellbeing. Places provide a sense of belonging and allow migrants to develop positive feelings about the locations where they live. In this article, we analyse the significance of cities in the process of migrants' self-identification. Rather than focusing on neighbourhood or country, we point at the significance of the scale of the city. In the case of Turkish migrants, empirical results from two different cities, The Hague (The Netherlands) and Aachen (Germany), showed that a well-developed urban-related identity among migrants leads to strong positive attitudes towards the country. Despite the fact that predictors of urban-related identity differ in the two cities, we found that the effect of strong urban-related identity as a contributor to positive attitudes towards the country they live in is the same. Thus, we argue that a well-developed urban-related identity can be seen as an indicator for a higher sense of belonging' to the country as a whole.*

Key words: *Place attachment, spatial integration, urban-related identity, Turkish immigrants, Aachen, The Hague, Germany, The Netherlands*

Introduction

We all have multiple identities that work together to shape our social relations. As Kulich *et al.* (2018, p.5) state “individuals belong to gender, ethnic, or national groups” and “they can be categorised depending on their religious beliefs, or the activities they are involved in such as professions, political groups, etc.” Social identities provide a sense of belonging and locate individuals in certain groups by providing a feeling of “us”. Settling into a new social environment challenges these identities because humans bring their own cultural baggage and social identities with them when migrating. Encountering an entirely new system of cultural values and norms can be challenging due to migrants having pre-established religious, national or gender identities that they use to identify themselves. Therefore, migration is actually a kind of self-challenge. In their search for ways to maintain their social identities or create new ones that they find fitting, migrants negotiate the new socio-spatial context and follow different strategies to cope with the new environment. In discussions on how to establish an inclusive social environment for migrant populations, diverse methods have been suggested and tried out such as offering employment, language courses or political

and cultural rights. These approaches are not insignificant but not always sufficient to explain migrants’ well-being and belongingness. In this article, we examine spatial integration of migrants by focusing on place identity in the scale of their city of residence. We will discuss the role of places in migrants’ wellbeing and belongingness as well as focus on place as a stage of self-identification. Our main aim is to explore how migrants’ self-identification is linked with the city of residence and to capture how positive attitudes towards the city may affect attitudes towards the country in which they live.

During data collection, numerous migration stories were listened to, which described the difficulties of a new life in a new country. Many participants, especially those over 60, insistently mentioned economic reasons for migrating to Western Europe. This repeating pattern later made us understand that they were in these countries simply because they wanted to earn money. Stories and motivations slightly changed when it came to family-reunification migrants or members of newer generations who were born in the Netherlands and Germany. Some references to places, but especially to the cities of residence became distinguishable. One participant in his early 20s talked about certain streets of

The Hague and his memories in different places. He ended his speech emphasising that “he is a child of The Hague”. Another participant described his feelings while driving in the direction of Aachen. He explained that as soon as he sees the sign for Aachen on the motorway, he feels more relaxed and at peace because he feels he is about to arrive home. Such positive references to the cities reinvigorated the idea to question how cities affect the wellbeing and belongingness of migrants in the country they live in.

Spatial Perspective in Migration Studies

Just like class-based, ethnic, religious, sexual, political or professional identities, we have place identities too. Contrary to the other identity categories that tend more to divide people and generate distinct social groups, a strong place identity based on a city can be a uniting and inclusive identity category. Countries and neighbourhoods, being ontologically more homogenous social constructions, discursively define and practically divide insiders and outsiders. Cities, however, have been the interaction zones for diverse groups and nodes for living together in a liberated atmosphere throughout history. As Smith (2012, p.7) puts it, “the experience of living in cities is universal. When the first city builders

set out on their urban experiment, they created far more than a new man-made environment built of mud bricks. In many respects they were laying the foundations of modern life.” The intense experience of urban life has turned cities into magnets attracting people from rural areas, other cities and other countries. Thus, cities can unite different groups by providing them with a liberating, place-based supra identity that transcends the limiting definitions of other social identity categories.

Today, the integration of migrants is a crucial topic in Europe. In the *EU Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion (2021-2027)* that is guided by the principle of inclusion, education, employment, health and housing are defined as key areas for integration. Ensuring participation and contribution is crucial to the wellbeing, prosperity and cohesion of European societies (European Commission 2020). “There has been an enormous amount of academic and policy work on the integration of minority cultural communities into majority society” as emphasised by Cherti and McNeil (2012). The role of language learning (Dustmann and van Soest 2002), access to public services (Kyrieri 2011), political attitudes and participation (Maxwell 2010), economic aspects (Dustmann and Frattini 2011, de Paola and Brunello 2016) and

the different migration policies (Entorf and Minoiu 2005) in the integration process have been investigated. As Dekker *et al.* (2015) state “migrant integration policies have often been defined in terms of national models of integration”, however there is a growing interest in the local dimension of integration and these authors suggest that there is a need to attend to local integration frames and to question whether there is a specifically local dimension to integration policies. These studies aim to understand the role of cities as significant sites of integration due to their attractiveness for large numbers of migrants and their role in local policies (Zapata-Barrero *et al.* 2017; Price and Benton-Short 2008).

In the following, we will briefly review literature on spatial approach in migration studies. First, we will summarise some basic findings with a specific reference to the role of places in migrants’ wellbeing and belonging; then introduce the specific concepts of place identity and urban-related identity that has been adopted for our research.

The Role of Places in Migrants’ Wellbeing and Belongingness

There is a growing interest in the spatial dimension of migration (Göregenli 2014, Linhard and Parsons 2019) especially since the occurrence of spatial turn (Soja 1989)

in social sciences. According to Bruslé and Varrel (2012) “migration and migrants change space and create places that reflect where people come from, how they migrated and what their relation to the host society is”. How migrants relate to different places and what meanings they attribute to them have an influence on their wellbeing and belongingness. The “spatial” in migration research does not simply refer to the direction of flows, locations, and geographical distributions, as was criticised by Buhr (2014) but it is more subjective, more related to the spatial awareness and capabilities of the migrants and attributed meanings. Literature demonstrated that places matter in migrants’ lives based on attachment, familiarity, accessibility, appropriation or spatial knowledge. These places can be “houses, religious buildings, restaurants, community centres, etc. that are (re)created so that migrants feel at home when away from their native place” (Bruslé and Arrel 2012).

The socio-spatial context is considered to play an important role in the integration process of immigrants (Weiss *et al.* 2019). Migrants’ relationships with urban forests and city parks are shaped by the frequency and form of their visits, cultural values and the subjective influence of these places, such as evoking childhood memories (Egoz and de Nardi

2017). Community gardens have been found to facilitate social cohesion and intercultural dialogue and contribute to refugees' and migrants' wellbeing, health, social and cultural empowerment, and inclusive ideas of citizenship (ibid. p.78). Rishbeth and Finney (2006) found that "a positive impression of the local environment and meaningful participation in it can be a useful component of integration into a new society". The concept of spatial integration (Buhr 2014) underlines the role of places in migrants' inclusion in the cities where they live, e.g. "practiced space" that is to say "being in interaction with places", which urges migrants to have a wide urban spatial knowledge.

In the case of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands, van Liempt and Staring (2021) found that "the daily routines are vital for the social incorporation of refugees and how specific places can harm, but also matter, for processes of homemaking." The image that migrants have of cities is another aspect of their spatiality. The mental borders of a city indicate how much of the city is experienced and appropriated (Bilgin 1999). Perception of a city provides significant clues about which aspects of urban space are well-perceived and what is missing. Some cognitive mapping studies reveal a relatively lim-

ited urban image among migrant populations (Südaş *et al.* 2021).

Place attachment and place identity have been employed to understand migrants' spatiality too. These concepts allow us to study spatial dimension of integration but are difficult to distinguish due to their inter-relatedness. Place attachment is generally the emotional ties that people develop with their places of residence like dwellings or neighbourhoods, but also places visited for recreational purposes: landscapes, forests, lakes, wilderness or summer houses (Lewicka 2010, p.36) while place identity develops when a certain place becomes a dimension of one's self-identification, that is to say a place-based social identity. Regarding cities, Lalli (1992) speaks about *urban-related identity*. Attachment to places is implicit to the concept of place identity and Lalli's concept of urban-related identity includes a sub-dimension of attachment.

Research shows that deprivation in a neighbourhood reduces individual place attachment (case of Vienna, Kohlbacher *et al.*, 2015) and that there are different aspects of place attachment operating together in the process of adapting to a new urban setting. The aspects of "place dependence" and "place discovered" emerge faster while the other two dimensions, "place identity" and

“place inherited” need more time to develop (case of Polish immigrants in London and Oslo, Trabka, 2019), and that place attachment contributes to wellbeing through providing “a sense of autonomy, control, self-confidence and social identity” (case of Antillean immigrants in the Netherlands, Lager *et al.* 2012, p.93). Lewicka (2020, p.66) distinguishes two types of place attachment, namely “active attachment” that refers to enjoying wandering around and discovering a certain place and “traditional attachment” that refers to one’s willingness to stay in a certain place even though there are better ones. Active attachment may help people adapt to a new culture (case of Polish immigrants in Ireland, Niewczas 2017 in Lewicka 2020, p.67).

Egoz and de Nardi (2017) characterise belongingness as a fundamental human need, and underline the positive role of places on migrants’ wellbeing and the feeling of belonging. Their relationship with everyday places has a practical dimension and an emotional dimension. The second one refers to “an affective involvement toward the place”, it is “the core of a sense of belonging”. This is shaped by memories, social relationships, and quality of life (de Nardi 2017, p.68). Small encounters and first impressions play a role in the construction of sense of place. Some studies, regardless of

migrants’ socio-economic level, indicated the significance of a *welcoming culture* (Föbker *et al.* 2014, 2016, Weiss *et al.* 2019) and the effects of first impressions and social contacts on the migrants’ feelings and on their future integration (Ghorashi, 2005). On the contrary, migrants’ struggle with social isolation due to the lack of emotional and social attachment and participation in the city has an impact on the sense of belonging and negatively affects integration (Kox and van Liempt, 2022, p.166).

Considering the urgency for participation and inclusion of immigrants in Europe, and the importance of places for migrants, especially the possibility of cities, our aim is to investigate to what extent migrants’ self-identification with the city influences their attitudes towards the countries they live in.

What is the outcome when a migrant identifies with the city itself, being more than just attached to it, or if he/she is simply familiar with it, experiences it and enjoys it? We expect a well-developed urban-related identity to strengthen positive attitudes thus a city can be a stage for developing a place-based social identity for migrants without challenging other social identities.

Urban-related Identity of Migrants

Space has a significant role on identity building and a city can be important as a place of identity. Making a city special for oneself means going through a process of being rooted, appropriating it, distinguishing it from other places, and transforming it into a place of your own, into a home (Bilgin 2011). Cities with their peculiarities provide a sense of continuity, allow repeating spatial behaviours; they have symbols, physical components such as iconic buildings, historical experiences and memories, social rituals that are rooted in collective memory. Such peculiar characteristics of urban space is what make cities unique. As a result, the identity of a city allows a place-based identity to be constructed for its residents (Bilgin 2011). Place identity has a versatile meaning. One refers to the self-identification of a person with a place and the other is the identity of a place itself. Peng *et al.* (2010) underline the distinction between the two: Identity of a place is related to the attributed or perceived differences between places and is constructed to differentiate places from each other. Place identity of a person, on the other hand, is individuals' incorporation of places into the larger concept of self. Kalali and Davison (2017) state that "strong place-

identity enables people to respond to their personal and social needs and provides them with a sense of self-esteem, congruity with the place, belonging, and attachment to where they live." Development of emotional bonds with places helps to overcome identity crises and gives people a sense of stability they need in the ever-changing world (Lewicka 2008).

Enjoying or feeling an attachment to certain places does not necessarily mean that one will "identify" himself/herself with them. Place attachment is related to the development of place identity. Proshansky *et al.* (1983, p.62) propose that place-identity goes well beyond just emotional attachments and belonging to particular places. Place-belongingness, according to Korpela (1989, p.246), is "not only one aspect of place-identity, but a necessary basis for it." Place identity that is related to towns and cities is described as "urban-related identity" by Lalli (1992) as mentioned before. Urban-related identity is "a result of a complex association between self and urban environment." Self-identifying with a city goes beyond spatial experiences or attachment to a city. According to Lalli (1992, p.294), urban-related identity,

"provides a sense of subjective temporal continuity for the person,

which becomes gradually more independent of this backdrop of concrete experiences. This contributes to individuals gaining a sense of stability and continuity which is independent from actual day-to-day experiences. The town provides an identity-enhancing context for one's biography, and thus a continuity which is relatively independent from definite (e.g. social) changes. Such processes are involved in all aspects of self-identity, and are also provided by other identity-relevant factors, such as social relationships (family, partner, etc.) or a person's profession."

There are five dimensions of urban-related identity. Perceiving a city as unique in comparison to another is the dimension of *evaluation*. Connecting one's personal history with a city represents *continuity*. *Familiarity* is the idea of being familiar with the city. *Belongingness* to a city is the dimension of attachment and lastly, willingness to stay and participate in a city in the future is *commitment*. There are various predictors that are influential on the development of urban-related identity such as age, gender, place of birth, property ownership or length of residence (Lalli 1992). Contrary to the focus on the predictors of urban-related identity, studies on the outcomes of self-identification with cities are limited.

Lalli (1988) found a relationship between positive evaluation of urban quality and degree of self-identification with a town. This finding was interpreted as evidence that individuals who strongly identify with their town also view it in more positive terms. Lin *et al.* (2021) underlined that "few studies have explored migrants' place attachment to their host cities, which might be a better scale for social integration" and indicated that the habitual location of migrants is affective on the level city attachment: Migrants who live in local resident-dominated neighbourhoods tend to feel more attached to the city. Göregenli and Karakuş (2014) indicated that place identity has a distinctive role in urban integration of internal migrants and there is a significant relationship between developing a belongingness to a city with the level of accessibility to urban facilities. A distinct, peripheral residential location negatively affects migrants' urban experiences, which results in lower urban identity. According to Konukoğlu *et al.* (2020), city identity is a common social identity and has inclusive and benevolent aspects. When supported with social and education programs and urban policies, city identity can contribute to a positive intergroup climate.

Our main question is whether a strong self-identification with the city of residence among migrants has an

influence on attitudes towards the country in which they live. The peculiarity of our approach is its focus on the outcome of the migrants' self-identification with their city. We aim to attract attention to the possibility of socio-spatial integration by constructing an urban-related identity where cities have the key role. Rather than the concepts of "integration" or "adaptation" hierarchically referring to two distinct sides, one of which is to integrate and the other to be integrated, we think that cities can provide a stage of social coalescence through a well-developed urban-related identity. We share findings from two cases of different cities in different contexts, the German city of Aachen and the Dutch city of The Hague.

Research Area

The Netherlands and Germany have been the most important destination countries for Turkish migration. Today, both countries are home to a large proportion of people with a Turkish background. Of the total non-Western population of approximately 2.3 million in the Netherlands, people of Turkish origin form the largest group consisting of approximately 410,000 people (CBS, 2018). Turkish population is around 3% of the total population. Migration from Turkey to the Netherlands

started in the 1960s as an answer to labour shortage. Most workers initially came on their own and later brought their families over. Turkish immigrants first began to settle in big cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht but also regions like Twente, North-Brabant and Limburg where there was a high demand for industrial labour. Around 36% live in the Randstad region.

Today, The Hague has about 540,000 residents (the metropolitan area has a population of one million people). The city is growing mainly due to newcomers from abroad. The Hague is officially a majority-minority city which means that there are more residents from abroad than natives, 54% in 2019 (Den Haag in Cijfers 2020). The Hague is home to many people of non-Western backgrounds, EU and non-EU workers from Central and Eastern Europe, refugees from the Middle East and Africa, families with roots in the former colonies and former guest workers.

Those with a Turkish background form the largest foreign group in Germany today. However, it is difficult to know the exact number of people with a Turkish background as they are listed in the statistics as "Germans" after naturalisation, but estimations range between 3 to 4 million. "Migration into post-war

Germany started as labour recruitment to mitigate shortages in specific industries” and “between 1955 and 1968, the Federal Republic of Germany concluded intergovernmental contracts with eight Mediterranean countries” (Kaya and Kentel, 2005, p.17). North-Rhine Westphalia is a state of Germany where the Turkish population is highly concentrated mainly as a result of the important industrial regions. Aachen is one of the cities in this state. On the list of Germany’s largest cities, Aachen is ranked 28th with a population of almost 250,000. 35.6% of Aachen’s inhabitants have a migration background. Of these, 54% are foreigners (non-German nationality), 31% are naturalised (German nationality) and 15% are ethnic German immigrants (German nationality). Among the naturalised population, those of Turkish origin are among the most important groups, accounting for one fifth (Stadt Aachen 2020, 65).

Choosing to compare The Hague and Aachen may be surprising, but a closer look reveals several aspects which make them suitable for comparison. Both cities played (and play) an important role as being places of residence with historical city centres and landmarks. Regarding population, The Hague, although bigger, is more comparable with Aachen than with Cologne or Berlin, being metropolises with more than 1

million or 3.5 million inhabitants. However, while in the majority-minority city of The Hague, Turkish migrants represent one of many (and not the largest) non-Dutch communities; in Aachen, non-Germans are the minority, but persons of Turkish origin are the dominant non-German community.

Both cities are characterised by segregation in respect of migrant and non-migrant areas and have a migrant neighbourhood (our main research areas) quite near to the city centres (*Ostviertel* in Aachen and *Transvaal* and *Schilderswijk* in The Hague)

Methodology

We wanted to investigate two cities in two different, but comparable countries with a considerable Turkish population and find out to what extent urban-related identity contributes to the development of positive attitudes towards migrants’ new country of residence. Because the predictors of urban related-identity may differ; we will also present the differentiating predictors, such as the length of residence, age, gender, educational level, income and place of birth. 254 participants with a Turkish background who reside in The Hague and Aachen constitute the sample. 126 participants were interviewed face-to-face in The Hague

and 128 in Aachen. The questionnaire form was provided in Turkish, German or Dutch, depending on the participants' choice. 40.5% was female and 58.7% was male in The Hague (0.8% -1 participant- did not respond) and 39.8% was female and 60.2% was male in Aachen. The mean age was 44.4. To ensure there was no misrepresentation of those with a Turkish background in either city, it made sense to not only ask participants from the mainly migrant-populated neighbourhoods. Roughly half of the participants was dispersed in each city while the other half was from mainly migrant-populated neighbourhoods, 46.1% in Aachen was from the Ostviertel and 51.6% in The Hague was from Schilderswijk and Transvaal.

The questionnaire included socio-economic and demographic questions and questions about opinions on the city of residence and attitudes towards Germany and the Netherlands. 20-item Urban-related Identity Scale (Lalli 1992) was employed to measure the level of urban-related identity (URI). The original language of the scale is German. It was used for the German version of the questionnaire form. The Turkish language adaptation of the scale was previously carried out by Görengeli (2013) and resulted in a high internal reliability ($\alpha=0,95$). The Dutch translation of the items was

carried out by a bilingual (German and Dutch) expert, based on the version in the original source (Lalli 1989) and later discussed by the authors. The Cronbach alpha value of the scale in this survey was 0.91 (0.90 in The Hague sample; 0.92 in the Aachen sample). A total URI score was derived ranging between 20 and 100. Three different levels of URI mean score (low, average and high) were calculated by adding and subtracting one standard deviation (13.9) to the URI mean score (73.4) of the total sample.

The questionnaire form included a list of six items developed by the authors that represent positive attitudes towards Germany and the Netherlands. A Likert type measurement was used and ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A total score of positive attitudes (POSAT) was derived ranging between 6 and 30. Two items were reversed prior to analysis so that the higher scores on each item indicated a higher level of positive attitude. Those items were "I would prefer my children to grow up in Turkey" and "In the future, I will turn back to Turkey permanently". The items yielded a high internal reliability ($\alpha=0.82$). Three different levels of POSAT mean score (low, middle and high) were calculated by adding and subtracting one standard devia-

tion (6.1) to the POSAT mean score (19.3) of the total sample.

Independent sample t-tests were performed to test if there is a significant difference in URI scores and in POSAT scores according to gender, neighbourhood, legal status, property ownership and place of birth.

One-way analysis of variance was performed to test if there is a significant difference in URI scores according to level of education, level of income, age, length of residence, and level of POSAT mean score.

One-way analysis of variance was again performed to test if there is a significant difference in POSAT mean score according to level of education, level of income, age, length of residence, and level of URI mean score.

The URI and POSAT items are listed in Table 1 and Table 3. “Reference country” refers to the participants’ country of residence. A mod-

eration analysis was conducted using the Process Macro 2.61 version to test the moderator role of a city on the prediction role of URI on POSAT.

Findings

We present the results of the survey and the corresponding analyses. First, we will present the results of the URI and its predictors. Second, we will evaluate the ratings with regard to POSAT.

Urban-related Identity

The total mean score was 73.5 in The Hague and 73.3 in Aachen indicating quite a high level of urban-related identity. There is not a big difference with regard to the sub-dimension scores of the URI scale between the two cities. Considering the maximum score could be 20 from each sub-dimension, attachment is the highest in both cases (Table 1).

Table 1: URI Scale and its Sub-Dimension Scores

	The Hague		Aachen	
	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}	SD
Comparison	14.4		14.5	
In other towns, [reference city] is seen as possessing prestige.	3.5	1.00	3.8	1.08
As compared with other towns, [reference city] has many advantages.	3.8	1.02	3.7	1.03
[Reference city] can only be recommended to tourists.	3.8	1.00	3.8	1.22
There are many things here which are envied by other towns.	3.3	0.99	3.3	1.10
Attachment	15.8		15.6	
I have got native feelings for [reference city].	3.9	1.11	3.8	1.38
I see myself as a [reference city].	3.8	1.15	3.9	1.23
I feel really at home at [reference city].	4.2	0.95	4.2	1.09
This town is like a part of myself.	3.7	1.21	3.7	1.31
Past	14.1		14.2	
Lots of things in this town remind me of my own past.	3.5	1.41	3.5	1.53
I cannot imagine living in a different town because I would give up too much of myself.	3.5	1.28	3.4	1.45
I have had so many experiences in [reference city] that I have become intimately bound up with this town	3.7	1.24	3.8	1.30
I know [reference city] so well that I would recognize the town on a photograph taken at any time.	3.4	1.31	3.5	1.22
Familiarity	14.4		14.9	
When I amble through [reference city], I feel very strongly that I belong here.	3.7	1.16	3.9	1.13
This town is very familiar to me indeed.	4.0	1.03	4.2	0.96
This town is very important for my daily life.	3.9	0.92	4.0	1.11
I experience this town very intensively every day.	3.1	1.06	3.1	1.18
Commitment	14.1		13.5	
I would like to stay in [reference city] indefinitely.	3.6	1.33	3.3	1.44
I am looking forward to witnessing [reference city]'s future development.	3.8	1.12	3.7	1.16
[Reference city] plays an important role in my future plans.	3.4	1.21	3.2	1.27
My personal future is closely tied up with [reference city].	3.4	1.14	3.3	1.34

URI mean scores were calculated based on variables such as gender, neighbourhood, legal status, property ownership, place of birth, level of education, level of income, age and length of residence and statistically compared (Table 2). Independent samples t-test indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in URI score in terms of **gender** in The Hague [$t(124) = 1.387$ $p = .168$] but there was a statistically

significant difference in Aachen [$t(125.804) = 2.641$ $p = .009$]. Female participants ($\bar{x}=77.2$, $SD=10.69$) from Aachen have a significantly higher URI score than the male participants ($\bar{x}=70.8$, $SD=16.87$) from the same city.

There was no statistically significant difference in the URI mean score relating to the **neighbourhood** neither in The Hague [$t(124) = .294$ $p=.769$] nor in Aachen [$t(126) = -$

.174 $p=.862$]. There was no statistically significant difference in terms of **legal status** in Aachen [$t(126) = .072$ $p = .943$] but there was a statistically significant difference in The Hague [$t(122) = .020$ $p = .040$]. Participants with Dutch citizenship ($\bar{x}=74.6$, $SD=11.75$) have a significantly higher URI score than the Dutch residence permit holders ($\bar{x}=68.4$, $SD=16.11$). There was no statistically significant difference in terms of **property ownership** in The Hague [$t(120) = .229$ $p = .820$] but there was in Aachen [$t(104.031) = 5.519$ $p < .001$]. Property owners in Aachen have a significantly higher URI score ($\bar{x}=82.3$, $SD=9.37$) than the renters ($\bar{x}=69.9$, $SD=15.45$) in the same city. There was no statistically significant difference regarding **place of birth** neither in The Hague [$t(121) = -1.263$, $p=.209$] nor in Aachen [$t(125) = 1.922$, $p=.057$].

One-way analysis of variance indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the URI mean score regarding the **level of education** neither in The Hague [$F(3, 122) = 1.655$, $p = .180$] nor in Aachen [$F(3, 124) = 1.050$ $p = .373$].

The same analysis indicated that there was no statistically significant difference regarding the **level of income** in The Hague [$F(2, 105) = .458$, $p = .634$] but there was a statistically significant difference in Aachen [$F(2, 89) = 6.491$ $p =$

.002]. A post hoc Tukey test showed that in Aachen, participants with a monthly income of less than 1,000 € have a significantly lower URI score ($\bar{x}=66.8$, $SD=14.80$) in comparison to those with an income of 2,500 € and higher ($\bar{x}=79.7$, $SD=11.94$).

Age did not result in statistically significant differences in The Hague [$F(3, 116) = 1.084$, $p = .359$] but did in Aachen [$F(3, 121) = 5.913$, $p < .001$]. A post hoc Tukey test showed that in Aachen, participants under 30 years of age have a significantly lower URI score ($\bar{x}=65.7$, $SD=13.78$) in comparison to those aged between 45-59 years ($\bar{x}=77.3$, $SD=11.76$) and those older than 60 ($\bar{x}=80.7$, $SD=14.48$).

One-way analysis of variance indicated that there was a statistically significant difference in the **URI mean score** regarding the **length of residence** both in The Hague [$F(3, 115) = 7.540$, $p < .001$] and in Aachen [$F(3, 123) = 17.461$ $p < .001$]. A post hoc Tukey test showed that participants who moved to The Hague after the year 2000 have a significantly lower URI score ($\bar{x}=68.5$, $SD=11.68$) in comparison to those that moved in 1979 or earlier ($\bar{x}=79.0$, $SD=7.38$) and during the period of 1980-1989 ($\bar{x}=78.4$, $SD=13.13$). The same differences apply for Aachen: $\bar{x}=60.6$,

SD=15.1; \bar{x} =80.0, SD=9.90 and | \bar{x} =82.7, SD=10.66, respectively.

Table 2: URI Mean Scores according to variables

VARIABLE	CITY		VARIABLE	CITY	
	The Hague	Aachen		The Hague	Aachen
Gender			Income per Month-€		
Female	75.4	77.2	Less Than 1.000	72.5	66.8
Male	72.2	70.8	1.001-2.500	72.3	74.7
Neighbourhood			2.501 And Higher	75.3	79.7
Migrant Neighbourhood	73.8	73.1	Age		
Other Neighbourhoods	73,2	73.5	Younger Than 30	70.8	65.7
Legal Status			31-44	71.6	71.3
Citizenship	74.6	73.4	45-59	73.9	77.3
Residence Permit	68.4	73.3	60 and Older	76.8	80.7
Place of Birth			Moving to the City		
Born In The Netherlands/Germany	72.7	75.1	1979 or Earlier	79.0	80.0
Not Born In The Netherlands/Germany	76.5	69.7	1980-1989	78.4	82.7
Educational Level			1990-1999	69.9	72.5
Primary	76.7	75.9	2000 And Later	68.5	60.6
Secondary	71.3	71.9	Property Ownership		
Higher	70.2	77.1	Owner	74.0	82.3
Vocational	72.6	71.3	Renter	73.4	69,9

Positive Attitudes towards Germany and The Netherlands

The mean total POSAT score is 19.3. It is 19.8 in The Hague and 18.9 in Aachen. The POSAT items are pre-

sented in Table 3. Total mean scores were compared according to the same variables (Table 4).

Table 3: POSAT item list

	Total		The Hague		Aachen	
	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}	SD	\bar{x}	SD
I would prefer my children to grow up in [reference country]	3.8	1.21	3.9	1.25	3.8	1.18
I hope someday Turkey also becomes a place like [reference country]	3.6	1.42	3.6	1.49	3.6	1.35
I would prefer my children to grow up in Turkey *	3.3	1.39	3.2	1.43	3.3	1.36
I will never leave [reference country]	2.9	1.46	3.0	1.49	2.8	1.42
I see [reference country] as my home country	2.9	1.41	3.0	1.42	2.8	1.39
In the future, I will turn back to Turkey permanently *	2.8	1.48	3.0	1.46	2.7	1.48

*reversed item

Independent samples t-test indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in terms of **gender** in The Hague [$t(124) = .623$ $p = .535$] but there was in Aachen [$t(126) = 2.629$ $p = .010$]. Female participants have a significantly higher POSAT score (\bar{x} =20.5,

SD=5.300) than the male participants (\bar{x} =17.8, SD=6.181) in Aachen.

There was no statistically significant difference in the POSAT mean score regarding the **neighbourhood** neither in The Hague [$t(113.955) = -1.229$ $p=.222$] nor in Aachen [t

(125.937) = 0.516 $p=.607$]. There was either no statistically significant difference in POSAT scores when it came to **legal status** in The Hague [$t(121) = .809$ $p = .420$] and in Aachen [$t(125) = .189$ $p = .850$]; **property ownership** in The Hague [$t(88.938) = -.686$ $p = .494$] and in Aachen [$t(125) = .620$ $p = .536$] and **place of birth** in The Hague [$t(121) = .809$ $p = .420$] and in Aachen [$t(125) = .189$ $p = .850$].

One-way analysis of variance indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the POSAT mean score regarding the **level of education** neither in The Hague [$F(3, 122) = .852$ $p = .468$] nor in Aachen [$F(3, 124) = .427$ $p = .734$]. **Level of income** in The Hague [$F(2, 105) = .201$ $p = .819$] and in Aachen [$F(2, 89) = .641$ $p = .529$]; **age** in The Hague [$F(3, 116) = .839$ $p = .475$] and in Aachen [$F(3, 121) = .482$ $p = .695$]; and **length of residence** in The Hague [$F(3, 115) = 1.221$ $p = .305$] and in Aachen [$F(3, 123) = .496$ $p = .686$] did not result in any statistically significant differences.

Three different levels of **URI** (low, average and high) were compared to **POSAT**. Low URI was associated with the numerically smallest mean level of POSAT and the high URI was associated with the numerically highest mean level of POSAT (Table 5). A between groups one-way analysis

of variance was performed for each city to test if there is a significant difference in POSAT scores according to the level of URI. The assumption of homogeneity of variances in the case of Aachen was tested and okayed based on the Levene's F test $F(2, 125) = .105$, $p = .900$. Significant F values at ANOVA in the case of Aachen were tested by Tukey's multiple contrasts. Because homogeneity of variance was not obtained in the case of The Hague [$F(2, 123) = 6.45$, $p = .002$], Tamhane's post hoc test was conducted. Significance was set at a probability value of p being less than 0.05. One-way ANOVA yielded a statistically significant difference both in The Hague [$F(2, 123) = 9.207$ $p < .001$] and in Aachen [$F(2, 125) = 8.404$ $p < .001$].

A post hoc Tukey test showed that the Aachen participants with a **high-URI** score also had a significantly **higher POSAT** ($\bar{x}=25.6$, $SD=2.502$) compared to POSAT scores of those with middle-URI ($\bar{x}=19.4$, $SD=6.220$) and low-URI scores ($\bar{x}=15.8$, $SD=5.579$). A post hoc Tamhane's test also showed that in The Hague, those with a **high-URI** score also had a significantly **higher POSAT** ($\bar{x}=22.5$, $SD=5.348$) when compared to POSAT scores of those with middle-URI ($\bar{x}=18.7$, $SD=5.772$) and low-URI scores, ($\bar{x}=16.9$, $SD=5.406$).

Table 4: POSAT Mean Scores according to variables

VARIABLE	CITY		VARIABLE	CITY	
	The Hague	Aachen		The Hague	Aachen
Gender			Monthly income-€		
Female	20.2	20.5	Less Than 1.000	19.6	18.2
Male	19,5	17.8	1.001-2.500	19.5	19.4
Neighbourhood			2.501 And Higher	20.5	19.9
Migrant Neighbourhood	19,1	19,2	Age		
Other Neighbourhoods	20,5	18,6	≤ 30	18.0	18.7
Legal Status			31-44	20.8	18.1
Citizenship	19,6	19,2	45-59	19.7	19.2
Residence Permit	20,1	18,6	60 ≥	20.2	20.2
Property Ownership			Moving to the City		
Owner	19.3	19.4	1979 or earlier	19.6	19.1
Renter	20.1	18.6	1980-1989	21.9	19.0
Place of Birth			1990-1999	18.7	19.4
Born In The Netherlands / Germany	18.8	18.8	2000 and later	20.1	17.8
Not Born In The Netherlands/Germany	20.0	19,0	POSAT Score		
Educational Level			Low URI	16.9	15.8
Primary	19.7	19.0	Middle URI	19.4	18.7
Secondary	19.0	18.4	High URI	25.6	22.5
Higher	22.1	20.1			
Vocational	19.5	18.6			

**including those with double citizenship*

Influence of URI Level on Positive Attitudes

Three different levels of **POSAT** were compared to **URI** levels by One-way ANOVA. One-way analysis of variance indicated that there was a statistically significant difference in the URI mean score regarding the level of POSAT both in The Hague [F (2, 123) = 7.072, p < .001] and in Aachen [F (2, 125) = 10.875, p < .001].

A post hoc Tukey test showed that in The Hague, participants with high POSAT have significantly higher URI

scores (\bar{x} =80.5, SD=10.03) when compared to those with middle (\bar{x} =72.4, SD=12.63) and low POSAT (\bar{x} =68.6, SD=12.77) mean scores. In Aachen, participants with high POSAT also have significantly higher URI scores (\bar{x} =83.6, SD=10.09) when compared to those with middle (\bar{x} =74.2, SD=13.64) and low POSAT (\bar{x} =64.3, SD=16.73) mean scores.

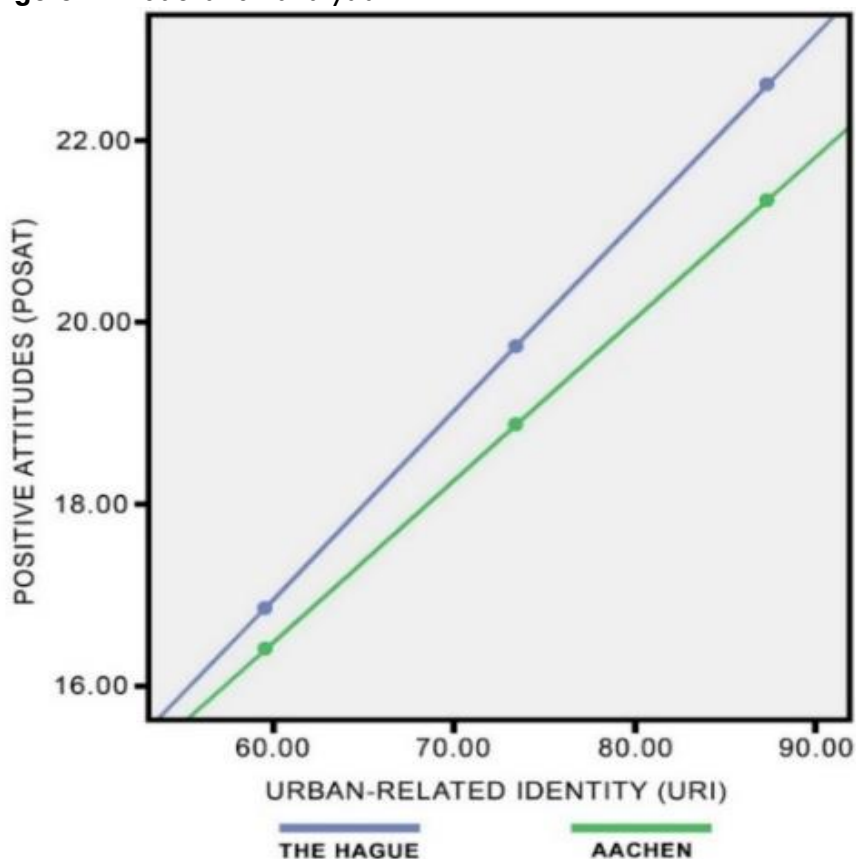
Table 5: URI Score in relation to POSAT Level

URI SCORE of participants with...	The Hague	Aachen
Low POSAT	68.6	64.3
Middle POSAT	72.4	74.2
High POSAT	80.5	83.6

Based on these results, a positive correlation between URI and POSAT was expected. A correlation analysis indicated that URI and POSAT are indeed positively correlated ($r = 0.43, p < 0.01$). A moderation analysis was conducted using the Process Macro 2.61 version to test the moderator role of a **city** on the predic-

tion role of **URI** on **POSAT** (Model 1) (Figure 1). URI significantly predicts 19 % of POSAT ($b = .19, F(3,250) = 20.06, p < .05$). A 1-point increase in URI score leads to a 0.19-point increase in POSAT score in the total sample. This increase is 0.18 in Aachen and 0.21 in The Hague.

Figure 1: Moderation analysis



Conclusion

Results show that there is a significant relationship between stronger URI and the development of positive attitudes towards the country of residence. Since Turkish migrants identify more strongly with their cities as they have a well-developed URI, this means that stronger positive attitudes develop towards Germany and the Netherlands. The predictors of urban-related identity however differ in the two cities. The longer the participants reside in a city, the stronger the URI becomes. This is in parallel with the finding of Trabka (2019). In the case of The Hague, those who have Dutch citizenship have a higher URI score. While citizenship seems to be important in The Hague, property ownership is a significant variable in Aachen. This result is also confirmed by Çelik (2020) who found a positive relationship between property ownership and integration and intention to stay in Germany among Turkish migrants. In the case of Aachen, on the other hand, female participants and participants who own a property have a higher URI score than the male participants and renters, respectively. In Aachen, younger participants and those with lower income have significantly lower URI than the older participants and the higher income groups.

We think that constructing a strong urban-related identity functions as an umbrella social identity through which migrants can relate to wider culture without “risking” their other social identities. Cities, being not as large as a nation state or as small as a neighbourhood, seem to function as inclusive spatial units. They are ideal mixed settings for social interactions to feel belongingness. Contrary to the national scale, cities do not limit the right of interaction with the place for newcomers, as cities have a tradition of attracting people from elsewhere and integrating them. However, developing an urban-related identity requires time. Nevertheless, fostering positive feelings and experiences, self-expression and appropriation possibilities for migrants would support urban-related identity construction, and might accelerate the process. The “home” feeling one of our participants experienced once he saw Aachen displayed on the road sign or the other participant defining himself as “a child of The Hague” can only be possible if there is an inclusive urban atmosphere.

Besides the positive effect of such an inclusive social environment, there are many other (contextual) variables to explain URI levels in different cities. It is a remarkable finding that women in Aachen have stronger URI. The role of citizenship might be re-

lated to macro factors in a country, for example, if possessing double citizenship is possible or migrants have to choose just one nationality. On the other hand, the women's stronger URI level in Aachen might be related to the possibilities that the city offers the migrants. Providing relevant explanations about each URI predictor would exceed the limits of this article because our main aim was to indicate the positive effect of URI on positive attitudes, not the reasons behind its development. In future studies, items of positive attitudes can be diversified. Research can be repeated in other European cities and on other migrant groups. In this way, not only can the other predictors of URI be determined but it is also possible to test whether self-identification with a city always leads to developing such positive attitudes.

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